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THE
INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK
A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF
SOCIAL WORK

Volume I

Edited by
THE FACULTY OF THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF SOCIAL WORK, BOMBAY, INDIA

JUNE 1940

1940

The INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Vol. I

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Volume I — Number 1

For many months, we in the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, have felt the need of a Journal devoted to Indian social problems. The serious literature on social work in India is so small that it may almost be said to be non-existent. At the same time, however, individual social workers and various organizations are carrying on pieces of work which should be brought before the larger public. Records of Government work and reports of special investigating committees are far too often buried in the official archives. Young men and women leave the Indian Universities, or return from advanced study in Europe and America, fully determined to do original research, but for lack of encouragement or for lack of publication facilities, their resolve fades away and they soon abandon their ideals in this direction.

It is for reasons such as these that THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK has been started by The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, with the following ends in view :

1. To serve as a medium of expression for the Students, Alumni and Faculty of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.
2. To encourage original research on the part of Indian Social Workers.
3. To report significant advances in the social field, both in India and abroad.
4. To serve as a bond of unity for social workers scattered throughout the various parts of India.
5. To assist in raising the standards of professional social work in India.

The major emphasis of the first issue is on two aspects of Child Welfare—Children in Industry and Juvenile Delinquency.

In evaluating the materials in the JOURNAL, the reader should bear in mind that professional social work is a new field in India—the first Graduate School of Social Work, the Tata School, having been established but four years ago. We therefore have no large professorial staffs or trained professional workers to call upon for articles. Our work must be judged for what it is: The effort of genuine servants of India to assist India by helping to shed light upon her complex and varied social problems.

The INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume I

JUNE 1940

Number 1

LEGAL PROTECTION FOR THE WORKING CHILD

J. M. KUMARAPPA

The development of Child Labour Legislation in India has been a gradual process. We have travelled a long way from the abuses of 19th Century industrialism, but as Dr. Kumarappa points out, we still have a long way to go. Child labour is but one phase of the larger problem of child welfare and the problem must be viewed in its entirety.

Dr. Kumarappa is Professor of Social Economy in The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.

IT is natural and customary to make children work in and about the home, assisting parents in their daily round of domestic duties. Such work is not only inevitable, but a necessary part of the early education of children. Similarly, children apprenticed to craftsmen, also work, but it is supervised work and is a preparation for later efficiency and self-support. Work of this nature is not harmful since it does not interfere either with the child's normal development or its future. Such work should be encouraged rather than prohibited, for it is self-developing—involving plan, purpose and freedom. In childhood the function of work is, and should be, developmental.

But that which is referred to as child labour is work of a different character. When the business of wage-earning to support the family conflicts directly or indirectly with the normal growth and education of the child, the result is child labour. This type of work is economic, not developmental. To state it differently, any form of work which prevents the legitimate expression of the child's desires and impulses, deprives him of his opportunities for wholesome play and recreation, and frustrates his preparation for adult responsibilities is child labour. While work in childhood is a social good, child labour is a social evil, being an infringement of the rights of childhood.

As an economic practice, child labour signifies employment in the so-called gainful occupations, or a material contribution to the labour economy of the family. Historically, it can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution when the production of goods was removed from the home and placed in

the factory. Since then, machine industry has carried on the business of not only greatly diversifying occupations, but also depriving the work of the child labourer of any educational or vocational value by splitting up occupations into specialized routine jobs. Further, by creating the city, it has expanded commerce, multiplied industrial pursuits and increased transportation and communication. The rise of cities, like the growth of industry, has increased the demand for children to perform the less difficult and more menial jobs.

At present the demand of industry for cheap labour is so pressing, the requirements of the city dwellers so diverse and the poverty of the masses so great that the tendency to exploit child labour has increased by leaps and bounds. In consequence, one finds children employed in large numbers in organized factories as well as in street trades, cheap restaurants and domestic service. This growing tendency to use child labour has made it necessary to adopt legislative measures to protect the child. We shall now consider briefly the historical development of legal protection for the working child, and see what progress we have made, what still remains to be done and how child labour may eventually be eliminated.

The Child Worker and Legislation. The branch of organized industry which employs the largest number of wage-earners is the factory industry. Large industrial enterprises came into existence in our country about the middle of the last century. But upto almost the end of the 19th century, there was no state control over conditions of employment in any industry in India. Employers enjoyed full freedom to hire or fire, and work their employees as they pleased. As a result, children of tender years were exploited as so many factory 'hands', and were made to work excessively long hours. In view of the appalling abuses, which existed then in factories, the First Factories Act, passed in 1881, prohibited the cruel practice of employing children under seven and working them longer than nine hours per day. This Act, however, recognized the child of 12 years as an adult and permitted him to be employed as such. For the purpose of the Act, a "factory" was defined as any premise using mechanical power and in which 100 or more persons were employed for four months or more in the year. This definition divided factories into two groups: those coming under the Act and those outside its scope, the former being known as 'regulated' and the latter as 'unregulated' factories.

But during the decade in which the Act was in operation, it was found that the provisions were all too inadequate to protect the working child, and that the exploitation of children was still the rule rather than the exception. The minimum age of the child for admission to employment was therefore raised from 7 to 9 years and the age at which he became an adult from 12 to 14 years by the Act of 1891. His working hours were reduced from 9 to 7 in the

day, with an interval or intervals of rest amounting in the aggregate to half an hour, and his employment on dangerous work was prohibited. Further, the Act brought under control all places employing 50, instead of the previous 100 employees, provided they used power machinery, thus making the law applicable to a larger number of factories. Moreover, for the first time local governments were given power to include all factories using power and employing 20 persons or more within the scope of the new Act.

For a period of twenty years after 1891, there was no further advance in factory legislation. It was hoped, however, that the reduction of the hours of work of children to 7 would result in a decrease in the demand for child labour. But, in spite of this restriction, the exploitation of child labour increased on account of the industrial boom in the early part of the 20th century, and the consequent shortage of adult labour and the demand of adults for high wages. Over and above the employment of a comparatively larger proportion of children, there were flagrant evasions of the provisions of the Act, both by the employment of under-aged children and by forcing them to work considerably longer than the hours permitted.

Therefore, a Factory Labour Commission was appointed to make an investigation. On their recommendation, a new Factories Act was passed in 1911 which repealed both the earlier Acts. A 'child' was defined as any person below the age of 14 years; the minimum age for employment was raised to 9 years and hours of work were limited to 6 in textile factories and to 7 in others. Employment of children was prohibited not only between 7 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. but also in certain dangerous processes. All children were required to be in possession of a certificate of fitness and a certificate of age. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the age-limit set by the Act was in practice much lower, owing to the difficulty in ascertaining the age correctly and the abuse of the age certificate system. Though substantial increases were made in the provincial factory inspection staffs, to prevent evasions of the Act, yet the scandal of employment of children in two different factories in the same day under two different names and two different certificates began to assume more serious proportions.

Hence, the Factories Act of 1922 took another step to protect the child worker by excluding altogether those under 12 years of age from factory work and raising the age at which the industrial child became an adult to 15 years. In addition, it reduced the hours of work to 6, in the hope that the results of the possible evasion of the law through false declarations of age would be less serious than under the old system. It also made parents or guardians liable to penalty for the double employment of children under two certificates. In addition to medical examination for age and physical fitness before admission

to employment in factories, children were required to undergo re-examination for continuing work, if thought necessary by an inspector. No child was to be worked for more than 4 hours without a rest interval of half an hour, and children under 12 were prohibited from employment in certain dangerous processes.

Thus we see that every change in factory legislation has been a change made on the basis of past experience—a genuine attempt to remedy the defects. But the problem all along has been the problem of enforcement of the law. To the employer, child labour is profitable. The wages of children are small; their complaints are few, and yet they accomplish in some occupations as much as an adult. Why then use and pay for adult labour when a child at much less yields as good, if not better, results? Even the insistence of parents and of children for work would be of but little consequence were it not for the demands of industry for cheap labour. It is because child labour is advantageous, that many employers resist restrictive legislation and persist in evading the Act.

Weak administration of labour legislation encourages evasions of the law. The Factories Act of 1922 was in operation for 12 years; and during this period, it was found that evasions had become quite common, convictions were not easy to obtain, that penalties for offences were too light, and that factory inspection was inadequate and ineffective. In view of this situation, the Royal Commission made several recommendations and a new Factories Act was passed in 1934. This Act tightened up administration in several directions. The provisions governing the observance of the law have been clarified and elaborated. Improvements have also been made in the system of factory inspection. In order to make punishments for breaches of the Act exercise a deterrent effect, the scale of penalties has been revised by the provision of enhanced penalties for second and subsequent convictions in the case of offences relating to the employment of children, adolescents and so on. It is this Act which created among the factory operatives a fourth group, the group of adolescents. 'Adolescents' are defined as persons of both sexes who are over the age of 15 and under the age of 17 years, but who have not been certified as fit for employment as adults. Such adolescents, as have not been so certified, are to be deemed as children.

This review of factory legislation clearly shows that since 1881 every change in factory legislation has tended to increase the minimum age-limit of the working child and decrease his maximum hours of labour. Moreover, in spite of the scandalous evasions and difficulties in enforcing the law, restrictive legislation has contributed much to the improvement of working conditions, as well as to the reduction of child labour. The number of children employed in factories increased about four times from 1892 to 1923, but thereafter it began

to decline steadily every year. The following table shows the annual decrease in the number of children employed in factories since 1923.

Decrease in the Number of Children Employed in Factories

Year	Children Employed	Annual Decrease
1923	74,620	.....
1924	72,531	2,089
1925	68,725	3,806
1926	60,094	8,631
1927	57,562	2,532
1928	50,911	6,651
1929	46,843	4,068
1930	37,972	8,871
1931	26,932	11,040
1932	21,783	5,149
1933	19,091	2,692
1934	18,362	729
1935	15,457	2,905
1936	12,062	3,395

The decline in the number of children employed in factories is, indeed, an outstanding feature of the change in the composition of the industrial working class in India in recent years. This decrease in the use of child labour is due partly to the stricter provisions of the law relating to the employment of children, and partly to the changes in the policy of some employers who have substituted adult workers for children on economic grounds. (For instance, the Bombay Millowners' Association decided in 1922 not to employ children in any textile mill in Bombay city after that year.) Though the total decrease in the use of child labour is encouraging, yet there are several provinces where children are still being employed in large numbers in factories. The following table shows the amount of child labour and the provinces where it is still high.

Extent of Child Labour in 1937

Province	Average daily number employed		
	Adolescents	Children	Total
Assam	3,916	1,141	5,057
Madras	9,374	5,509	14,883
Bombay	4,085	466	4,551
Bengal	10,376	1,536	11,912
U. P.	1,282	527	1,809
Punjab	2,146	724	2,870

Whether the above figures tell the whole story or not, it is at any rate clear that child labour is still high in the industrialized provinces. In the face of this situation, it is interesting to note the progress made in the mining industry. Mining on a large scale was a comparatively late development; hence Indian mining legislation has developed independently of the Indian Factories Act. At the earlier stages of the industry, children formed no inconsiderable proportion of the mining labour force. In 1901 there were as many as 5,147 children under 12 years of age, or 4.9 per cent of the total workers, employed in mines.

The fact that mining work, especially underground, is particularly hard and strenuous and in the case of children injurious to health, safety and morals, made it imperative to provide the child worker legal protection. To meet this need, the first Indian Mines Act, which was passed in 1901, defined a 'child' as a person under 12 years of age, and granted power to the Chief Inspector to prohibit the employment of children where the conditions in his opinion were dangerous to their health and safety. All the same, the provisions of the Act, relating to the employment of children, were defective, for during the 20 years of its operation, conditions of child labour showed little improvement—3.4 per cent of the total mining workers in 1921 still being children under 12 years of age.

In 1923 a new Act was passed, and it came into effect on 1st July 1924. It amended the definition of "child" to mean any person under the age of 13 years, and prohibited the employment of children in a mine and their presence in any part of a mine which was below ground. Even then the number of children employed in mines was 6,381, or 2.5 per cent of the total. But within a couple of years this Act became completely effective with reference to the employment of children. The Indian Mines (Amendment) Act of 1935 raised further the minimum age of admission of children to employment in mines from 13 to 15 years, and adolescents, between the ages of 15 and 17, could be employed underground only when they had been duly certified by qualified surgeons to be physically fit for the work. The Act also requires that certificate of fitness should be in the custody of the manager of the mine, and that the certified person should carry a token of such certificate while at work. Strict enforcement of the law has practically eliminated the employment of children in mines. No person under 15 years of age may now be employed in mines, and this is one of the most striking features of the labour situation in the mining industry.

. As labour legislation stands today, no child between 12 and 15 years of age may be employed in factories for more than half the time fixed for adults. No child under 15 years may be employed in mines. Moreover, a new class of

protected young persons, or adolescents between 15 and 17, has also been brought under legal restriction : they may not be employed as adults, or on underground work in mines, unless their physical fitness for the work has been duly certified by a qualified physician. The system of factory inspection has been improved, powers of local governments in the administration of labour legislation have been greatly increased and conditions of industrial labour have to a larger extent been brought under legal control.

Children in Unregulated Factories. In spite of the advance made in labour legislation, we must bear in mind the fact that those working children who do not come within its protective influence, constitute by far the greater majority. India is not only a country which is mainly rural, but also a land of small industries run without machinery or power and employing a small number of workers. To a large extent these small factories are outside the control of legislation and are known as "unregulated" factories. In British India alone there are some 2,000 smaller factories using power and 1,000 others which do not use power. Most of them have not been brought under legislative control either because they do not use power, or because the number of workers employed is less than 10 or 20. In them conditions of work are appalling.

Among these unregulated industries are included tanning, bidi making, carpet manufacture, wool cleaning, mica, shellac factories, manufacture of matches and a host of others. Most of these are set up in tenements or in old buildings where working conditions are shocking. After a thorough investigation of the small tanneries, the Royal Commission made the following observation : •. "We were struck by the lack of adequate sanitary arrangements which make the bulk of such places even more offensive than is inevitable from the nature of the industry. Adequate drainage is absent and often the whole earth space, spread over a wide area, is littered with heaps of evil-smelling refuse and sodden with pools of filthy water." And the workers have to eat their food in the midst of such awful surroundings. Children from 8 to 12 work long hours and often at night. For performing additional tasks, such as water carrying, they are given merely two cloths per year. Verily, the child as a beast of transportation is cheaper than the ass !

Conditions in the bidi factories are not any better. "Many of these places are small, airless boxes, without any windows, where the workers are crowded so thickly that there is barely room to squeeze between. Others are dark semi-basements with damp mud floors, unsuitable for manufacturing processes, particularly in an industry where workers squat on the floor throughout the working day." It is the general practice in these factories to give preference to little children as their supple fingers are best adapted for rolling the dry

leaves into bidis.¹ Little children, even as young as 5 or 6 years of age, work from 10 to 12 hours without a weekly rest day. Sometimes they are contracted out by the parents or guardians at so much a month in return for a loan. So also in the carpet factories at Amritsar, where a considerable number of children under 12 years of age are employed, the labour of children is often pledged.

The practice of mortgaging the labour of children is widespread in some parts of India, and "this system", declared the Royal Commission, "is indefensible; it is worse than the system of indentured labour, for the indentured labourer is, when he enters on the contract, a free agent while the child is not. The State would be justified in adopting strong measures to eradicate this evil." As a result of their recommendation, the Children (Pledging of Labour) Act was passed in 1933. In virtue of this Act any agreement to pledge the labour of a child under 15 is void. Parents or guardians making an agreement to pledge a child are liable to punishment with fine which may extend to Rs. 50, and employers taking part in the pledging or employing children whose labour has been pledged, may be punished with fine which may extend to Rs. 200. Though the Act is there, little attempt has yet been made to enforce the law; so the practice of mortgaging the labour of children still goes unnoticed. And, strange as it may seem, the Government of India has not so far issued a single report on its working during the seven years it has been on the statute-book.

About 30 per cent of the workers in mica factories are children, and yet this industry is almost entirely outside of legislative control. Little children between 6 and 10 years of age are employed, without examination to ascertain their age or physical fitness, in splitting mica and sometimes also on cutting. In the Punjab, children from 8 years are employed in wool-cleaning, which is a foul process. Children inhale the air filled with powdered dust and their faces become covered with wool fluff and germ-laden dust. In shellac factories children form ten per cent of the total workers, and they are exposed to excessive heat which cannot but be harmful, especially to children. Apart from such shocking working conditions in these unregulated factories, children are asked in some cases to take work home after factory hours. Similarly, toy-making, paper flower making and such other small industries call on little hands, and not infrequently additional work is given to be done at home. The result is over-work, ill-health, eye strain. Through this form of home work, the employer secures cheap labour which is also free from all factory regulations.

In order to prevent such exploitation of children, the C. P. Government have utilized the power conferred on them to bring smaller establishments,

¹ A detailed account of conditions in Bombay bidi factories is found in Mr. W. Singh's article, "Child Labour in Bombay Bidi Factories", in this issue of the *Journal*.

employing a minimum of 10 persons, under legal control. The C. P. Un-regulated Factories Act was passed in 1937. Among other things, this Act seeks to regulate the labour of children in shellac manufacture, bidi making and leather tanning. No child under 10 may now be employed in these factories, and children between 10 and 14 must produce certificates of physical fitness by a certifying surgeon for admission to employment. The hours of work for children are limited to 7 in the day, and must fall between 8 a.m. to 12 noon and 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. Overtime, home work and double employment are prohibited in the case of children.

Because of the serious difficulties of finance and enforcement involved, no legislative action has yet been taken by the Government of India to implement the Labour Commission's recommendation that a separate Act should be passed to improve working conditions in the small factories. But it passed an Act in 1938, the Employment of Children's Act, to prevent children under 15 years of age from being employed in any occupation connected with railway transport and the handling of goods. By an Amending Act passed in 1939, the employment of children under 12 years of age is prohibited in any workshop connected with bidi making, carpet weaving, cement manufacture, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, manufacture of matches, explosives and fireworks, mica cutting and splitting, shellac manufacture, tanning and wool cleaning. Provincial Governments are empowered to include any others in which the employment of children under 12 years of age should be prohibited. Because of some serious practical difficulties involved, it will take a few years to apply the Act effectively to these small factories.

• *The Unprotected Child Worker.* If the conditions of employment of children in regulated industries are as bad as they are, it is needless to point out how much worse conditions of work must be in non-industrial occupations where the child worker has not even the little protection that is now being provided for the factory child in small industries. The non-industrial occupations in which a large number of children are engaged include street trades, domestic and restaurant service, and work in theatres and other commercial establishments. Many children are employed in street trades such as newspaper selling, shoe shining, peddling and so on. We take their presence for granted, and yet these forms of labour expose children to most serious physical and moral dangers. Long hours, exposure to all sorts of weather, irregular and unwholesome meals, the rush and excitement of the street—all combine in causing ailments such as heart disease, lung affection, foot troubles and stomach disorders in children who are constitutionally weak.

This is not all. Street trades expose boys and girls to grave moral dangers. They are often obliged to do business in localities where vice

predominates. In blighted areas, such vices as prostitution, drug-smuggling, gambling, drunkenness are all too common and young working children come under their sinister influences. Furthermore, in the course of their daily street work, they form bad adult associations. These companions of questionable character gradually lead many a young boy or girl into a career of delinquency and crime by first teaching him or her to steal, cheat, beg, fight, gamble and commit other petty offences.

We may now turn our attention to the problems arising out of the employment of children as servants in cheap hotels², and in families. Young children are engaged as servants also by brothel keepers and by groups of womenless men living together in small clubs. The child employed as a servant begins work as early as five in the morning and works till late at night. In addition to the manifold services rendered by the child, this form of labour covers in some cases a multitude of sins. Not infrequently these children are used for immoral purposes. Boys are often introduced to perverted sex habits by homosexual adults. Some of them brought from such surroundings to the Children's Home at Umarkhadi were found to suffer from venereal diseases contracted through such practice. Similarly, girls engaged as domestic servants are also exposed to sex delinquency as they work till late at night and are left, being helpless and friendless, to the mercy of unscrupulous adult males in the home.

Though street trades are physically and morally dangerous to young children, no steps have yet been taken to regulate child labour in such occupations. In the United States, there are twenty-one States which have laws regulating street trades; it is hoped that ultimately street-trading by children will be abolished entirely. This has already been done to a large extent in European cities. Only last year a Bill was introduced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, known as the Bombay Shops Bill, for the purpose of regulating the conditions of work in shops and commercial establishments, including pedhis, restaurants and theatres. One of its clauses states that no child under the age of 12 shall be employed, unless actually working at the time the Bill becomes a law, and then shall only be employed for a maximum of 6 hours a day. The hours in the case of young persons between the ages of 13 and 17 will be restricted to 8 per day, and this only between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. This Bill will soon pass into law, but it is a matter for regret that, in so far as it covers child labour, it cannot be applied to domestic service and street trades, though these are hazardous occupations for children and only restrictive legislation can protect them.

² See Mr. G. A. Limaye's account of his investigation of child labour in Bombay tea shops in this issue of the *Journal*.

Effects of Child Labour. The evil effects of child labour both in industrial and non-industrial pursuits are, indeed, many and formidable. But the employer looks at the working child only from the point of view of cheap labour and profits. The humanitarian or the reformer, on the other hand, considers the child labourer from the angle of human values. How much, he asks, will premature labour harm the working child? The evil of child labour is essentially the evil of premature exploitation. The resources which should endow manhood are wastefully used up in childhood before they are fully developed. Premature employment of children hampers their intellectual growth, lowers their industrial capacity and decreases their social efficiency. Working men with proper school training are much more efficient as workers. The efficiency of German industry is ascribed among other things to the superior educational training of the German people. Likewise, the efficiency of the American worker is due more or less to the same cause.

But our workers are notoriously illiterate and ignorant. "In India", remarks the Royal Commission, "nearly the whole mass of industrial labour is illiterate, a state of affairs which is unknown in any other country of industrial importance. It is almost impossible to over-estimate the consequences of this disability, which are obvious in wages, in health, in productivity, in organization and in several other directions." Since efficiency in modern machine industry depends on proper educational training, the schooling of industrial labour should receive special attention. We can increase the efficiency of our workers, not by making children work in factories during that period of their life which is the best for instruction, but by keeping them out of factories, and providing them adequate facilities for schooling and vocational training. But child labour keeps children out of schools, deprives them of vocational training and forces them into the ranks of unskilled workers or into blind-alley jobs, thus condemning them to low wages throughout their working life; it undercuts adult labour, reduces wages and increases adult unemployment. It is, therefore, economically unsound.

The physical consequences of child labour are no less serious. Different kinds of work affect the development of children in different ways. Nevertheless, it can scarcely be denied that occupations, involving long hours of work, night employment, continuous standing, sitting or use of a single set of muscles, indoor confinement in noisy factories, exposure to dust, fumes and heat, carrying heavy loads under the arm, lifting heavy weights, contact with industrial poisons, exposure to inclement weather, are not only unsuited but harmful to the normal development of the child. Physicians who have examined working children have frequently attributed their physical and health conditions—especially partial deformities—to the nature of their work. Several

American studies disclose not only causation but aggravation of defects and ailments. A study of the health of 412 working boys and girls in the Continuation Schools of New York City showed that only 18 out of that number were without some serious deficiency or impairment, while three-fourths of the total number had two or more deviations from normal development and health. No less than 49 per cent were doing work which directly aggravated these defects and abnormalities, such as bad posture, flat feet, cardiac weakness and defects, throat or lung affections and nervous difficulties.

Such studies reveal that defects and ailments are common in working children, that in many cases they are caused by the work performed or its environment, that in probably the larger proportion of cases the abnormal conditions are aggravated, and that neglect of these conditions is likely to bring disastrous results. These findings are not surprising, for the body of the child being tender and delicate, unfavourable conditions make it liable to injury and permanent deformity. Moreover, children between the ages of 12 and 17 undergo considerable physiological changes in the process of attaining puberty, and they need nourishing food, enough rest and proper care.

During this critical period, certain conditions of work, if the children are employed, stunt their growth permanently; over-strain may cause irreparable injury to the heart, arms and legs. Girls at this stage are peculiarly susceptible to the bad effects of over-strain, and may become victims of pelvic disorders which may interfere later with their capacity for maternity. Fatigue, especially cumulative fatigue, which lowers the psycho-physical tone and heightens suggestibility, is an important factor in the development of neurotic tendencies in working children. Moreover, children, being generally playful, careless and lacking in maturity of judgment, are more subject to accidents, and fatigue increases also this predisposition to accidents.

But the evil effects of child labour do not end here. Certain kinds of juvenile employment are demoralizing, as has already been pointed out in reference to street trades and domestic service. But labour in itself is not demoralizing. Its cause must therefore be thought of largely in terms of repression, contacts and associations. Repression of the normal impulses, desires and drives of children at work causes them to "break loose" from restraint in their hours of freedom, seeking to have a good time or to exalt their submerged or humiliated selves. Delinquency, as a phase of adolescent instability, is at once a revolt from monotony and restraint, and an exaggerated drive in the direction of amusement, adventure and recognition. Such children are often exposed to pernicious contacts which deaden their moral sensibilities, and develop in them undesirable social attitudes. Since they are responsive to suggestions, vicious adults easily lead them astray. Through

their influence, children acquire habits and ways of behaviour that lead inevitably to their undoing.

Our Outlook. If gainful occupations involve such hazards, why, one may ask, do boys and girls undertake such work? Children work because poverty drives them to do so. Children of the well-to-do classes seldom work for wages. The family, when it is unable to maintain itself above the dependency level, without supplementing its income, makes its children work for wages outside the home. Child labour, therefore, is due largely to economic necessity. But this need is met by society's ever increasing demand for cheap labour. It must also be pointed out that the public, though it does not promote child labour directly, bears a share of the responsibility in that it has been, and still is, apathetic to the problems raised by the employment of children.

Boys and girls of today are the citizens of tomorrow. Therefore any type of work which hampers their intellectual growth, lowers their economic efficiency, decreases their social competence, deprives them of play and recreation and exposes them to moral hazards is a menace to the child in particular and to social progress in general. Since parents of working children are ignorant and illiterate, exceedingly poor and too often heavily indebted, it is natural that the rights of childhood should make no appeal to them comparable to that of the child's earning capacity, however small. In their case, as in the case of employers, there seems to be no course open but that of compulsion by means of legislation. Therefore it is necessary for the State to use compulsion, considering children as its wards, to free them from labour which interferes with their personal development, and provide them with facilities for the full enjoyment of the rights of their childhood.

In spite of all its defects and shortcomings, labour legislation has, it must be admitted, already improved the working conditions of children and raised the minimum age of employment, thus reducing the amount of child labour in regulated industries. In view of the results achieved, why should we not now extend such restrictions to all factories and non-industrial occupations which have not yet been brought under legislative control? Difficulties, no doubt, there are, but they must be surmounted in the interest of these helpless little children who are made to toil like slaves for a mere pittance. Children must be protected also from industrial home work; no child who has been employed during the day in factory or workshop should be allowed to work overtime or take work home after working hours. Similarly, boys and girls must be protected from the pernicious influences of street trades, hotel, domestic and other forms of commercial services.

After all is said and done, the restriction of child labour, it must be borne in mind, is only one aspect, and that the negative aspect, of the whole problem

of child welfare. Nevertheless, it is a step in the direction of ultimate elimination of child labour. Historically, it developed out of the conception of child labour as pertaining to very young children engaged primarily and almost exclusively in factories and mines in which they were exposed to physical and moral dangers. This conception still persists, though the recent contributions of child psychology and other sciences have led to a better understanding of the child and his nature, and to a broader interpretation of child labour and its evils. The modern conception of juvenile employment begins with the child himself and his needs, both present and future. Every child labourer is a child first and foremost with all the needs of other children. He needs opportunity for growth, not only physical, but mental and social, through all the activities and experiences which properly belong to childhood.

Since taking the child out of his employment and turning him loose on the street is worse than useless, it is necessary to take steps, side by side with restrictive measures, to equalise opportunities for educational achievement, vocational training and guidance, and physical fitness in order to ensure an all-sided development of the child. From this point of view, compulsory education, if meant to equalize opportunities, would be good labour legislation, for it would not only provide facilities for utilizing the enhanced age-limit, but also prevent the employment of under-age children. If the movement to prevent child labour is taken up seriously, it would stimulate the movements for more and better schools, for higher standards of compulsory school attendance, for vocational training and for better recreation and more children's playgrounds.

Further, the problem of child labour cannot be treated as a problem by itself. Neither can it be solved separately and apart from other problems of child and social welfare. Therefore a programme of child labour prevention must include not only restrictive legislation, educational facilities, vocational guidance and the like but also measures for the relief of dependency, the reduction of poverty, unemployment and other forms of social insurance. Thus child labour reform becomes naturally committed to broad policies of educational and economic reform, dealing with the manifold problems of adult as well as child welfare. The forces which drive the child into premature employment could be modified or transformed to a large extent by society if it would only decide to exert pressure. Child labour exists because the community as a whole tolerates it. To eliminate child labour, the community should demand such a reorganization of our industrial and social processes as would make child labour unnecessary and unprofitable.

A STUDY OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY BOYS EMPLOYED IN HOTELS IN BOMBAY

G. A. LIMAYE

In carrying out his duties as a Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay. Mr. Limaye (*Tata School 1940*) came across many cases of the exploitation of children by the proprietors of Bombay hotels. His interest in the plight of these children led him to make a more extensive study of the subject, the results of which are embodied in this paper.

AT a time when the social conscience is becoming more sensitive, one of the pressing social problems which demands attention is the welfare of juvenile workers in hotels--children who are completely neglected by their guardians and are well exploited by their employers. A thorough enquiry into their work and living conditions is overdue and drastic legislation is called for.

The comparatively tame life in villages prompts many adventurous young boys to migrate to Bombay in search of a more glamorous life. When they find that the great city is not so rosy as they had imagined it to be, they reconcile themselves to the hard realities of the situation and look for work. Since a hotel happens to be one of the few places where unskilled child labour is welcome, it is but natural that a number of these children should find hotel employment.

In my study of 250 juveniles between the ages of 7 and 14, who were working in hotels, I came across cases of diverse interest. The tale of Ganpat Shankar is a biography representative of many of the boys in that profession. He was the son of a farmer, residing near Bombay, who had a large family of eight members to support and was deeply in debt. Ganpat tended the cattle the whole day and when he returned home was the victim of cruel treatment at the hands of a step-mother who ruled the household. Quarrels, abuse and skirmishes were a daily feature of his home-life.

Ganpat and his fellow cattle-boys, whose family conditions were little happier, had heard much of the happy and easy life of Bombay. Accordingly he and four others conspired to run away to Bombay. When they arrived in the city Ganpat was only 11 years old. To the boys' dismay they found it hard to get food and shelter. They took to begging during the day and slept on the foot-path during the night. After a few days of this life, Ganpat found work in a hotel, through the friendly aid of a coolie. He was to get no regular wages for the first three months, but was to be given only his food and a place to lie down at night.

Ganpat had no alternative but to accept. He started working at 5-30 in the morning and continued until 9-30 at night, with only a short interval of 30 minutes for meals. Early in the morning he was given a cup of tea and some bhajiyas, or a loaf of bread, for his breakfast. At 1 p.m. he had his mid-day meal, consisting of some stale and coarse food. After the night meal he was free and so he took to night-wandering in the company of unworthy friends. They loafed about till midnight or later, visiting places of ill-repute, cycling on hired cycles, or going to see tamashas—a crude form of musical play. Thus three months passed. At the end of the fourth month Ganpat was given Rs. 3/-. With some money in his pocket he grew careless and quit work.

When his money was exhausted, he secured employment in another hotel on similar terms. He led the same type of life there also. But within a month's time an elderly employee of the hotel tried to commit an unnatural offence against him. Ganpat protested at first, but was soon won over and it was not long before he practised the same offence on boys younger than himself. Gradually he took to other evil habits. Heavy work, inferior food and bad habits combined to make a complete wreck of him. He soon fell ill and was moved to the hospital. He was discharged within a month and instead of returning to his work wended his way back to his native village, only to find an indifferent father, a cruel step-mother and an unsympathetic community. After a few weeks' struggle there, he returned to Bombay and again took up work in a hotel, on condition that he would work without wages for a month and receive only food and lodging.

The story of Ganpat is the story of Rama, of Shankar and of others.

Causes of migration. The main cause for the migration of up-country juveniles is the poverty of their parents. In some cases poverty drives the whole family to cities like Bombay. Thus 81 out of 250 children studied, came down to Bombay with both their parents or with one of them. Other parents, desirous of improving the family income, send their children to the cities alone, or in the company of relatives or co-villagers. But only 162 out of 250 children were found to contribute to the family purse. In other words a considerable number of village parents are denying their children education and sacrificing their health and their morals and receiving no financial gain in return.

At times it is an increase in the family number that compels some of the members to migrate for work in Bombay. It is not uncommon to find children as young as 9 and 10 being sent to the city, in the hope that they may at least eke out their own living, thus making less mouths to feed at home.

In one hotel I found four Marwari children who had been brought to Bombay by a Marwari employer, hailing from the same village. Their parents

had entered into a contract with the Marwari whereby they were paid Rs. 50/- and the children were to work for a year in the hotel. The children got only six pies per day, along with food and lodging. A blatant example of exploitation of children for the benefit of the family.

A large number of children are duped by false and exaggerated reports of the life in Bombay furnished by boys who have once visited the city. Even elders indulge in this folly unwittingly. Recently there was the case of a boy who was arrested for theft in a hotel and was sent to his village by the Juvenile Court. A short time later the police detained four lads found wandering on the streets of Bombay, who on enquiry were discovered to be from the same village as the first boy and who had come to Bombay because of his tall tales of the glamorous life of the city.

In other cases hotel proprietors dupe ignorant villagers and by verbal contracts secure children to work in their hotels in Bombay. The father is paid a certain amount and the son is to serve in return. In some cases this is a well-organized business and agents are employed by the employers to lure children away from the villages. The rigours of the contract are felt only when it is too late to mend.

Ill treatment at home at the hands of drunken fathers and cruel step-mothers are other factors which drive children to hotels in search of peace and shelter. It is these children who are a ready prey to the scheming hotel employers, but they soon learn to their own sorrow that they have jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

A fair proportion of hotel boys are destitutes. Early in life they became orphans and were left to shift for themselves. Very often when a father dies the boy is left with a mother and some younger brothers and sisters. Since the mother is unable to support the family, the boy takes to begging, or wends his way to Bombay and stumbles into a hotel job. That solves at least the problem of his own food and shelter.

Illiteracy and lack of facilities for literacy in villages, is a contributory factor in the migration of children to cities. There are some illiterate parents who do not see the necessity of educating their children; there are others who want to, but cannot, as there is not even a primary school in their village. The ignorance of both parents and children gives the wily employer a very distinct advantage as he seeks to trap them into service on his own terms.

The unskilled nature of hotel work is responsible for attracting a large number of children into it. The needs of the employer and that of the helpless juvenile often coincide and so it is not difficult to strike a bargain.

Life in hotels. The food given to hotel boys is not nourishing. It is often stale and very monotonous. Early in the morning they are given a cup

of tea with one or two slices of stale bread. The mid-day meal consists of rice, dal, vegetables and sometimes 'roties'. The food at night is similar to that at noon.* A boy will find his employer rather generous as regards his food, both in its variety and quantity, during the first few days of his employment; but very soon this generosity fades and bad food and lesser quantity become the order of the day. A look into the place where the boy's food is cooked and served and at the dirty cooks who prepare it, will make any decent man shudder.

The Municipal Licence states clearly that there shall be a separate room for workers to sleep in and that the place used for cooking and serving food shall not be used for sleeping. It also makes it obligatory upon the employer to provide every worker with 25 feet of superficial area and 250 cubic feet of air space. But most of the hotels violate this regulation. It is true that there is a room set apart for sleeping. But it is too small to accommodate all of the workers and so the boys find it more comfortable to sleep on the footpath in front of the hotel. This is sometimes preferred as it allows ample freedom for the boys to wander at night, following their day's work.

It is a common sight in hotels to see boys clad in shabby and dirty clothes. If the contract provides that the employer shall clothe them, it is safe to say that they receive insufficient clothing. With a limited supply of clothes, the boys naturally prefer to be dirty when on duty and reserve their cleaner clothes for the off-duty period. If they have to provide their own clothes they cannot afford to be clean. In neither case does the employer insist on clean dressing while on duty. In the rainy season the employers provide boys who carry food outside the hotel with a water-proof cap and a small rain coat.

Every boy arranges for his own bedding, which usually consists of a blanket, a small pillow and a 'dari' or a mat to sleep on.

Hours of work. Out of 250 cases that were investigated it was found that no less than 126 boys were compelled to work for over 15 hours a day. Even juveniles of 7 years are made to work from 10 to 17 hours a day. Though the Municipal regulation requires the proprietors to close the hotels at 12:30 in the night, the boys have to work for at least an hour after the doors are closed. Thus they usually begin work at 5 in the morning and work till about 1 in the night. The only rest they get, if rest it can be called, is for eating. In most cases this period does not exceed half an hour. In the best of conditions the maximum rest period does not exceed two hours between 5 in the morning and 1 in the night.

The question of leave with wages is entirely out of the scope of hotel employment. The boys can have a day or two off in a month. But their wages are cut accordingly at the end of the month. Usually they have to work

every day of the week and the whole year round. If a boy asks for a week's leave to visit his village he may be granted the request, but without pay and without promise of re-employment on his return. This practice causes a frequent labour turnover in the hotels.

The existing state of affairs, as regards rest and leave, leaves much to be desired and it is the duty of the State to intervene and make it obligatory upon the hotel proprietors to allow a few holidays and at least a short period of leave with wages to those who have worked for a reasonable length of time.

The treatment afforded to these boys by employers, customers and even co-workers is far from satisfactory. The employers being fully conscious of the circumstances in which the boys seek employment, exploit the situation fully to the utter disadvantage of the boys. They feel they are being most generous in offering these lads food and shelter. Threat of fines, dismissal and a volley of abuses are always forthcoming at the slightest mistake by the boy, howsoever young he may be. In certain cases boys are even thrashed for petty faults. In extreme cases they are dismissed, without payment of wages. In a recent reported case a boy was not only dismissed without paying his wages, but the Rs. 80 which he had deposited with the proprietor was forfeited. It was only through the Hotel Workers' Union that he was able to recover his wages and belongings. The majority of hotel boys so treated do not have the education or the knowledge to appeal to any such body for help. They can only suffer in silence. The case of young children of 8 or 9 is still more helpless.

Customers are generally abrupt and inconsiderate in their dealings with the boys. Boys serving people outside the hotels suffer particularly, as they are very often detained too long a period and dare not protest. Nevertheless the employer holds the boy responsible for the loss of time. In many cases customers refuse to pay, or postpone payment, but the boy is held responsible for the money and if it is not forthcoming it is recovered from his pay.

The influence of older workers in the hotel on these lads is more often than not unhealthy. They either bully them into doing their work for them or initiate them into evil habits or use them for the gratification of their baser desires.

Terms of employment. When a juvenile is employed, circumstances are usually in favour of the employer. Hence the contract is always verbal and one-sided. In almost all cases the applicant is taken up on condition that he will work as an apprentice, without regular wages, for a month or two. During this period he is given only food and lodging. In addition he receives about half an anna per day for pocket expenses, which include the cost of bidis, pan and soap. Only when a boy goes through this period of apprenticeship does

the question of regular wages arise. Usually the initial regular wages are about Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- per month.

The question of increment depends entirely upon the individual employer. There are no standard rules regarding the time or rate of increment. The absence of any regular grade sometimes induces a boy to go from one hotel to another for an additional rupee or even less.

Wages are usually paid according to the convenience of the employer. In only three or four of the 75 hotels studied was there any certainty regarding the day of payment. Neither are all the employees in one establishment paid on the same day. In most hotels no regular accounts are maintained and the entire transaction, as in the case of the original contract, rests upon faith and goodwill. Not infrequently the absence of accounts is misused both by the employer and the employee.

There is a second kind of a contract by which the boys work on regular monthly wages, but without food and shelter. Their scale of pay is generally higher than that of the other group. As these boys go home for their food their condition is slightly better as regards the period of rest. Their life is also more regulated, as they are under the control of their guardians. But such workers are very few as compared to the majority of those who board and lodge in the hotel itself.

There is yet another class of hotel workers, who agree to work on a commission basis. Though there is no definite contract as regards the period of work each day, almost all such boys work for about 15 hours a day. This type of contract is more prevalent among Muslim and Irani hotels. Hindu hotel keepers usually employ their workers under either of the first two types of contracts. The rate at which the commission is allowed varies in proportion to the actual sales of the day. Roughly speaking the approximate earnings of such workers is from Rs. 8/- to Rs. 15/- per month. They get tea and light refreshments in addition to the commission and as for lodging they can either stay in the hotels or in their own homes.

To give a more accurate idea of the rate of wages for the first two types of workers the following figures are given :

Among those who were working for food and wages it was found that—

16 boys got no wages.

5 boys were paid Rs. 2/- per month.

31 boys were paid Rs. 3/- per month.

1 boy was paid Rs. 3/8/- per month.

85 boys were paid Rs. 4/- per month.

4 boys were paid Rs. 4/8/- per month

50 boys were paid Rs. 5/- per month.

- 1 boy was paid Rs. 5/8/- per month.
- 22 boys were paid Rs. 6/- per month.
- 6 boys were paid Rs. 7/- per month.
- 3 boys were paid Rs. 8/- per month.
- 1 boy was paid Rs. 10/- per month.

Among those who were working for only wages and no food it was found that—

- 1 boy was paid Rs. 8/- per month.
- 4 boys were paid Rs. 10/- per month.
- 2 boys were paid Rs. 11/- per month.
- 11 boys were paid Rs. 12/- per month.
- 2 boys were paid Rs. 13/- per month.
- 2 boys were paid Rs. 14/- per month.
- 3 boys were paid Rs. 15/- per month.

Use of leisure time. The way these boys spend their free time is an interesting study. Owing to common interests and sympathies they make friends very soon. Thus every night boys of various hotels meet at a given place and make merry for several hours. It is needless to say that most of the evil habits they form and the bad language they use can be traced to bad companionship. They wander in groups in localities of ill-repute. The suggestive conversation, the filthy and obscene language, the never-to-be-forgotten sights in these localities, all go to stimulate their sex-desires and very often lead them to commit unnatural offences.

Reckless cycling on the not-too-crowded roads at nights seems to be one of their pastimes. The boys spend a reasonable sum on this type of recreation, which in itself is quite healthy.

The hotel boys are generally very faithful patrons of cheap cinema shows and 'tamashas'. It is there that the young hotel boy picks up his ideas of 'life' and it is not long before he desires to imitate these sights.

Most of the boys spend much beyond their purse on dress and are usually fond of very colourful clothes. These fine dresses are for their night excursions.

Tutored by their older companions, these juvenile workers take to gambling in American figures and at cards. Very soon they develop into habitual gamblers and resort to betting and petty speculating. In certain localities the employers are themselves interested in receiving bets and utilize the services of the young boys as secret messengers.

The unregulated life and unwholesome conditions in which the hotel boys live and work impair their health to a dangerous degree. The utter carelessness and irresponsibility of these children in respect to their bodies,

more often than not, lead to overstrain, under-development, lack of vigour and high morbidity. It is not only their bodies that are endangered ; their mental development and attitudes are also warped. A cramped personality is as bad as a stunted physique. Yet our society looks more to the outward welfare of the boy and neglects his mental health.

The social effects of child labour are no less harmful. The conditions prevailing in hotels prevent the child from growing to his full stature, and thus deprive society of his potential contribution. Viewed from the background of poverty in the villages, undesirable home conditions, and the consequent necessity of a large number of boys taking to work in a city like Bombay, one is compelled to say that it is the responsibility of the State and the Community to save the child from the necessity of such brutal labour. In our country, at present, a very limited number of needy children are looked after by charitable institutions and by the State. The great mass are still without proper care and guidance.

Child labour and delinquency. The conditions under which the hotel boys work are ideal for the growth of delinquency. The boys come to the city in search of money, pleasure or a gay life. When they arrive here they find that none of them are to be had easily. Disgusted and disappointed, they take to other means of satisfying their cravings and very often the means adopted are contrary to social codes.

169 boys out of the 250 studied do not have any guardians in Bombay. Uncontrolled freedom, an undisciplined life, evil companionship and poverty, being the chief characteristics of child labour in hotels, the boys beg, borrow or steal, in order to fulfil their desires. In the absence of status and credit they resort to begging and stealing, both of which acts bring them to the Children's Court as delinquents.

It is high time that we called a halt to the existing state of affairs as regards juvenile work in hotels. It is an overdue social reform. The Bombay Shops and Establishments Act, 1939, passed by the Congress Government in Bombay, but which is yet to come into force, is a step in this direction. The Act defines a 'Child' as a person who has not completed his 12th year, and a 'Young Person' as one who is not a 'Child' and has not completed his 17th year. This Act provides that:

- (1) No Child shall be allowed to work in any establishment to which the Act applies.
- (2) No Young Person shall be allowed to work in any establishment, to which the Act applies, before 6 a.m. and after 7 p.m.
- (3) No Young Person shall be allowed to work in any establishment to which the Act applies for more than 42 hours in a week or for more

than 8 hours in a day. He shall not be allowed to work for more than 4 hours in any day unless he has had an interval of rest for at least half an hour.

- (4) Every person employed in a restaurant, eating house, theatre or any other place of public amusement or entertainment, shall be given at least one day in the week as holiday. No deduction in his wages can be made for any such holiday given.

I venture to submit the following suggestions for the further protection of 'Young Persons':

- (1) In order to protect the worker who is on the margin of the 12th year, employers should be required to demand an age certificate from those who appear to be between the 12th and the 14th year.
- (2) The minimum wage for a boy, employed for 8 hours daily, should be Rs. 7-8-0 per month, along with food, lodging, and sufficient clothing.
- (3) If the boy works in a given hotel for 11 months he should be entitled to get 15 days' leave with wages, and on the completion of 12 months of work, he should be given an increment of As. 8/- every year.
- (4) Hotel employers should be required to pay their employees regularly on a fixed day and to obtain proper receipts from the employees.
- (5) Proper account books should be kept by employers to enable the Government Inspectors to see that the wages are paid regularly and proper receipts obtained.
- (6) Every boy should be given medical aid by the employer, when required.
- (7) The hotel proprietors should arrange for proper rest facilities.
- (8) Both parties should be required to give 15 days' notice for terminating service.
- (9) Government and Municipal authorities should see that all the conditions on which the Licence is granted are strictly observed.

The child in the hotel cannot be saved by mere legislation. The whole-hearted co-operation of parents, employers, public bodies and individual citizens must be forthcoming. Only when the conscience of the parent, the employer and society in general is awakened to the inherent injustice of child labour, will the life and work of these children be what they ought to be.

CHILD LABOUR IN BOMBAY BIDI FACTORIES

WILFRED SINGH

Mr. Singh (*Tata School 1940*), while acting as a Probation Officer in Bombay, was entrusted with the supervision of several children, whom he found to have been employed in bidi factories. Suspecting a close relationship between employment in bidi factories and juvenile delinquency, Mr. Singh undertook a study of 163 bidi factories. The results do not bear out his original hypothesis that child workers in bidi factories have an excessively high delinquency rate, but the study does reveal a prevalent form of child-exploitation, which has within it the germs of delinquent behaviour.

THE story of the introduction of tobacco into India can only be gleaned from fragmentary references in documents. It would appear that the weed was indigenous to certain parts of the Deccan, but whether it was put to its proper use before the 16th Century is not known. The tobacco habit is said to have been introduced to the court of the Emperor Akbar about the year 1600 A. D. by a traveller named Asad Beg, who made a fortune by selling "large supplies of tobacco and pipes to the nobles and merchants".

Tobacco, as a commercial crop, seems to have been pioneered in India by the Portuguese. But whatever the history of tobacco production may be, India today ranks with China and the United States as one of the three largest tobacco-growing countries in the world.

The indigenous varieties of tobacco, grown on over a million acres in this country, give a product which is good enough for the hooka and bidi, but which is not suitable for the manufacture of high-grade cigarettes. It has only been in relatively recent years that cigarette smoking has begun to extend beyond the European population and those who have partially adopted European habits. But the cigarette, even at anna for a packet of ten, is a luxury beyond the average Indian income. The *real* India smokes its tobacco in hookas, chilums (clay pipes), and bidis. For convenience and economy the bidi is hard to beat.

To meet the demand for bidis, there were in the city of Bombay alone, 1382 bidi factories, according to the records of the Licensing Department of the Bombay Municipality in June, 1939. Every bidi factory must have a license from the Excise Department of Government and another from the Municipality. Looking down the long list of licensees, one is immediately struck by the very large number of names of women—mostly widows. The explanation is that the Corporation makes a point of issuing licenses for the manufacture of bidis to widows, cripples, the aged and infirm, and others who are not capable of earning their living by more active means.

The license is issued under certain conditions which are explicitly stated on the license. According to condition number 10, the license is to be affixed in some conspicuous part of the premises. According to condition number 11, "The Licensee shall not absent himself from the licensed premises for a period of more than 14 days consecutively unless he has obtained a license for some other person to carry on the trade in his absence." Condition number 12 states that "Should the trade be carried on more than 14 days consecutively in the absence of any licensed person the license will be revoked."

For the purpose of this study, 163 bidi factories in E and F Wards were visited between the months of July and December, 1939. In only 3 cases was I able to discover the license. In the remaining 160 factories there was some person present, who either styled himself the manager of the factory, or said he was the servant of the licensee. Invariably the story was that the licensee had gone to his village for a short holiday, or that it was his custom to inspect the factory once a day at certain unspecified hours. In no instance was the person in charge able to produce a license permitting him to carry on the trade in the absence of the actual licensee.

The usual custom, so I am told, is for the man who has money to put into the bidi manufacturing business to persuade a widow, or other handicapped person from among his relatives, to go with him to the Municipal Licensing Department to take out a license in her name. For this favour she receives thanks, and in some instances, a small monthly allowance. There are no further obligations on her part.

Having thus secured the license, the next step is to find a room in which to start business. Usually the room chosen is on the roadside and is divided up so that the front portion is used as a shop where tobacco, betelnut, snuff, matches, lottery tickets and bundles of bidis are offered for sale. The shelves and racks on which these wares are stocked surround a little opening about 2 feet \times 2 feet, which is often the only way through which light and air can reach the bidi-makers on the other side. This opening is also the spy-hole through which the manager, sitting in the shop outside, is enabled to keep a check on the movements of the bidi-makers inside. The bidis manufactured inside are brought out and stocked on the shelves and racks of the shop, from where they are sold retail. In only a few large factories are bidis made for the wholesale market.

The practice in the smaller shops is to manufacture for stock only, and to dismiss the workers when enough bidis have been made to meet the shop's requirements for a month or two. Only one or two regular workers are retained the year round. These regular employees are generally adult women. When business is good and there are rush orders to fill, extra hands are taken

on. The most of the bidi workers shift from one shop to another, as required, working from a day to two or three months in each place.

Of the 1,382 licensed bidi factories in Bombay, only 263 factories are licensed to employ 10 or more workers. The maximum number to be employed is stated on each license. Most of the factories I visited were considerably short of the maximum number which they were permitted to employ; while 27 factories were found to be very much in excess of their allowance. In some factories I found more than three times as many workers as the specified number. The explanation given was that these extra hands had been engaged only for that particular day to meet a very pressing demand for stock. What makes this condition a grave problem is the fact that the additional workers are crowded into a room much too small to accommodate them, and which was never intended to accommodate so many. The ventilation is scarcely adequate for the number of employees allowed by the license and is wholly inadequate for excess workers.

Sources of labour supply. The average Indian factory operative is an agriculturist by preference and a factory hand by necessity. Seldom does a worker completely sever his connections with his village and his small holding. In many cases he goes to the city, without his family, "to make money". Sometimes the joint family spares a few members for work in the city. But it is the agricultural slack season that sends the largest number of villagers to the city for employment.

The bidi making industry is most suitable to this type of migratory labour and in many cases is used as a stop-gap measure until work can be secured in a mill. Being a comparatively unskilled occupation, it employs the services of both adults and children.

The majority of the workers whom I interviewed were Kamatees (Padma-shalis) and Marathas (Vaishwanis). Out of 300 children studied, it was found that 161 were Kamatees, 135 Marathas, 3 Muslims and 1 Christian. And out of this number about 94 % came from the Deccan and Konkan. Ratnagiri District happens to be the most important source of supply.

Children, ranging from 6 to 16 years of age, work in the bidi factories. 17 boys, out of the 300 whom I interviewed, confessed that they had run away from their villages, and that their whereabouts were unknown to their parents. But the great majority of the children reside either with their own parents or relatives, or with co-villagers. Only 5 out of 300 children, had no fixed place of abode; while 113 lived with their parents, and 158 with relatives.

In most cases employment of these children was stated to be an economic necessity. The money-value of education is too remote for parents who need the assistance of their children to make both ends meet. A few annas in the

hand today, turn the balance against schooling. The fact that 52 children had lost their fathers and were helping their mothers, that 38 were orphans and so were either supporting themselves or their brothers and sisters, and that 78 girls were working to supplement their husbands' income, is ample proof that economic necessity does drive children to work and leads their parents to encourage such work.

Working conditions. "Every type of building is used, but small workshops preponderate and it is here that the graver problems mainly arise. Many of these places are small airless boxes, often without any windows, where the workers are crowded so thickly on the ground that there is barely room to squeeze between them. Others are dark semi-basements with damp mud floors unsuitable for manufacturing processes, particularly in an industry where workers sit or squat on the floor throughout the working day." (*Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 96.) The manufacture of bidis, as indicated above, is generally carried on in a room which is partly a shop and partly a work-room. The place where the workers sit is often so dark that they have to use electric light even during the day-time. Though the Municipal Licence forbids a person to work in a loft, it was found that 11 factories had their employees working in lofts scarcely a few feet from the roof. The lack of ventilation impairs their health, and the lack of height gives them a stoop.

The children usually start working between 11 and 12 in the morning and continue till about 7 at night, with a short interval for food. But as payment is made according to the number of bidis they make every day, the employer is not particularly concerned about the length of the rest-period. Since time is money to the employee he takes as little rest as possible. Most of the employers state that their factories work an 8 hour day, but 9 and 10 hours are not uncommon.

Every Sunday is observed as a holiday for the factories. Hindu festivals are also often observed. But the employees are not anxious to have these days off as it only means a reduction in their total wages. Some adults spend these off-days in making bidis at home. But they have to purchase their own tobacco, leaves and thread, and have the further task of trying to sell their products to their employers.

The ordinary procedure is for the worker to provide himself with the wrapping-leaves and the employer to supply tobacco and thread. Thus each employee has to invest about As. 2 to As. 6 everyday.

Of the 300 children studied, it was found that only 171 worked independently. The other 129 were assistants to adult workers. If the children are not related to the adult whom they help they are paid from As. 2 to As. 5 per 1000 bidis. If they are related, as 124 out of 129 happened to be, they do not

get any regular wages, but are given a little pocket money. The assistants, who help adults who are not related to them, are paid by the adults and not by the employer.

None of the factories seem to have any rules that the employees are required to observe. A worker may work as long as he likes and is paid in proportion to his output. Punishments and fines are non-existent, as there does not seem to be any need for them.

Children work in the same factory for periods varying from a day to six months. The native village, or the mills, or some better work-prospect, generally draws the child away inside of six months.

Though the Municipal licence forbids the presence of young babies in the places where bidis are made, one can always find tiny babies playing on the ground beside their mothers, right in the midst of the tobacco. The rooms have little ventilation and the smell of tobacco in such congested places is bad enough for the adults. For children it is abominable. Yet it is difficult to enforce the rule strictly, as the babies need the attention of their mothers, and the family budget requires the earnings of the mother.

How they are paid. In piecework-payment, the worker is paid a certain sum per unit, or piece of work completed by him, irrespective of the time taken over the completion of that unit. The worker thus tends to turn out quantity rather than quality. The usual rate of payment in Bombay ranges As. 14 to Re. 1-2-0 per thousand bidis made. But when the employer finds that the production exceeds the sales then he reduces the rate of payment. This is what happened in July 1939, in factories on Delisle Road. The workers there were being paid As. 14/- while the other workers were being paid Re. 1/-. It resulted in the first strike of bidi workers in Bombay and in the formation of the Bombay Bidi Workers Union.

Those children who work independently make anything from 500 to 1000 bidis every day. The average seems to be about 750 a day. But only in 28 cases was it found that the child got paid directly by the employer. In the other cases the children's wages were received by their parents or guardians. Most parents, however, allow the child from about 6 pies to As. 2 daily, for pocket expenses. The child is regarded as one of the bread-earners of the family.

Child Labour as a factor in delinquency. "Child Labour," says Sullenger, "is premature toil that interferes with the normal development of children. It prevents natural expression of the child's tendencies and desires and deprives him of proper opportunity for schooling, play and training for suitable work. It also interferes with the child's physical growth. When these normal rights of the child are interfered with he becomes more susceptible to the

social and moral evils that are so frequently associated with child labour. Occupation of children seems to be conducive to delinquency. Very few studies have been made in this field." Labour, however, is not in itself demoralizing. Delinquency results from causes both in the individual and outside the individual. Very often it is the contact of the child with adult fellow-workers which proves demoralizing, as he takes to habits beyond his age.

Out of 1069 cases of delinquency recorded by the Bombay Children's Aid Society in 1937, it was found that 348 were unemployed, 147 schooling, 134 begging and only 24 were bidi makers. The remainder were drawn from various other walks of life. The comparatively small number of delinquents from the bidi-making profession is the result of various factors which tend to keep the bidi-makers straight. The majority of the children have guardians in Bombay and most of them are with their guardians the whole day, as they work together. The day's toil ended, the child accompanies the guardian back to his abode. Not much chance is given him for pilfering or engaging in anti-social activities.

Yet it does not mean that conditions in this profession are so satisfactory that there is no cause for concern. The continuous work of 8 to 10 hours a day in decidedly unhealthy surroundings; the constant close supervision of both kind and unkind guardians, who do not give the children opportunity for meeting their legitimate play-interests; the constant inhaling of tobacco and foul air, cannot but produce children who will revolt against these things if the opportunity offers. It is most surprising that more delinquents are not produced by these conditions. Add also the fact that most of the children do not reap the full fruits of their labours. They work at least as long as the adults, but their wages are spent by their guardians, while they receive only paltry sums.

What then shall we do? Eradication of the evils of child-labour is possible only when there is adequate legislation and when constructive work is done to deal with the factors that are responsible for child labour.

We require a clear and explicit prohibition of the employment of all children under 12 years. This must be supplemented by the introduction of compulsory education for all children under 12 years. The educational curriculum should aim at preparing the children for efficient social and community life. If the schools interpret the social values of education to both parent and child, the child will cease to prefer labour in factories to going to school, and parents will find it more profitable to have their children in schools than to exploit them in various forms of child labour.

The Child Employment (Amendment) Act of 1939 is a helpful Act in so far as it goes, but it needs to be extended much more and include specifically

many of the evils that prevail in bidi factories. It is abundantly clear, however, that mere legislation is insufficient as long as the public conscience is immune to child suffering. The public has to be educated to the evils of child labour through all the means at our disposal. With the co-operation of Government, parents, employers and the public we may expect positive results.

THE BOMBAY CHILDREN ACT:
ITS PROVISIONS AND PROCEDURE UNDER THE ACT
IN THE CITY OF BOMBAY

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

The Bombay Children Act is being discussed at considerable length because it is typical of the three Children Acts now in operation in India—in Bombay, Madras and Bengal. The Central Provinces have an Act following closely on the Bombay model, but it has not yet been put into operation. The strengths and weaknesses of the Bombay Act are the strengths and weaknesses of legislation for children in India.

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THE first legislative attempt in India to deal with destitute and delinquent children appears to have been the Apprentices Act, XIX of 1850.

Although the major purpose of the Act was to regulate the relations between employers and apprentices, it was also provided that magistrates might bind children between the ages of 10 and 18, who had been guilty of petty offences, or were destitute, as apprentices.

The Reformatory Schools Act, VIII of 1897, an all-India measure replacing an earlier Act of 1876, deals with delinquent boys under 16 years of ~~age~~ in the Bombay Presidency and under 15 years elsewhere. The Act permits the establishment of Reformatory Schools where youthful offenders may in the discretion of the Court, be detained from two to seven years instead of undergoing a term of imprisonment. No boy over 18 is to be detained in such a School, and boys over 14 may, if suitable employment is found, be released on license. The Superintendent of the Reformatory School is charged with the responsibility of seeing that the conditions of license are properly observed.

It will be noted that the Act, while representing an advance by providing an alternative to imprisonment for delinquent boys, makes no provision for dealing effectively with girls.¹

It was not until 1917 that any concerted action was taken in Bombay to deal with the problem of delinquent and dependent children. In his annual Report of the Bombay Jail Department for the year 1914, Colonel J. Jackson, the Inspector-General of Prisons, deplored the apathy of the public toward the welfare of young offenders. The subject was taken up by the *Times of India* in a leading article, which was followed by a letter in the *Times* on 13th April 1915, by Mr. R. P. Masani, who wrote under the

¹ *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Care of Destitute Children and Young Offenders*, 1933, pp. 4-5.

caption, "Child Protection, Bombay the Backward."

From this point forward the matter was discussed in the press and on public platforms, resulting at length in the formation of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, in January 1917.

Immediately after the establishment of the Society, a sub-committee was appointed to consider the question of sending a representation to Government for comprehensive legislation for the protection of children, and a memorandum was submitted to Government on 28th February 1918.

But six years elapsed before the machinery of Government finally got in motion and it was not until 1924 that the Bombay Children Act was enacted, and 1927 when it was finally put into operation.² The Act in the first instance was applied only to the city of Bombay, but it is gradually being extended throughout the Province. In March, 1939, the Act was in full operation in seven mofussil towns.

Bombay Act No. XIII of 1924 (The Bombay Children Act 1924), as modified up to the 31st December 1937³, provides measures for the custody and protection of children; for dealing with offences against children and their prevention; and for dealing with youthful offenders. The Act defines a "child" as a person under sixteen years of age and applies to both boys and girls.

The machinery through which the Act operates includes special juvenile courts for the hearing and disposition of cases, remand homes for purposes of detention, and certified schools which can be used as places of commitment.

The major part of the Act is concerned with protective and preventive measures. Part I deals with preliminary matters and definitions. Part II considers *Measures for the Custody and Protection of Children*.

Any Child who is (a) found homeless or without visible means of subsistence; (b) found destitute and his parent or guardian is undergoing transportation or imprisonment; (c) under the care of a person, who by reason of his habits is unfit to have charge of the child; (d) frequenting the company of a reputed thief or prostitute; (e) lodging in a house used by a prostitute for purposes of prostitution; (f) otherwise likely to be exposed to moral danger or enter into a life of crime, may be brought before a competent court by a police-officer or other authorized person.

If the court is satisfied that the person detained is a child and that it is expedient thus to deal with him, it may order him to be sent to a certified school or committed to the care of a relative or other fit person named by the

² "Twenty Years of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India," by R. P. Masani, in Manshardt, Clifford, *The Child in India*.

³. Obtainable from the Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Bombay.

court, who is willing to undertake such responsibility, until the child attains the age of eighteen years, or for a shorter period.

The court may require such relative, or other fit person, to execute a bond, with or without sureties, to be responsible for the good behaviour of the child and for the observance of such other conditions as the court may impose for securing that the child may lead an honest and industrious life.

The court may further, in committing a child to the care of a relative or other fit person, order that the child be placed under the supervision of a probation officer or other person named by the court.

If the magistrate deems it advisable, he may allow the child to remain in the custody of a parent or guardian, provided that the child is placed under the supervision of a probation officer or other person named by the court, and that the parent or guardian agrees to the conditions of probation imposed by the court.

A certified school, as referred to above, may be an industrial school established and maintained by the Provincial Government for the reception of children and youthful offenders, or it may be any industrial school or other educational institution certified by the Provincial Government as fit for the reception of children or youthful offenders.

Such a school must submit to regular inspection, and the Provincial Government may, if dissatisfied with conditions in the school or with its management, withdraw the certificate of the school. The management of a certified school has on its side the right to resign its certificate, providing six months' notice is given in writing to the Provincial Government.

A "fit person" as referred to above, "includes any society or body corporate established for the reception or protection of poor children or the prevention of cruelty to children which undertakes to bring up or to give facilities for bringing up any child entrusted to its care in conformity with the religion of its birth."

If a parent or guardian of a child proves to the court that he is unable to control the child, and requests that the child be sent to a certified school, the court may so dispose of the case, but the parent or guardian must first be made to understand the full implications of such commitment.

Part III of the Act is devoted to *Offences against Children and their Prevention*. It provides for the punishment of adults who offend against children and for the care of children who have been the victims of adult offenders.

Whoever being in charge of a child, wilfully neglects or ill-treats such child, so that the child is caused unnecessary suffering or injury to his health, is subject to imprisonment or fine or both.

Whoever for his own profit causes or allows a child to beg is subject to punishment.

If a person having the charge of a child under seven years of age is found so drunk in any highway or public place that he is incapable of taking due care of the child, he may be arrested and fined.

The person who gives, or causes to be given, to any child in any highway or other public place, any intoxicating liquor, may be punished with a fine.

It is the duty of a police officer to seize any bidis, cigarettes, tobacco or smoking mixture which he finds in the possession of a child smoking in any street or public place. Such officer has the right to search a boy found smoking, but not a girl.

Whoever incites a child to bet or wager, or to borrow money, may be punished with imprisonment, fine, or both.

Similar punishment may be incurred by any person who takes an article in pawn from a child.

A severe penalty is prescribed for any person, who having the actual charge of or control over a child between the ages of four and sixteen, allows that child to reside in or frequent a brothel.

Whoever has the actual charge of, or control over, a girl under the age of sixteen and causes or encourages the seduction or prostitution of that girl or causes or encourages any one other than her husband to have sexual intercourse with her, shall be punishable with imprisonment and shall also be liable to fine.

If a girl under the age of sixteen is being treated with cruelty by her parent or guardian; or is being exposed to the risk of seduction or prostitution or living a life of prostitution, her parent or guardian may be directed by the court to enter into a recognizance to exercise due care and supervision in respect of such girl.

A child, in respect of whom an offence has been believed to have been committed, may be detained in a place of safety by any police officer, not below the rank of Sub-Inspector, or any other police officer or person so authorized by the Provincial Government, but such detention should not exceed a period of twenty-four hours without appearance before the court.

If it appears to the court that an offence has been committed in respect of any child, the court may make such order as circumstances may admit and require for the care and detention of the child until a reasonable time has elapsed for a charge to be made against some person for having committed the offence.

If a charge is made against any person the child may be detained until the case is disposed of, and in case of conviction for such further time—not

exceeding one month—as the court may direct, despite the fact that any person claims the custody of the child.

The court has the power to remove the child from the charge and control of any person convicted, committed for trial, or bound over to keep the peace towards such child, and to commit the child to the care of a relative or other fit person named by the court—provided the relative or other person is willing to undertake such care—until he attains the age of eighteen years, or for any shorter period. The person to whom the child is committed may be required to execute a bond to be responsible for the good behaviour of the child. In addition, the child may be placed under the supervision of a probation officer or person named by the court.

If the child has a parent or legal guardian who can be found, and who has not been involved in the case or responsible in any way for the offence, and if such person is fit to have care of the child, the court may—it if thinks fit—allow the child to remain in the custody of such parent or legal guardian subject to the supervision of a probation officer or other person named by the court.

The court may, instead of ordering the child to be committed to the care of a relative or other fit person, order that the child shall be sent to a certified school.

Under certain conditions, a magistrate duly empowered under the Act, may issue a warrant authorizing any police officer named therein to search for a child who is suspected of being wilfully ill-treated or neglected and to bring such child to a place of safety until he can be brought before the magistrate.

If in any case the magistrate, after investigation, is of opinion that the informer has given false, frivolous or vexatious information, he may direct that compensation be paid by the informer to the person against whom the information was laid. The informer may also be subject to civil or criminal liability.

Part IV of the Act deals with the treatment of *Youthful Offenders*. It is clear from the act that the delinquent child, from the moment of his being taken into custody, is to be treated in a different manner from the adult criminal.

• If a person under the age of sixteen is arrested on a charge of a non-bailable offence and cannot immediately be brought before a court, the officer in charge of the police station or section to which that person is brought shall, unless the charge is one of culpable homicide or any other offence punishable with death or transportation, release the child on bail if sufficient security is forthcoming, unless for reasons to be recorded in writing, the officer believes that such release will bring the child into association with a reputed criminal.

If the person arrested is a girl under sixteen, the officer-in-charge shall release her at once if any person, who in his opinion is a sufficient surety, enters into a bond for such sum of money as the officer considers sufficient to produce her before the court and to appear in her stead if required at the police station.

If a child is not discharged on bail after his arrest, the officer-in-charge of the police station or section shall cause him to be detained in the prescribed manner until he can be brought before the court. The court, on remanding or committing him for trial, shall order him to be detained in the prescribed manner.

The parent or guardian of a child charged with any offence shall, if he can be found and resides within reasonable distance, be required to attend the court before which the case is heard, unless the court is satisfied that it would be unreasonable to require his attendance.

If a parent has, before the institution of the proceedings, been relieved of the custody of his child by a court order, his attendance will not be required. A woman, who according to the customs and manners of the country does not appear in public, is not required to attend court, but may appear before the court by a pleader or agent.

No child is to be sentenced to death or transportation or committed to prison save that a child of fourteen or upwards may be committed to prison, if the court certifies that he is of so unruly or of so depraved a character ~~that~~ he is not a fit person to be sent to a certified school and that none of the other methods in which the case may legally be dealt with is suitable.

The Act specifies that despite anything to the contrary contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, no proceedings under Chapter VIII of the Code shall be instituted against a child.

If a child has committed an offence punishable with transportation or imprisonment, the court may, after inquiry, order him to be sent to a certified school.

A court may, instead of directing a youthful offender to be detained in a certified school, order him to be discharged after admonition, or released on probation of good conduct and committed on certain conditions, to the care of his parent or guardian or other adult relative or other fit person. The court may also order that the released youthful offender be placed under the supervision of a probation officer. If it appears to the court that the offender has not been of good behaviour during the period of his probation, it may order him to be detained in a certified school.

Where a child has committed an offence punishable with fine, and the court is of opinion that a fine should be imposed, the court is empowered to

order that the fine be paid by the parent or guardian of the child, instead of the child himself.

When a child has committed an offence of such a serious nature that the court feels that no punishment which it is authorized to inflict under the Children Act will meet the case, the court will then order the offender to be detained, and will report the case for the orders of the Provincial Government.

The Act enumerates a number of methods by which a court may deal with children charged with offences :

- (a) The offender may be discharged after due admonition.
- (b) The offender may be committed to the care of his parent, guardian or other adult relative, or other fit person, if such parent, guardian, relative or person executes a bond to be responsible for his good behaviour.
- (c) The offender may be discharged and placed under the supervision of a person named by the court.
- (d) The offender may be released on probation of good conduct.
- (e) The offender may be sent to a certified school.
- (f) The offender may be sentenced to caning in cases where the conduct of the offender has been such as to lead the court to believe that no other punishment would be effective.
- (g) The offender may be ordered to pay a fine.
- (h) The parent or guardian of the offender may be ordered to pay a fine.
- (i) The offender, if fourteen years of age or upwards, may be sentenced to imprisonment.
- (j) A case may be dealt with in any other manner in which it may legally be dealt with.
- (k) If a child is charged with an offence punishable with fine only, and the court is satisfied that the offender is able to pay the fine, it may, if it thinks fit, add a sentence of caning in default of payment of fine.
- (l) If an offender has previously undergone a sentence of caning, in default of payment of fine, he may in default of payment be sent to a certified school for a period not exceeding three years.

Before passing a sentence or order against any person tried by or brought before it, the court is to have regard to the character of the person and the circumstances in which he is living, as disclosed by the facts of the case, or on further inquiry, by any other evidence or information.

Under the Act, the Provincial Government may provide for the establishment in any area of one or more separate courts (Juvenile Courts) for

the conduct of proceedings under the Act at which the attendance of the child is required.

Where no such Juvenile Court is constituted, the powers conferred on courts by the Act are to be exercised only by the High Court; a Court of Session; a District Magistrate; a Sub-Divisional Magistrate; a salaried Presidency Magistrate; and any magistrate of the first class, and may be exercised by such courts whether the case comes before them originally or on appeal or revision.

If a magistrate not empowered to pass any order under the Act is of opinion that a child brought before him is a proper person to be sent to a certified school or to be dealt with in any other manner in which the case may be dealt with under the Act, he is to record his opinion and submit his proceedings and forward the child to the District Magistrate or Sub-Divisional Magistrate to whom he is subordinate or to the magistrate presiding over the nearest Juvenile Court having jurisdiction in the case, or in the city of Bombay to a salaried Presidency Magistrate.

The magistrate to whom the proceedings are so submitted may make such further inquiry as he may think fit and may then pass such order dealing with the case as he might have passed if the child had originally been brought before or tried by him.

Where no separate juvenile court has been established, the court before which a child is brought shall, unless the child is tried jointly with any other person not being a child, whenever practicable sit either in a different building or room from that in which the ordinary sittings of the court are held.*

Provision is also made, that when a child and a person not a child are accused of an offence triable jointly, nothing in the sub-section relating to the establishment of juvenile courts shall affect the powers of the court to try such other person under any other law for the time being in force.

The Act authorizes the appointment of probation officers, either by the Provincial Government, or by a society recognized in this behalf by the Provincial Government. If no such person is appointed, any other person appointed from time to time by the court for any particular case subject to general or special orders of the Provincial Government may be so regarded.

In the city of Bombay, a probation officer in the exercise of his duties under any supervision order shall be subject to the control of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, and elsewhere, of the District Magistrate of the district in which the court which passes any order under the Act in respect of the child, is situated.

The duties of a probation officer, as defined under the Act, are:†

* Pages 16-17.

- (a) to visit or receive visits from the child or youthful offender at such reasonable intervals as may be specified in the order passed by the court, or subject thereto, as the probation officer may think fit;
- (b) to see that the relative of the child or youthful offender, as the case may be, or other person to whose care such child or youthful offender is committed, observes the conditions of the bond;
- (c) to report to the court as to the behaviour of the child or the youthful offender, as the case may be;
- (d) to advise, assist and befriended the child or the youthful offender and where necessary, endeavour to find him suitable employment and
- (e) to perform any other duty which may be prescribed.

Part IV-A of the Act provides a penalty for publishing names, addresses or other details concerning children involved in offences.

Part V relates to the *Maintenance and Treatment of Persons Sent to Certified Schools or Committed to the Care of Relatives or other Fit Persons*.

The managers of a certified school may, under certain conditions, board a child out with a suitable person. Where a child is so boarded out he is, for the purposes of the Act, deemed to be detained in the school.

The managers of a certified school may also, under certain conditions, place a child or youthful offender out on license, permitting him on the conditions prescribed in this behalf, to live with any trustworthy and respectable person named in the license willing to take charge of him with a view to educating him or training him for some useful trade or calling.

At any time after the expiration of six months from the commencement of the detention of a youthful offender in a certified school, the chief inspector if convinced that there is a reasonable probability that the young offender will abstain from crime and lead a useful and industrious life may, subject to the prescribed conditions, on the recommendation of the visitors or managers of the school, release such offender from the school and grant him a written license permitting him to live under the supervision and authority of such approved person or society as may be willing to take charge of the offender.

Such license will remain in force until revoked or forfeited by the breach of any of the conditions on which it was granted.

The time during which a child or youthful offender is absent from a certified school under license is to be regarded as part of the time of his detention in the school.

The period for which a child or youthful offender is to be detained in a certified school is to be specified in the court order, and should be such a period as may seem proper to the court for his teaching and training. For a youthful offender over fifteen at the date of the order, the period of detention should not

be less than two years, while for other youthful offenders it should not be less than three years. Under no circumstances is the period of detention to extend beyond the time when the child will, in the opinion of the court, attain the age of eighteen years.

The Provincial Government may, in the interest of discipline or for other reasons, order a youthful offender over the age of sixteen to be transferred to a Borstal School, but the whole period of the detention of a child is not to be increased by such a transfer.

The Act provides for transfers between certified schools and schools of like nature in different parts of British India.

The Provincial Government may at any time order a child or youthful offender to be discharged from a certified school, either absolutely or on conditions. Similarly, it may discharge a child from the care of any person to whose care he has been committed under the Act.

Part VI of the Act deals with *Certified Schools and Other Institutions*, covering such topics as management, inspection and conditions of certification.

Part VII—*Juvenile Courts*—has already been discussed.

The remainder of the Act is devoted to miscellaneous provisions, a large number of which are concerned with protecting the religion of the child.

It is laid down that if a child is "found to have committed any offence, the fact that he has been so (found) shall not have any effect under section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, or section 565 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or operate as a disqualification for office or election under any law."

The final sections of the Act concern the right of appeal and the power to amend orders, and authorize the Provincial Government to make rules for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the Act.⁷

The Bombay Children Act was passed in 1924, but for three years it remained inoperative, for the lack of the special machinery required to make it effective. "In addition, the majority of the people were still ignorant as to the paramount need of the unprotected child. Public opinion, however, began to crystalize and an agitation was begun by the Vigilance Association and the League of Mercy who, securing the support of 23 other organizations, placed the matter before Government. As a result, two conferenees were called at

⁷ Page 30.

⁸ For "The Bombay Children Rules, 1926," see Government Notifications in the Home Department, No. 221—XIV, dated 21st December 1926, published in the *Bombay Government Gazette*, 1926, Part I, pp. 2898-2900 and No. 2928-2, dated the 2nd June 1928, published in *Ibid.*, 1928, Part I, p. 1179. For amendments in the above Rules, see H. D. Notifications Nos. 8171-2, dated the 9th January 1934, published in *Ibid.*, 1934, pp. 102-105 and also H. D. Notification No. 3925-3—I, dated the 20th September 1934, published in *Ibid.*, 1934, Part I, p. 2098. For "The Bombay City Juvenile Court Rules, 1927," see *Bombay Government Gazette*, Part I, pp. 1506-1507.

the Secretariat in 1926 to explore ways and means for the immediate operation of the Bombay Children Act in Bombay City. All existing social organizations were represented at these conferences and the net result was a unanimous decision that, to provide the necessary machinery and to face up to the exigencies of a new type of social service, a new organization had to be created. The Children's Aid Society, therefore, sprang into being and Government agreed to lend the major portion of the Umarkhadi site for the purpose of running a remand home ; to convert it into fit condition and to provide a block maintenance grant-in-aid toward upkeep."⁹

The Umarkhadi site housed an old jail in a bad state of disrepair. Two blocks of unsightly cells were cleared away by gunpowder, to make room for two playgrounds. The remaining buildings were renovated and converted into a remand home for children, known as the Umarkhadi Children's Home. The work of reconstruction was completed in April, 1927, and the Children Act was placed in operation in Bombay City on May 1st—the very day that the Umarkhadi Children's Home was opened.

In the period of 1927-1937, almost 8,000 children were dealt with on remand under the Children Act in Bombay City and Suburban District. 62 per cent of these children were from outside Bombay city and suburban limits, and 38 per cent from outside the Presidency.¹⁰

It is obvious, therefore, that even with the very best intentions, the number of children detained in Bombay at any one time must be quite large. In the West when a delinquent child from another city is picked up in any city, information is at once sent to the juvenile court or social agencies of the child's home city and in a reasonable period of time all known information is at hand. But in India the situation is different.

Very few cities have a juvenile court or children's society to which the Bombay court can refer. A letter sent to the police probably takes several days to reach its destination. After a few days have elapsed and no reply has been received a reminder is sent, and as likely as not the reply to the reminder is that the original letter has been lost or never received. The whole process then starts again, and in the course of time the relevant information may be received. Hence juvenile detention does present a very serious problem.

A further difficulty which the Bombay Court has had to contend with has been the lack of accommodation in certified schools ; so that children whose cases have been heard and who have been committed to certified schools, have been compelled to remain in the Remand Home and await their turn for vacancies to arise in the schools.

⁹ Miss M. K. Davis, in Manshardt, Clifford, *Some Social Services of the Government of Bombay*, p. 135.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

By far the largest number of cases appearing before the Bombay Juvenile Court are cases of dependency and neglect, rather than delinquency. Thus for the period 1927-1937 :

43'0 % of the children appearing before the Juvenile Court were destitute.

27'5 % were accused of theft.

9'2 % were victims of sexual offence, etc.

4'3 % were uncontrollable.

3'2 % were charged with begging.

12'8 % were detained for miscellaneous offences.

100'0 % ¹¹

In the year 1937, a total of 1,195 cases appeared before the Bombay Juvenile Court. Of these :

618 or 51'7 % were destitute.

215 or 18'0 % were cases of theft.

68 or 5'7 % were in moral danger.

60 or 5'1 % were victims of immorality.

44 or 3'8 % were miscellaneous.

43 or 3'6 % were uncontrollable.

41 or 3'4 % were cases of begging.

36 or 3'0 % were cases of gambling.

17 or 1'4 % were cases of railway trespassing.

15 or 1'3 % were cases involving breach of probation.

13 or 1'0 % were lost children.

9 or '7 % were victims of cruelty.

9 or '7 % were involved in disputed guardianship.

7 or '6 % were cases in which a parent was held in custody.

1,195 100'0 %

Dividing these cases into cases involving the protection of children and those in which the child was an offender, we find :

I *Protection of Children*—

Destitute	51'7 %
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Moral Danger	5'7 %
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Victims of Immorality	5'1 %
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Lost Children	1'0 %
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Victims of Cruelty	'7 %
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¹¹ *Ibid.*

Disputed Guardianship	7 %
Parent in Custody	6 %
			<hr/>
			65.5 %

II *Child Offenders—*

Theft	...	...	18.0 %
Miscellaneous Offences	...	...	3.8 %
Uncontrollable...	...	...	3.6 %
Begging	...	...	3.4 %
Gambling	...	...	3.0 %
Railway Trespassing	...	...	1.4 %
Breach of Probation	...	...	1.3 %
			<hr/>
			34.5 %

Of the total cases before the Bombay Court, the greater number are cases of destitution : 43 % for the period 1927-1937, and 51.7 % for the year 1937. The children classed as destitute are for the most part children who have come to Bombay from up-country and who have been found wandering about the streets of Bombay in a helpless manner. In the year 1937, 62 % of the destitute cases were from out of Bombay—the home addresses ranging from Peshawar to the Malabar Coast and from Madras to Calcutta, with all important intermediate points represented.

Almost two-thirds of the destitute boys were in the age-group 10-13 ; while half of the destitute girls fell in the age group 11-14.

Turning to the table of offences, we find that in Bombay offences against property head the list. For the period 1927-1937, 27.5 % of the total cases were cases of theft, while for the year 1937 alone, 18 % of the total cases were theft cases. A table showing the number and percentage of offence cases only, follows :

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CHILD OFFENDERS, 1937

Theft	...	...	215	52.3 %
Miscellaneous	...	...	44	10.7 %
Uncontrollable	...	...	43	10.5 %
Begging	...	...	41	10.0 %
Gambling	...	...	36	8.8 %
Railway Trespassing	...	...	17	4.1 %
Breach of Probation	...	...	15	3.6 %
			<hr/>	
Total	...	...	411	100.0 %

The maximum number of thefts committed by Bombay boys are committed by boys between the ages of 12-15, the largest number of offenders

being 13 years of age. The corresponding figures for girls are 13-15, and 14 years of age, respectively.

For all offences, the ratio of boy offenders to girl offenders is about 11 to 1. The ratio of Bombay boys to girls, with specific reference to theft cases, is about 13 to 1; while the destitution cases practically parallel the general ratio.

Due to the inadequacy of our records, the great majority of the cases which appear before the Bombay Juvenile Court, viz., the destitution cases, are incompletely classified. Since 62 % of the cases of destitution are recorded as from out of Bombay, it is almost certain that a large proportion of these cases must either be runaway cases, or cases in which the child has travelled to Bombay without a ticket. A more accurate classification, therefore, would reduce the number of destitution cases—and the number of protective cases—and add to the number of offences in two categories, viz., "Running away from home," and "Railway trespassing."

A comparative study of the three principal methods of disposing of children's cases in the city of Bombay for the ten-year period 1928-1937 follows.¹²

Year			Committed to Institutions	Restored to Parents and Guardians	Supervision Orders Passed
1928	...	...	24 %	15 %	7 %
1929	...	...	29 %	19 %	11 %
1930	...	...	28 %	25 %	7 %
1931	...	...	18 %	28 %	8 %
1932	...	...	25 %	18 %	11 %
1933	...	...	30 %	21 %	14 %
1934	...	...	27 %	24 %	16 %
1935	...	...	24 %	22 %	13 %
1936	...	...	20 %	27 %	16 %
1937	...	...	24 %	53 %	19 %

The remainder of the cases were disposed of by such methods as transfer to another court; release on bail; dismissal of application; withdrawal of application; fining; awarding stripes; arranging for adoption; arranging for marriage; committing to care of fit person; committing to hospital care.

The predominance of commitment to institutional care and restoration to parents and guardians is due to the large number of dependency cases in Bombay. When children from up-country are found wandering in the streets and it is impossible to locate their parents, commitment to an institution appears to be the only way to safeguard their interests. Since the full mean-

¹² *Eleventh Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society, 1937, p. 31.*

ing of probation is just beginning to be understood by the court, probation work will undoubtedly come to assume a position of increasing importance.

The overwhelming number of cases committed to the care of parents, guardians or relatives by the Bombay Court, whether with or without bond, are cases of destitution. A very large percentage of these cases are runaway children from centres other than Bombay. It is a sound principle that children should be taken from their homes only when the home conditions are so inadequate as to jeopardize the welfare of the child, but at the same time it is quite probably true, that the facilities for the detailed investigation of such cases in India being what they are, children are handed over to parents or relatives without adequate knowledge on the part of the court as to what the home condition really is. And it is also true that it is not at all uncommon for children who have been returned to their native places to be found again in Bombay in a relatively short period of time. There is little remedy for this situation until the Children Act is made an All-India Act and the proper machinery set up for its operation in every Province. In the meantime the magistrate is faced with the question of committing the child to an institution or certified school, which already probably has a long waiting list, or taking the risk of returning the child to his home in the hope that the experience will not be repeated. The number of cases in which parents or relatives cannot be traced—thus compelling institutional commitment—is so large, that the court can hardly be blamed for taking the risk and relieving the pressure on its limited institutional resources.

Experience over a period of years has demonstrated a number of weaknesses in the Bombay Children Act. First of all, there is a certain amount of confusion as to just what the juvenile court really is. The Bombay Children Act, as the other Children Acts in India, is modelled on English lines. The English Juvenile Court is a petty sessional court of summary jurisdiction, combining both civil and criminal functions. In England, in most instances, the procedure in juvenile courts is in advance of the existing law on the subject. In India, juvenile courts being new, the magistrates are more inclined to follow the letter of the law than to attempt to catch its spirit.

In the Province of Bombay, children's cases in the mofussil areas are heard by the District Magistrates, subdivisional magistrates or by magistrates of the first class. In the City of Bombay, where a special juvenile court has been constituted, the court is presided over by a salaried Presidency Magistrate, assisted by an honorary lady magistrate chosen monthly from a roster.

The dual conception inherent in the court allows the magistrate on the bench to emphasize whichever element is most congenial to his own way of thinking. One court, presided over by a magistrate with a legalistic outlook,

regards the child offender as a young criminal. Save for the fact that the proceedings are somewhat less formal than in the adult court, the procedure is very little different. A second court, presided over by a magistrate with a more humanitarian outlook, regards the juvenile offender as a child in need of adult help. Until magistrates, as a class, have a more thorough knowledge of the philosophy underlying the juvenile court than they have at present, the criminal emphasis is almost certain to predominate.

Another weakness, arising from the criminal nature of the juvenile court, is the fixing of the age of criminal responsibility at 7 years. This is very low when compared with other countries, but it is a practical necessity under the prevailing English system, if the child—say between 7 and 14 (14 being the more commonly accepted age of legal responsibility)—is to be dealt with at all.

On the other hand, the upper age limit for the jurisdiction of the court is low. In Bombay, a child is a person under 16 years of age. A child offender under 16 may be committed to a certified school or placed under supervision until he reaches the age of 18. Young Offenders who have reached the age of 16, can, if they are boys, be dealt with under the Borstal Act, but unfortunately no Borstal Institution for girls has as yet been established in the Bombay Province. The neglected child over 16 is in very truth “neglected” for the Juvenile Court has no jurisdiction in his case. In England the upper age limit is 17 years; while in the United States 18 years is quite common and some states continue parental supervision until the age of 21.

The practice of allowing adults and children accused jointly to be tried in the juvenile court is not satisfactory, as it introduces the contentious criminal court atmosphere. The better procedure would probably be to transfer the adult to the criminal court for trial and have the juvenile court pass orders only in the case of the child.

The provision that a child of 14 or upwards may “be committed to prison where the court certifies that he is of so unruly or of so depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be sent to a certified school and that none of the other methods in which the case may legally be dealt with is suitable,”¹³ is used so rarely that it might well be deleted.

One of the methods of dealing with the child offender under the Bombay Act is that of “caning.” The matter of caning is a controversial point, but I believe few really serious students of the juvenile court would support it. The support generally comes from those magistrates or members of the public who believe that “to spare the rod is to spoil the child”. The argument generally runs that since both parents and school masters thus punish children, why

¹³ *Bombay Children Act*, p. 15.

should not the courts. The answer is that apart from the inhumanity of caning, the case can pretty well be established from English experience that this method of punishment neither deters from future delinquency, nor makes the child a better member of society.

Since the Report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment, issued in March 1938, recommends the abolition of corporal punishment by the juvenile courts, it is quite likely that in due course both the English and Bombay Acts will be so amended.

Fining, which is allowed by the Bombay Act, is in the opinion of many a relic of criminal procedure which has no place in the juvenile court. The principal argument in its favour is that it is a convenient way of dealing with minor offences and is probably more effective than simply discharging the child with warning. This may be true, but the danger is always present of inflicting a fine when the child is really in need of definite help from the court. In Bombay, fining is resorted to very seldom for the very good reason that most of the children coming before the Court are so poor that they have no money with which to pay fines. There is something to be said for ordering parents to pay a fine, in that such a procedure does serve to emphasize parental responsibility for the behaviour of children. If, however, we are true to the conception of the juvenile court as a constructive, rather than a punitive agency, fining, along with caning, should be abolished.

The American Committee on Juvenile Court Standards, while opposing the imposition of fines in children's cases, does admit that in cases where they seem to have disciplinary value or instil respect for property rights, restitution or reparation may be required. Where the child before the court is a wage-earner, he is expected to make this restitution from his own earnings.

Although an All India Children Act based on the principle of guardianship, would, in my opinion, be a distinct forward step, it is also true that the existing Acts can be made to work in a fairly satisfactory manner if they are interpreted liberally. When once magistrates come to accept the two fundamentals that the delinquent child is not a young criminal, but society's ward; and that the purpose of the juvenile court is not punishment, but the protection of the interests of the child, we will have taken a long step forward.

The Bombay Juvenile Court with its alert magistracy, Remand Home, trained probation staff and advisory psychiatric service has the basic elements for worthwhile constructive achievement. And that which proves its worth in Bombay today, finds its way into the provincial towns tomorrow.

A STUDY OF ONE HUNDRED CASES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE CITY OF MADRAS

KOKILA DORAISWAMI

Miss Doraiswami (*Tata School 1940*), who is the Organising Secretary of the Madras Red Cross Society, spent several months in making an intimate study of the cases passing through the Madras Juvenile Court. Since studies of this nature are entirely lacking in India, the present paper marks the beginning of a new type of literature in the field of juvenile delinquency.

IN India the conditions governing society are somewhat different from those obtaining in the West and social values have to be appraised in a somewhat different way. Historically, the self-sufficiency of Indian village economy, coupled with a distinct philosophy of life, contributed not a little to the solidarity of Indian society. At the present time we are in a state of flux. The old landmarks are disappearing and there is nothing definite to take their place. The decay of the old self-sufficing cottage industries ; the inadequacy of the new industrial order ; unemployment ; excessive pressure on the land ; fragmentation of holdings ; the weakening of the caste system, which in former days brought unity out of diversity ; the coming in of new inequalities ; the class struggle and the communal struggle—all these have brought about changes resulting in social disorganization. Many previously secure homes in villages have now become insecure. More and more villagers are migrating to the cities in search of work. Many, in this reorganization, have fallen as victims. A few have succeeded in making a satisfactory adjustment. But the instability and insecurity of the times are leaving their mark on the younger generation.

In every large city of India we find ill-fed and ill-educated children knocking about aimlessly, with few knowing and few caring anything about their antecedents or present condition. Passing through a city like Madras one can see innumerable children on the footpaths or on the open roads, indulging their fancies or releasing their energies in any way that offers. Few care who they are ; where they come from ; whether they have parents to look after them ; whether they go to school ; who are their playmates ; where they live, or whether they have any food to eat. It is out of such children, picked up from the streets and brought into the Madras Juvenile Court, that I have endeavoured to make a study of 100 cases.

This group, quite typical of delinquency in Madras, represents a hundred different families of the Province. 52 families, or family members, have migrated to the city and its suburbs within the past 10 years. The remaining

48 families have lived in the city for the past two generations. There are 10 cases of boys who left their families in the villages and came to Madras to stay with relatives or friends while seeking work. They have not found employment. They are either cruelly treated or badly controlled. But they cannot return to their village homes, for in the village there is insufficient food and not even the possibility of securing work; so they manage to hang on somehow in the city.

By *community*, 73% of this group are Hindus; 15% belong to the Depressed Classes; 8% are Muslims and 4% are Christians.

By *language*, 75% speak Tamil; 14% Telugu; 8% Urdu; 1% Marathi; 1% Hindi and 1% Malayali.

The maximum *literacy of the parents* reported, is the 8th standard. The majority of the parents, however, have never studied beyond the 3rd or 4th vernacular standards and have now relapsed into illiteracy. All of the mothers are illiterate. Their time is occupied with menial labour and cooking meals. They regard education as a luxury for the rich and not for children from families such as theirs.

Regarding *economic status*, 3 families have a total family income above Rs. 100/- per month; 3 families have a total income between Rs. 50/- and Rs. 100/-; 4 families below Rs. 50/- and above Rs. 40/-; 8 families below Rs. 40/- and above Rs. 30/-; 27 families below Rs. 30/- and above Rs. 20/-; 39 families below Rs. 20/- and above Rs. 10/-; 14 families below Rs. 10/-, and 2 families have no income.

It can thus be seen that over 50% of the families are living very close to the margin, but it cannot be demonstrated that the poverty of the family was a major factor in the child's delinquency. Only 4 boys and 2 girls mentioned family poverty as a factor in their delinquency. The average standard of life is poor in India and there is a fatalism which tends to make the people satisfied with their lot. Parents receiving but Rs. 15/- or 20/- per month, say: "Why should our boy steal? Does he not have clothing; has he not food to eat; does he not have all conveniences at home?" The attitude is that the children who crave extravagances beyond subsistence are quite at fault.

A study of the *moral and religious factors* in these 100 families reveals 43 cases of drunkenness; 29 cases of sexual immorality (father immoral 15, mother immoral 14); 3 cases where the parents encouraged the delinquency; 26 cases of incessant home quarrelling; 4 cases of habitual gambling; 21 cases where the family had a disreputable name in the community; 4 cases where a parent was guilty of molestation; and 21 homes entirely devoid of any religious influence. 54 homes out of the 100 were found to be definitely vicious.

According to the investigation, 57 homes out the 100 studied, are *broken*

homes. In 22 instances the father is dead; in 15 instances the mother is dead; in 12 instances both parents are dead and the children living with friends or relatives; in 2 cases the father deserted; in 2 cases the mother deserted, and in 4 cases the parents are living apart. 12 widows have become the concubines or mistresses of other men and are begetting children by these men—to the disadvantage of the older children born to the first husbands. The women neglect the older children and the older children resent the presence of a male who is not their father. In 9 cases children report bad treatment at the hands of step-mothers.

Inconsistent discipline is reported in 58 cases. At one moment the child may be petted, while at the next he may be cursed. It is interesting in this connection that 12 of the 100 cases are only children; 22 are eldest sons, 32 are youngest sons, and 34 intermediate family members. It would appear that the eldest, youngest, or only child tends to be spoiled by one or the other of the parents. 29 boys complained of overstrict discipline. 10 of these boys definitely stated that they engaged in delinquent acts in order to wreak vengeance on their parents.

In 32 cases *both parents are working*, leaving the children pretty much to shift for themselves.

Turning now to the delinquents themselves: 59 out of 100 have had some *schooling*, but 56 of the 59 had already discontinued their education at the time their delinquencies occurred. 39 of these 59 had a considerable record of truancy. Only 18 confessed any interest in their studies. 53 out of the 59 had left school by the age of 12. It is interesting to note that only 11 boys left school because their parents wished them to work. The remainder left because of unsatisfactory school conditions. 41 children had no schooling.

69 of the children studied were in *employment*: 13 as shop boys; 10 in street trades; 9 in bidi making; 8 as carpenters; 5 as coolies; 4 as goldsmiths; 4 as textile workers; 4 in printing presses; 3 as cycle repairers; 3 as blacksmiths; 2 as domestic servants; 2 as tailors; and 2 in mechanical work. Hours of work ranged from 6 to 12 per day—10 hours per day being the most common. 10 children began work at the age of 8; 8 at the age of 9; 12 at the age of 10; 10 at the age of 11; 15 at the age of 12; 8 at the age of 13; 6 at the age of 14.

In Madras, as in other centres, delinquency is seen to be in large measure influenced by the child's *companionship*. Only 5 children report a positive companionship influence. In 72 cases companionship influence is stated to be bad and in 23 cases indifferent. 49 delinquents attribute their delinquency to the instigation of one or more companions of their own age; 10 state that they acted on the instigation of elders, parents, brothers; 41 say

that they acted independently. 14 of the 100 delinquents were taken into custody with companions.

With reference to the *habits* of these children, 24 are in the custom of sleeping outside the home; 16 occasionally sleep outside and 60 sleep at home. 32 boys are smokers; 2 are drug addicts; 8 are regular gamblers; 4 are accustomed to taking alcohol and 21 are habitual liars.

The *duration of delinquency* varies from a single offence to 4 years and more:

Delinquent habits for a period of 6 months	...	14 cases
Delinquent habits for a period of 1 year	...	28 cases
Delinquent habits for a period of 1 to 2 years	...	22 cases
Delinquent habits for a period of 2 to 3 years	...	14 cases
Delinquent habits for a period of 3 to 4 years plus.	6 cases	
Initial delinquency	...	16 cases

Stealing is the major delinquency in this study, being reported in 74 cases. This stealing is of two types : within the home and outside the home. Cases of stealing from their own homes, as reported to the police by the parents, number 48. Outside stealing cases number 26.

It is a usual practice in South India for old women and mothers to tie up their loose change at the edge of the sari. The sly children approach the woman while she is asleep, untie the knot and take away the change. 5 such cases are reported. At other times, silver or brass wares, tumblers and the like, are stolen from the house and pledged in the Marwari's shop for pocket money. Sometimes cheap jewelry of silver—a ring from the mother's hand or toe—is snatched away. A milkman, returning home of an evening, placed his earnings on a shelf. His son seized the money and bolted, spending the money in gambling.

Stealing outside the home is at times an art. Most of the offences are committed by boys 12, 13 and 14 years old. There are 7 cases of stealing gold ornaments from children. A child wearing a gold necklace, found the hooks loose and took it in her hand to give to her parents. A boy, who had observed the incident, snatched the necklace and ran. The child raised a hue and cry and the boy was caught and handed over to the police. Two boys managed to secure a gold bangle from a third child, when one of the boys told engaging stories, and the other boy, under pretence of being affectionate, removed the bangle. One boy stole a gold necklace, valued at Rs. 200/-, at the instigation of his parents. A gang of four boys and two girls set upon a small child and forcibly removed his ornaments. The habit of decorating young children with valuable ornaments makes these children ready prey for both child and adult thieves.

9 cases of stealing cycle lamps are reported. The cycle owner leaves his cycle outside the restaurant while he goes in for a cup of tea. A boy cycle enthusiast comes along, removes the lamp, and exchanges it with an adult hirer of cycles in return for a ride. Stealing electric bulbs is a common practice. The increasing value of paper led 3 boys, with the help of one boy working inside the printing press, to steal a bundle of paper weighing three maunds. 11 cases of stealing saris and clothes are reported. This is usually done by gangs who enter the shop, and while one boy engages the attention of the clerk by bargaining, the others make away with what they can. Miscellaneous thefts include such articles as brass vessels, soap, shoes, chairs, iron bars, gunny bags, bottles—in fact almost any small article which might have a ready sales value.

Stealing outside the home is largely a companionship affair. 44 boys were accomplices with others. The maximum size of the group was 6, and the minimum 2.

Twenty-four children attribute their stealing to the desire to see cinema shows or to go to hotels (restaurants). 4 children wished to hire bicycles. 9 boys had no other motive than to please their companions. 4 boys were in rebellion against their parents because their parents had taken their entire wages. 6 children only, refer to family poverty as a motive.

The next major delinquency, as recorded in the court records, is *disobedience* and *uncontrollability*, numbering 12 cases. But in my own investigations, 33 of the parents reported their children as uncontrollable. Since, however, the children were brought before the court for other offences, such as stealing, the parents did not mention this factor to the court.

Although only 8 boys were actually detained for *wandering*, my inquiry shows 45 such cases. Similarly, though the court records show but 6 cases of *running away* from home, my study reveals 47 such cases. This would indicate that the delinquency is seldom a single act and that it is difficult to determine which delinquency is the most significant.

The prevailing indifference of parents towards the schooling of their children is apparent in that but two cases of *truancy* are recorded, as against the 39 cases of actual truancy. Public opinion apparently does not as yet regard truancy as worth bothering with.

Three brief case histories may be of interest :

Case One. A boy, aged 14 years, was first brought to the Children's Aid Society in—, for the theft of a time-piece. He was released on probation, his father executing a bond for Rs. 20/-. During the probation period he stole a purse containing Rs. 5/-. He was then committed to a Junior Certified School for 5 years and afterwards released on license. A year and a half later,

he again appeared before the Court for stealing a gold chain valued at Rs. 200/-. For this offence he was committed to a Senior Certified School for a period of 4 years. During this period he was found to have committed other thefts before being sent to the Senior School and hence was brought back for further enquiry and returned to the School.

His father sells Ganja, and both father and son are addicted to Ganja smoking. The father has served several jail terms for robbery. The mother is a quarrelsome woman and is known to encourage the boy in his stealing. The sister is known to receive stolen articles and to dispose of them through an agent. No member of the family is educated and there is no constructive influence in the home.

Case Two. A boy, aged 14, is an illegitimate child. Learning of the mother's misconduct, the father left the home, and the mother became a permanent concubine to the boy's own father. This man died from tuberculosis and the mother started working. She lavished affection on the child and made no effort to discipline him. The boy was mentally dull and soon gave up his efforts at schooling. The boy's mother in the meantime became intimate with another man and arranged for the boy to work in this man's shop. The boy did not take to work. He preferred to loiter about and would beat his mother if she was unable to supply him with money on demand.

The boy was first brought to the Society for sleeping on the road-side. He was restored to his mother. His next appearance before the Court was on the double charge of stealing a toe-ring from his mother while she was asleep, and taking a lamp from a cycle. This time he was released on probation and his mother executed a bond for Rs. 10/- for his good behaviour. During the probation period the boy associated continually with undesirable companions, engaged in sodomy, and finally beat his mother with a burning stick when she refused to give him money. He was returned to the Court and committed to an institution.

Case Three. A boy, aged 14, was brought to the Children's Aid Society for being uncontrollable. In his home he had felt that he was unwanted and that his mother was prejudiced against him. From his twelfth year he began defying his mother and even gave her blows. His mother was very fond of the boy's married sister and hence he found pleasure in going to his sister's house and breaking windows and committing other destructive acts. His father took no part in the controversy. In school, the boy was uncontrollable and truant. He was once branded on the legs by the class teacher, with the mother's permission. Once he inflicted such severe blows on his mother that she was disabled for three days. The mother then gave the challenge to the father that either she or the boy would leave the home and so the father

brought the boy to the Society. He was committed to the Senior Certified School and is reported as becoming more co-operative and amiable.

Turning to the *Disposal* of these 100 cases, we find:

1. Released on probation and handed over			
to parents, guardians, or relatives on bond	...	57	
2. Discharged with admonition	...	20	
3. Restored to parents or guardians and placed on			
supervision	... ..	12	
4. Committed to Certified Schools	...	10	
5. Sent to Leper Asylum	... ..	1	

It should be said in explanation of the above that whereas the probation order is a legal binding, 'supervision' is the acceptance of a moral responsibility to be of assistance to the child.

General statements are invariably inaccurate, but there are certain observable trends in the disposition of cases in the Madras Juvenile Court. Children who have committed an offence and who have no parents or suitable guardians are sent to senior or junior certified schools, even though they are appearing in the Court for the first time. Children who have parents or suitable guardians, and who commit larceny for the first and second times are generally handed over to their parents or guardians on bond of Rs. 10/- or 20/-, making the parents responsible for the good behaviour of the children for at least a year. Such children are as a rule placed on probation for one year. Children who have committed larceny more than twice and are regarded as incorrigible are sent to senior and junior certified schools, according to their ages. Children who are rescued from brothels or immoral surroundings are usually sent to certified schools unless they can be released to the care of responsible relatives or guardians. The placement of these children is decided by the Magistrate after the disposal of the cases of the adults involved in the proceedings. In some cases if the Court is satisfied that the home conditions will be improved, the child is handed over to his parents or guardians after they have executed a bond. Children who have committed minor offences are handed over to the parents or guardians with due admonition. Destitute and dependent children who cannot be restored to their parents or relatives are sent to certified schools.

Probation work was started in Madras in 1937, after the Madras Children Amendment Act in 1936. All the probation officers are empowered by Government to rescue wandering and destitute children. The City of Madras is divided into four probation districts, on a geographical basis, and one probation officer is in charge of each division.

As soon as the child is brought to the Children's Aid Society the proba-

tion officer traces his address, visits the parents and collects information about the child from his parents, relatives, neighbours and from the child himself. The investigation report is then placed before the Court. Where a petition is submitted to the Court, asking for the protection of a dependent child or for assistance in handling an uncontrollable child, the probation officer must ascertain the facts before the Magistrate can dispose of the case. When children are placed on probation, the probation officers are directed to visit the probationers and submit periodical reports. The probation officer must also visit supervision cases and supervise children released from Certified Schools.

Each probation officer ordinarily has over 100 cases, in addition to supervising night school and taking regular classes five days in a week. He must also direct club activities once a week. Since none of the probation staff are trained, it is obvious that the probation work cannot be of the highest quality.

I am well aware that I have given insufficient attention to the psychological factors involved in delinquency, but since even elementary factual material is lacking in our country at the present time, I feel that the materials presented are not without their value. It is my earnest hope that a clinic on the lines of the Bombay Clinic may soon be started in the City of Madras in order that we may approach our problem in its entirety.

ATTITUDE THERAPY IN CHILD PSYCHIATRY : THE ROOTS OF BEHAVIOUR

K. R. MASANI

In this article Dr. Masani begins a discussion of attitude therapy in child guidance, discussing hereditary factors, organic factors and environmental factors influencing behaviour. He points out that behaviour is a resultant of a multiplicity of influences on an organism having fundamental needs. In subsequent articles Dr. Masani will discuss the significance of parental attitudes for the behaviour of the child, and the changing of parental attitudes.

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A report of the Child Guidance Clinic will be found under "Notes and Comments."

ALTHOUGH it is the aim of this study to give an account of the place of attitude therapy in the field of Child Psychiatry or Child Guidance, it seems desirable in the beginning to review the various factors that influence or modify behaviour, so that a one-sided impression may not be given regarding the psychiatric endeavours which aim at helping the child showing behaviour and personality deviations, to adjust in a more harmonious manner with his environment. It is not possible in a short article of this nature to deal in a detailed and systematic way with the diagnosis and treatment of behaviour and personality disorders. The various factors that influence behaviour and the various methods of treatment in child psychiatry, will only be mentioned to give a fair perspective of the question, but the major portion of the study will be concerned with the theme of the importance of parental attitudes in shaping the behaviour of the child and of attempts to modify these attitudes in order to influence such behaviour in a desirable way.

In view of the fundamental importance of discovering the causation of deviations in behaviour in order to be able to treat them, we shall begin this study by reviewing briefly the factors influencing human behaviour."

Hereditary Factors. In the past a great deal of energy was spent in discussing whether it was heredity or environment that determined or shaped the individual. Today this no longer remains a question for the scientist. It is accepted as axiomatic that behaviour is determined and influenced by both sets of factors, even though there are possibilities of wide variations in different individuals regarding the relative importance of hereditary and environmental factors. While certain attributes or specific qualities of behaviour in all individuals are particularly influenced by hereditary factors it is well to bear in mind that even among such attributes there is hardly ever one which is not influenced by environmental factors as well. Thus even if hereditary factors are of particular significance in regard to certain traits, the individual behavi-

our is usually the result of the action and interaction of such factors with the social environment. Even when there is a clearly inherited factor, the resultant behaviour varies enormously according to the way in which such factor interacts with the environment. The colour of the individual's skin, hair, eyes, the shape of his features; the size and physical constitution—are some of the attributes in which heredity plays a large part. The limits of growth and the possession of one or other type of body build depend largely on inherited factors. It is easy to see that a child who has a puny physique and a size under the average will find it difficult to compete with others and will tend to be a follower rather than a leader of groups. But the ultimate shape of this child's behaviour patterns will depend to no small degree on whether he is made to feel inferior by being constantly taunted for his weakness and smallness, whether he is over-protected and favoured, or whether his small size and weak health are accepted naturally and he is encouraged to cultivate compensatory qualities.

Turning to the intellectual equipment of the child, it is well known that intelligence is in large measure limited by hereditary endowment, although a certain amount of change in the degree of measured intellect can be brought about by stimulation and wise training, during the early years. Modification of innate intelligence by environmental factors in later years, however, is small. One of the clearest indications of the fact that intelligence is limited by hereditary endowment is found when we turn to the statistical findings of the intelligence level of offspring of parents, where one or both parents suffered from genetic mental defect. Without going into details it may be stated that there is a strikingly significant difference in the incidence of mental deficiency in the offspring, where one or both parents suffer from mental defect as compared to the incidence of mental deficiency in the general population. It is not difficult to demonstrate that mentally defective children, and equally those of border-line intelligence, find it much more difficult to adjust to the demands of society than those of average intelligence, and the behaviour demonstrated by the former category is largely influenced by this fundamental lack of average intelligence. It is true, however, that the exact form of behaviour difficulty is determined by the action and interaction of the social and emotional factors superimposed upon this fundamental defect. It is interesting to note that in studies of juvenile delinquency several authors have noticed an unduly large proportion of border-line cases, that is, those with intelligence quotients between 70 and 85, —I. Q's between 85-115 being looked upon as average.

Turning next to the question whether unstable neurotic or psychotic behaviour patterns are inherited, we are no longer on such clear ground as

when dealing with intellectual retardation. The biogenic psychoses, for example, are regarded by many as due fundamentally to inherited dispositions towards such psychoses on account of a certain degree of positive correlation between higher incidence of psychosis in the ancestry of such patients than that of the average population. The figures obtained, however, are by no means quite convincing in establishing a clear and direct relationship. The matter is further complicated by the fact that children born of parents suffering from such psychosis might tend to exhibit patterns of psychotic behaviour, not necessarily because of direct inheritance, but because of having lived in close proximity with such a parent and having been adversely affected by contact with such a disordered personality. It is established beyond doubt that a child's development and behaviour is considerably influenced by the behaviour and personality of the adults forming his environment and it appears reasonable to infer that a child exposed to the influence of a psychotic parent might develop some forms of psychotic traits. Similarly in the field of psychoneuroses, although a tendency to obsessional neuroses and to obsessive traits appearing in members of succeeding generations may seem to point to a hereditary disposition, it cannot be overlooked that here too the child's obsessional traits might be due to the environmental influence of living in contact with an individual with obsessional traits. This would apply also to the question of "hysterical dispositions" where certainly a large degree of imitation and identification occurs. But whatever the views one holds regarding the causation of the various psychoses and neuroses, the great importance of parental psychosis in influencing behaviour is obvious.

A review of the hereditary factors would not be complete without a word about the inheritance of actual behaviour patterns. Cases have been reported of investigations on twins which show similarities of behaviour patterns which cannot be accounted for by environmental factors.¹ In this connection it may be noted that it is simple motor patterns which may be inherited thus and the popular belief that a child inherits his bad behaviour from one of the parents or grandparents or from a disreputable and good for nothing uncle or aunt has no confirmation in any scientific investigation undertaken. As mentioned earlier if a child takes after one of his parents or other relatives it is on account of his consciously or unconsciously imitating the adult or identifying himself with him or her. What has just been mentioned about bad behaviour would apply naturally also to the more serious degrees of delinquency or criminality.

¹ Gesell, A., "The Developmental Psychology of Twins," Chapter VI in *The Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison, Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1931.

The organic factors. Although some of the factors to be listed below are placed in the category of organic influences it must be remembered that many of them also appear to have an hereditary basis and are merely so described for convenience. A hard and sharp distinction cannot be made between hereditary and organic influences in regard to some of these factors, but a good many other physical factors are not hereditarily conditioned. Gross deviations of endocrinological functioning or more subtle glandular imbalance undoubtedly affect behaviour. For example a child with hypothyroid functioning tends to be dull, sluggish, emotionally placid and tame, whereas a child with hyperthyroid functioning tends to be alert, emotionally excitable, overactive, restless and difficult to manage. Similarly disordered functioning of the pituitary, the thymus, the gonads and the adrenal glands influence the behaviour of the individual. Apart from the influences of malfunctioning of the individual glands, subtle variations in glandular balance based on the interaction of the glands on each other further complicate the question by influencing the personality and behaviour of the child in a number of ways. In spite of the many obscurities and complexities of the question of the influence of the endocrine glands on behaviour it may be accepted that the organisation an individual possesses at birth has been shaped very largely by the influence of the endocrine secretions to which he has been subjected, and his further development and behaviour throughout life are considerably affected by endocrine functioning. The endocrine functioning, on the one hand, influences the nervous system and emotions, but it in its turn is influenced and controlled by the activities of the nervous system. Healy² gives an interesting example, quoting Collip: "A diabetic, taking insulin treatment, found while walking on the street that he was being overcome by the typical physical and mental states that supervene when the blood sugar is greatly reduced. He had forgotten to provide himself with sugar to eat and staggered into a drug store, where he incoherently demanded a chocolate bar. The druggist, believing that he had to deal with a drunken man, promptly threw him out. This naturally caused the man to become terrifically enraged. With his enrage-ment he came to himself, made his way to another shop, obtained his candy, and experienced the usual quick restoration of the equilibrium of the chemistry of his body fluids. Anger had stimulated an excessive output of hormones from the adrenals, and these had the power to increase temporarily the blood sugar, sufficient to tide the patient over in the circumstances that confronted him."

It has to be accepted that no simple deduction can be made regarding the influence of endocrinological factors on behaviour. The action and

² *Personality in Formation and Action*, pp. 42-3.

interaction of hereditary organisation, of external conditioning, of internal biochemical influences and of impulses from the nervous system are indeed extremely complicated. Apart from endocrine functioning, the functioning of other systems of the body play quite a definite role in shaping behaviour, also. Popular belief has it that indigestion and acidity in the stomach often causes irritability and sourness of disposition. Rich's work on the biochemical approach to personality tends to show a correlation between body acidity and emotional excitability.³ It cannot be emphasised too much that the physiological functioning of the various systems and biochemical influences, influence to a great degree the behaviour of the individual.

Turning now to the question of body types it has been suggested, notably by Kretchmer, that the behaviour and personality of the individual is correlated with the physical form or configuration of the individual. The body type theories have had a fair reception; for one thing any theory which tends to do away with the difficult task of accounting for behaviour by psychological factors and which tends to solve the riddle of behaviour with such simple and physical causative factors has always had a strong appeal. It has been suggested that the broad, stocky, thick-set "pyknic" person is an extraverted, social, carefree and jolly person, with tendency to cyclical variation in mood, whereas the long, narrowly-built "leptosomic" individual is introverted, unsocial, sensitive and preoccupied with his own thoughts and feelings. But although this appears to be borne out to a certain extent, there are definite limitations to such theories; for example, in regard to the types just quoted there are frequently sub-types; also the extraverted, social, carefree and jolly type is not always correlated with the "pyknic" type, nor again the introverted, unsocial, sensitive type with "leptosomic" body type. It must be concluded that no such simple causative scheme could play any but a very small part in conditioning behaviour. But if body type appears to play a relatively insignificant part, physical deformities caused through hereditary or accidental factors or through illness, play a very considerable part even though they may operate on the psychological plane. Marked shortness, for example, frequently produces acute feelings of inferiority which the individual tries to compensate for by the quest for power and importance in fields other than physical prowess. But for his marked shortness and ugliness Napoleon would probably never have exhibited in his behaviour such extreme compensatory drives in the direction of quest for power and domination. It may not be coincidence that the most blatant propagandist in Germany happens to be lame in one leg and may be thus covering up feelings of intense inferior-

³ Rich, Gilbert J., "A Biochemical Approach to the Study of Personality", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 23, July 1928, pp. 158-175.

ity by loud talk. Scientific support for the view that physical defects cause inferiority feelings and compensatory behaviour is not lacking. In a study of a normal group of young people Paterson found that the number of physical defects correlated significantly with feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.*

Finally a word about the effect of illness on shaping behaviour. The direct effect of prolonged and exhausting illness is easy to understand. Likewise the occurrence of organic diseases of the brain, such as epilepsy, encephalitis lethargica and chorea often bring about marked behaviour deviations. But of great importance too are the indirect effects of any illness, particularly where the illness tended to last any length of time, and where the child gained a good deal of over-attention and sympathy on account of the illness. After such an illness many a child tends to exhibit behaviour which aims at continuing the large amount of attention and sympathy which he received. He tends to resist assuming normal responsibilities on the plea of vague ill-health or definite conversion symptoms, and tends to regress to infantile patterns of behaviour. These effects of physical illness are not only discernible in children; many an adult tends to show precisely similar reactions and this tends to play a serious part in problems of dependency.

Environmental Factors. It needs no stressing that in considering the environmental influences which affect the child's behaviour, first place must be conceded to the influences of the home. Clinical workers in psychiatry have long recognised that the emotional attitudes of the parents towards the child have a profound influence on the behaviour of the child. It has been clearly observed, for example, that parental attitudes which make the child feel doubtful and insecure about his parents' affection towards him, or those which make him feel rejected, are responsible for a good deal of deviated behaviour; whether it manifests itself in childhood as a behaviour, personality or habit disorder or as a definite character disorder, psychoneurosis or psychosis later on in adult life.

Apart from the direct relationship between the parent and the child another factor adversely affecting the chances of harmonious adjustment is the relationship between the parents. It has become a common observation while dealing with widely differing types of maladjusted individuals that more problems arise in broken homes, or in homes where there is deep marital friction, than in harmonious homes. Such clinical observations were always open to the objection of lacking scientific objectivity, but recent statistical studies, notably in America, have shown that there is definite objective evidence of the relationship between such factors and the incidence of behaviour pro-

* Paterson D. Y., *Physique and Intellect*, pp. 227-231, New York: Century Company, 1930.

blems. For example, Burgess' study suggests that of the different types of broken home, those where the father remarries to produce the father-step-mother combination have the most injurious effect on the production of behaviour and personality deviations, while the children living alone with their mother show a minimum amount of maladjustment due to broken homes.⁶

Another home influence of considerable importance depends on the attitude adopted by the parents towards the development and free growth of the children. Whether parents encourage the youngster to develop initiative and stand on his own legs in meeting gradually increasing difficulties or whether they baby the child and allow or encourage him to behave in an infantile manner is of considerable significance also for the ultimate outcome of adjustment or maladjustment.

The extent of sibling rivalry depends to a large extent on the attitudes of the parents, such as favouritism and rejection. Such rivalry is frequently directly responsible for much jealous behaviour and attention-seeking activities. It would be easy to go on with numerous other influences of parental attitudes but it is not possible to do more than state at this point that several other factors, such as the ethical codes in the home, the ideals and standards—particularly of the mother, the kind of discipline—over-strict or over-lenient, consistent or inconsistent, the extent to which the parents dominate the child or obtain compensatory satisfaction in his activities, all exert a considerable influence on the child's behaviour. It will be shown later in greater detail how these parental attitudes affect the behaviour of the child.

If parental attitudes are the most important of the environmental influences affecting behaviour, other influences cannot be neglected. Favouritism by a teacher, or vindictiveness on his part, do naturally influence behaviour. Similarly the attitudes of one's fellow students, whether they bully or ridicule him, reject or accept him, all have a good deal of bearing on the child's behaviour. For example, in quite a fair proportion of cases of truancy, the child is running away from unpleasant or frightening experiences at school.

Closely allied to school influences in many cases, though by no means always so, are the influences of the child's companionship group. The influence of the attitude and behaviour of the companionship group, according to several authors, appears only to be second to the influence of the family. The child tends naturally to adopt the standards of the group and his behaviour shows a correlation with the behaviour of the group. However significant the

⁶ Burgess, E. W., "The Cultural Study of Adolescence," in *Physical and Mental Adolescent Growth*; Proceedings of the Conference on the Adolescent. Cleveland: Brush Foundation, 1930.

role of individual psychological factors in shaping behaviour the strength of such social forces cannot be overlooked.

Cultural and Social Influences. Closely linked up with the above are the cultural and social traditions. The social group is constantly moulding the behaviour of the individual. For example, Shaw has demonstrated that a boy residing in the midst of disintegrating social influences in a large American city has twenty times the chance of becoming delinquent as a boy who lives in more-favoured parts of the city. In Bombay too, certain localities appear to have a marked influence on delinquency. Low economic status, especially when combined with undesirable social environment naturally has a bad effect on the behaviour of the child. Not only these general and broad social factors but more definite and specific factors have recently been shown to influence behaviour. It has been pointed out that children coming from the homes of the well-to-do tend to exhibit more of personality deviations and emotional disturbances in the nature of inner tensions and personal maladjustment whereas those from poorer families tend to develop more outgoing and anti-social behaviour problems and delinquencies. Even after making allowances for differences in intelligence in the homes, the economic factor seems involved. It is not possible to do justice in such summarised fashion to the various sociological factors, but it may be said that the social factors will influence behaviour in a variety of ways according to the individual and psychological factors present in each case.

Fundamental Needs of the Child. Having summarised the different hereditary, organic and environmental factors, it cannot be felt that a review of the motivating factors of behaviour is completed. The factors so far mentioned act and interact in a complicated manner upon an organism that has a set of fundamental biological strivings. In the very earliest days of infancy such fundamental urges are largely in the nature of urges for the satisfaction of bodily needs such as hunger, the maintenance of suitable body temperature and body posture, and the removal of painful stimuli. As the infant grows older, over and above these physical needs certain emotional needs begin to acquire greater and greater importance, until very soon the emotional needs appear to outweigh the purely physical ones. The number and nature of emotional needs vary a good deal in different individuals, but some of them may be looked upon as fundamental.

In describing these needs it is more important to see how their non-satisfaction affects behaviour than to classify them in any precise manner. It will suffice for the present to state that a need for security, a need for response, a need for recognition and approval, a need for growth and development, a need for play, a need for achievement and a need for companionship

appear to be fundamental. In considering the influences affecting behaviour it will readily be seen, that from the nature of these needs, environmental factors tend to play a dominant role : whether a child feels secure or insecure, whether he feels approved or not, whether he experiences satisfactory emotional responses, whether he can develop initiative in meeting increasingly difficult experiences, whether he can indulge in play activities, whether he can feel satisfaction in achieving something according to his capacities and whether he has facilities for companionship. Naturally, among the environmental factors responsible for the satisfaction or non-satisfaction of these needs, parental attitudes take first place, as the child spends the earliest and formative years in intimate contact with the parents.

In the next issue of the *Journal* I shall attempt to describe how the child's behaviour is influenced by parental attitudes, in their relationship to the satisfaction of the child's fundamental needs.

(To be continued.)

A STUDY OF THIRTY-FIVE STEALING CASES PASSING THROUGH THE BOMBAY JUVENILE COURT IN 1939

LADLI NATH

The author of this paper (*Tata School 1940*) is a Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, who is particularly interested in child guidance work. With no previous Indian studies to guide him, he has attempted to uncover some of the psychological factors in delinquency. The number of cases studied is limited, but the paper prepares the way for further and more intensive studies in this field.

A LITERATURE on juvenile delinquency in India is at present practically non-existent, though the field is a large one. And psychological studies of delinquency are even more rare. But if the delinquent child is to be dealt with intelligently, the attempt at least must be made to understand his total situation. Economic, social and environmental factors granted, there must be something that leads one child to rebel against society, while other children seem to meet apparently the same type of situation in a normal manner. I am fully aware of my limitations in this field and have had no recourse to any Indian studies which could be of help, but at the same time I present this initial study of 35 stealing cases passing through the Juvenile Court of Bombay in 1939, as a pioneer contribution toward our problem.

For my own guidance I drew up a detailed questionnaire, but in interviewing children and parents I used the conversational method. Information received from the schools was practically nil, for most of the boys had had a very nominal school period and that generally at some time in the past. It was extremely difficult to fix the periods of the various events in the children's lives and to secure a developmental history, for the majority of the parents seemed to lack a sense of counting time and age. As a matter of fact the parents were, for the most part, almost entirely ignorant of the activities and companions of their children.

Since this is a study of 35 cases only, I would not attempt to make any generalizations regarding either the delinquency problem or the problem of stealing. I can only show some of the factors which have influenced the lives of these particular children. None of them may be claimed as the one outstanding influence and none of them may be ignored. The child is influenced by all of the factors that enter into his life. And he reacts to the situation as a whole.

Whether stealing by children should always be regarded as an anti-social act is a big question. Many times children do things, quite ignorant of the moral or social implications of their actions. They are out for fun; or

perhaps stealing seems to be the only way to satisfy the desire which is uppermost in the child's mind at the moment. The children themselves do not feel that they have done anything wrong, and the question arises whether adult society should view them as delinquents. There are other children who know that stealing is undesirable. But at the same time they are faced with dire need and either have to forego their barest necessities or steal. Should they be regarded as anti-social? The child is naturally curious and is not, always able to discriminate. Is a child who takes something which attracts him very much, automatically to be classified as a thief? Or again, there are other children whose stealing is symbolic. They may be drawn into stealing by unconscious forces over which they have no direct control, or unconsciously they may be trying to get through stealing that which has been unjustly denied to them—some factor extremely important to a balanced emotional life. Are these children delinquents, or patients? There are children, full of abounding energy, but no opportunity is offered them to divert this energy into constructive channels. They want security, but the home fails to give security. They want love, but the home is broken. They want companions, but the character of the neighbourhood is such that good companions are few and far between. They want recognition, but where will they find it? They wish to develop their vocational or mental faculties, but no job offers and the poverty of the family precludes their schooling. If children thwarted in these ways, rebel against society and turn to stealing as a means of satisfying themselves, society, instead of condemning, should ask itself the question, "Who is responsible?" Do society's demands go hand-in-hand with the facilities provided by society?

What articles were stolen? The articles stolen by the 35 children of this study were varied. 12 boys stole money. 10 boys stole iron. It being the monsoon season, 4 boys went in for umbrellas. Other objects taken were coats, shoes, watches, locks, poultry, machinery, cycles, household utensils, ornaments, rings—in fact any article which appealed to the child or had a ready sales value.

Where did they steal? 1 child stole at home; 2 in the neighbourhood; 3 at work and the remainder in the course of their wandering or play activities.

Did they steal alone? 12 cases out of the 35 stole alone, 21 cases stole with companions. In 2 cases companionship is suspected, as the boys in question were members of gangs, but the actual fact is not known. Companionship was thus a factor in a majority of cases. How did this companionship come about? There are various possibilities. A child may join a group because its activities attract him. On the other hand a group may emerge

because children with similar desires engage in concerted action as a means of satisfying these desires. Circumstances and environment may force companions on the child. The company itself may give the child a feeling of power. Many factors have a bearing on the determination of children's companionship—a subject which we will consider more in detail at a later point in this study.

Were they all first offenders? No. 11 cases out of the 35 were repeaters. 7 had already been placed under supervision and the rest discharged. 13 cases were found to be habitual stealers, though, of these 13, only 6 had been previously arrested for stealing, and 2 on other charges.

How were their cases disposed of? 20 cases were put under supervision, 6 were committed to institutions, and the remainder admonished and discharged.

What was the children's own attitude towards the activities they engaged in? 10 children felt that they had not stolen. Yes, they had been with the actual culprit, but they had simply gone along as an accommodation to a friend. They themselves had no idea of stealing, or no desire to steal. The companionship influence was too strong. In 7 cases the children felt that they had done wrong and expressed both penitence and a desire to improve. In 3 cases the children said that they felt they had done wrong, but that they had been unable to resist outside pressure. The attitude of 3 children was an entirely carefree one: "Yes, we did it, but plenty of other people do too. Stealing certainly is nothing to get excited about." 7 children were definitely in a defiant mood and said that they stole to get even for real or imagined grievances. The remainder were unwilling or unable to supply information.

Why did they steal? 10 children stated they desired the articles stolen. 7 children said they wanted money for cinemas, marbles, and other amusements. 7 declared they simply wanted money. 8 desired the recognition of their companions. 7 acted on outside suggestion. 10 were directly instigated to steal by others. 9 said it was in "a spirit of fun." 8 regarded the stealing exploit as "an adventure." 4 stole out of resentment, and others were unable to assign any reasons. Various causes were given by several of the children for the same exploit, and in the cases of those who stole more than once, various causes appeared for different exploits. On the whole, a desire to possess money or things of value as a means of satisfying needs and buying pleasures appears as a major or minor factor in the stealing of 24 cases.

The various causes of stealing given by these children; their attitudes towards their own problems, and the force and persistency with which they indulged in these activities, seem to mark out two different types of children.

First, were those who had casually gone in for stealing, either knowingly—as they were in such circumstances that it seemed an easy way of getting what they wanted—or thoughtlessly, because some one suggested the act. Their problems were of recent origin and their attitudes such that improvement seemed quite hopeful. These cases numbered 16. On the other hand were those children who were persistent in their stealing and who wilfully disregarded community standards. They seemed either defiant or carefree and showed no desire for improvement. These cases numbered 19. I would not hold that these alignments are categorical. The lines between the groups are crossed over very easily in certain cases. And I would also emphasize that the child's own evaluation of his motives may be quite at variance with reality.

Ages of the children. One child in the group was 7 years old ; 2 were 10 years old ; 7 were 11 years old ; 6 were 12 years old ; 4 were 13 years old ; 9 were 14 years old and 6 were 15 years old.

Economic situation. 10 children in this study were from homes which I call "comfortable", i.e., lower middle class families, bordering on the poverty line. 13 children were from "poor" homes, and 12 from "very poor" homes, i.e., minimum standard or reduced to begging. 21 children reported themselves as satisfied with the economic condition of the home ; 7 accepted the situation, but were dissatisfied ; 5 were dissatisfied and in rebellion, and in the other 2 cases, the parents reported their children as satisfied, but the child's own feeling is not known.

Employment. 8 children began working before the age of 7 ; 1 between 7-9 ; 8 between 9-10 ; 7 between 10-13, and 4 after reaching the age of 13. 10 went to work on their own initiative ; 13 were placed in work by their parents and 5 worked with their parents. It is interesting to note that out of the 10 cases who found work for themselves, the parents of 2 children only were aware that their children were working, the other parents thinking that their children were spending their time in play. These children thus avoided putting their earnings with the family income and had their entire wages for their own use. 6 of this group, however, were out of employment at the time of their arrest. One child who had been working in a hotel of a notorious character, was compelled by his father to quit the work and turned to stealing to provide himself with the things to which he had become accustomed while working.

Home conditions. In 3 cases both parents were dead ; in 7 cases the mother was dead ; in 8 cases the father was dead, and in 17 cases both parents were living. But of the 17 cases where both parents were living, only 6 children reported a satisfactory home atmosphere. The remaining cases reported nagging, quarrelling, bullying and too severe discipline. In 3 cases, where the relationships with parents were satisfactory, the children reported their be-

haviour to be in defiance of the dictatorship of an elder brother who was attempting to usurp the authority of the parents. 5 children found the home discipline so repressive that they resorted to street life and other forms of excitement as compensation.

Of the boys who had lost their fathers, I was unable to obtain any definite reactions. 3 of the boys who had lost their mothers, however, reacted violently. 2 of the boys ran away from home and took to unwholesome forms of street life while the third developed feelings of inferiority and took to day dreaming. He no longer felt secure and turned to stealing in an endeavour to find satisfaction. In only one case was the step-mother reported as the major factor in the delinquency.

Seven children reported constant nagging in the home and 2 felt that they were being discriminated against. 6 of these boys had run away from home at some time or other and 5 were actually living in the streets at the time of their arrest.

In six homes members of the household quarrelled amongst themselves or even with others. A quarrelsome home not only places a bad ideal before the child, but also makes him feel insecure. He is put between conflicting loyalties and the love, hatred, duty and anger toward the different persons, whom he may be loving or hating at the moment, loom large in his mind and put him in a disturbing situation. 2 children in such households found satisfaction in the love of the mother. The other 4 cases were not so easily compensated, for the quarrels seem to have effected them detrimentally, resulting in open defiance.

Recreation. Only 9 children out of the 35 studied had had contact with organized playgrounds. The remainder found their recreation in the streets and in visiting the beaches and maidans when the opportunity offered. 11 children were habitual frequenters of vicious localities.

Temperament of children studied. The nature of the child influences the the behaviour of his companions toward him. A child who is of the leadership type will gather round him other children and organize his group, while a submissive child will be easily influenced by others to join in their activities. Others of the dominating type will accept the former as an equal, while they will try to take work from, and assume an authority over, the suggestible child. 17 children in this study were easily suggestible, while 12 children were definitely assertive. One boy, in particular, had been a leader in his village. But when he came to Bombay, the Bombay *mawalis* began to bully him. His vanity could not stand this treatment. He determined to outdo the *mawalis* at their own game and joined one of their gangs. The restraining influences of home and community were not able to contend with his desire for superiority. He won the leadership he craved—and also institutional commitment. At the other

extreme was a futile boy who craved leadership and who compensated himself for his inability to be a leader by engaging in stealing.

Schooling. 9 of the children studied stated that they "hated" school and dropped out almost as soon as they entered. 2 studied for 2 years; 11 from 2 to 4 years; 5 from 4 to 6 years and 4 for more than 6 years. 4 children had never attempted school. Only 6 children out of 35 were going to school at the time of arrest. Two of these were habitual truants.

Interests. Seventeen children were very interested in the cinema, while 11 of this group might be said to have been abnormally interested in the cinema. All of these 11 children were neglected at home. The movies gave them a satisfaction that they were unable to find elsewhere. It is very rarely indeed that the Indian working class home can supply its children with money for cinema tickets. Hence the children must either curb their desires or resort to other methods. The methods employed are generally to beg for used tickets from paying patrons during the interval or to steal the required money. Five children enumerated among the causes of their stealing a desire to get money for the movies. Others included the movies with the general desire for amusement. The movies create another problem in that children of this type can only patronize the cheapest cinema houses, which places are generally resorted to by those bad characters who wish to use children as tools in their anti-social activities.

Eleven children were interested in tamashas, street corner shows and exhibitions which do not require much money, but which are wholly non-constructive. They provide excitement and little else, and subject the child to exposure to the accompanying undesirable influences.

Three children only were interested in books—and these cheap novels. Five children declared no interests and the interests of the remainder were very meagre. Such children are ready candidates for delinquency, for the delinquent act is at least a change from the monotony of daily living.

Undesirable habits. Eighteen children were incorrigible; 12 accustomed to staying out late and bunking out; 12 were runaways; 2 were engaging in sodomy; 2 were confessed beggars; 9 were given to lying; 6 were known as bullies; 13 were habitual smokers and 4 drinkers. The parents were unable to give very little information about the developmental history of the children. It was not until the habits protruded themselves that they were noticed. Even then the parents made no effort to discover why or how the habits were formed. They attributed the children's actions to the evil in human nature and sought to exorcise this evil through nagging, punishing, stigmatising and repressing—which probably made matters worse.

Initial delinquency. The initial delinquency, as reported by the children,

was stealing in 8 cases; gambling in 1 case; running away from home in 2 cases; staying out at night in 5 cases; truancy in 9 cases; begging in 1 case and the present stealing in 9 cases.

Physical health. In 15 cases the children were of normal health; in 14 cases undernourished and physically deficient, while 6 cases were not examined. None of the children who had physical handicaps attributed their delinquency to their physical condition, though it is quite probable that there was some connection. Consciously or unconsciously the handicapped child may try to engage in activities where he can outshine others and through which his shortcomings can be counter-balanced. When others make a child feel inferior over a shortcoming that is already a disliked part of himself and that is not in his hands to improve, it may very readily create feelings of resentment that will lead the child to withdraw the efforts which he was making to adhere to society's code.

Mental conflicts. The following listing of mental conflicts is an enumeration only of the conflicts which the boys themselves revealed. Without doubt other conflicts had an important part in influencing their conduct. 8 boys reported conflicts due to treatment by parents; 6 as due to conditions at home; 6 due to treatment at work or school; 5 due to worry over the absence of a suitable job; 4 due to treatment by other members of the family; 3 due to their own inferiorities; 1 over violation of moral standards by parent; 1 due to treatment by neighbours; 1 due to obsession for money.

Such conflicts upset and disturb the child. He wants peace and a smooth course of life. These conflicts thwart him. He wants happiness, but unhappiness comes to him. He gropes for a way of action which will give him happiness and a fitting answer to these disturbing influences.

When a child presents a problem and plays a role that society does not like, it does not help much to give him a bad name and treat him through set measures, prescribed for particular types of misbehaviour. If he is to be restored to normality, those factors which have caused a deviation from normal must be dealt with. The assets and liabilities in the situation must be assessed. The former should be so strengthened as to counterbalance the effects of the latter, and the latter should be so altered or removed as to diminish the forces that are disturbing the child.

I have pointed out above that the children whom I studied could be divided into two groups. In Group I the stealing was casual and the children's attitudes were such that improvement seemed hopeful. In Group II the stealing was more or less chronic and there was less hope for improvement. An idea of the liabilities entering into the cases in both groups may be gained from the following table :

Problem	Group I	Group II	Total
(a) Economic insufficiency ...	13	12	25
(b) Unsatisfied cravings ...	2	10	12
(c) Broken home ...	9	9	18
(d) Mental conflicts created by broken home ...	1	5	6
(e) Uncongenial home atmosphere ...	5	18	23
(f) Feelings of being unloved, unwanted, discriminated against ...	3	11	14
(g) Neglect and indifference on part of parents ...	7	13	20
(h) Improper control by parents or other members ...	6	18	24
(i) Mental conflicts created by treatment of parents or family members ...	0	8	8
(j) Moral lag in family ...	5	8	13
(k) Bad environment ...	9	16	25
(l) Bad companions (habitual) ...	0	19	19
(m) Bad companions (casual) ...	5	0	5
(n) Child of assertive type ...	0	11	11
(o) Child easily suggestive ...	9	7	16
(p) Child teased or bullied by companions ...	3	6	9
(q) No apparent interests ...	3	2	5
(r) No healthy interests ...	6	15	21
(s) Little play interest ...	7	9	16
(t) Strong inferiority feelings ...	1	2	3

Many of the factors enumerated above may also be present in children who do not steal. But all are liability factors in any child's life. Those children who are compensated for these disabilities by other healthy forces may adjust themselves well and follow a normal course of development. But those who are more sensitive or do not have these compensations may not be able to adjust themselves so well and may react in undesirable ways.

Parents and adult society expect the child to behave well, regardless of the odds in his way. When a child misbehaves, he meets the opposition of those who do not approve of his behaviour. Parents and others protest, treat him harshly, and try to mend his ways by repressive measures. The result is far too often negative, or even overt rebellion on the part of the child. A new deal based on the attempt to understand the child is long overdue.

SOME PROBLEMS IN PROBATION WORK

KOCHAVARA L. THOZHUTH

Probation work is still in its infancy in India and its technique is an experimental one. Organizational facilities upon which Western workers lean heavily are completely lacking and the Probation Officer is largely dependent upon his own resources and initiative.

Mr. Thozhuth (*Tata School* 1938), who is a Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, discusses some of the problems which he encounters in his daily work.

THE success of probation work depends upon four major factors : the personality of the probation officer; the co-operation of the home; the response of the probationer and the resources of the community. In this paper I am confining myself to outstanding problems in the community outside the home. It has been increasingly realised, in all the progressive countries of the world, that the community has an important function to perform in shaping the destinies of its children. But, unfortunately in India, the community as yet has assumed very little responsibility for the protection of its children. On the other hand, the influence of the community on its youth is, far too often, unwholesome. The probation worker, therefore, has to take stock of all the various disorganizing influences in the community that are threatening the success of his efforts for the rehabilitation of delinquent children. What we, as social workers must do is to create a community conscience so that the people themselves may realise how best they can solve the various problems relating to children. Probation work becomes futile if the community fails to contribute to the welfare of its future citizens.

Delinquency Areas. At present, my work as a probation officer, is confined to the southern part of the city of Bombay, the northern boundary line being Grant Road. This section of the City has some significance of its own so far as juvenile delinquency is concerned. The raw materials for the Juvenile Court are brought from the following important centres :

(1) Grant Road Corner, popularly called "Pila House." This is the rendezvous of run-away boys, mostly from up-country, who later on begin to move in gangs and engage in those adventures which usually end in the Juvenile Court. This place is the seat of a number of cheap cinema houses and low class hotels and restaurants and is in close proximity to houses of prostitution. Unemployed and demoralized adults frequently hang out in this locality for the purpose of exploiting these children. In a word, it is a place of human disintegration.

(2) Bhen'di Bazaar. Here is situated the famous "Chor Bazaar", the centre of all junk dealing. This is a highly congested part of the city. The

residents are predominantly Muslims and the junk dealers are all Muslims. The juveniles living in this area are born and brought up in the city itself and are well versed in the art of stealing junk. They find a ready sale for all stolen articles in the "Chor Bazaar" and it may be remarked in this connection that many junk dealers encourage children in this bad habit. It is interesting to note that with the increase in the price of scrap iron, the work of the Juvenile Court and the probation officers has also increased considerably. Gambling is common among children of this locality.

(3) Crawford Market. This is another important delinquency area. The market is a place of great business activity, the chief transactions being in fruits and vegetables. There are a large number of stalls within the market selling sweets, stationery, crockery and many other articles. Children are attracted into this market mainly for 'coolly' work. It has been found in many cases that the parents themselves send their children, whose ages vary roughly from 8 to 14 years, in order to supplement the family income. The majority of these children are new to city life, having come with their parents from up-country as mere transients. The foot-path is the abode of these people. The children try to secure work as 'coolies' and later on become pilferers. I have been informed by the Vigilance Police that such children are often utilized by adults for the purpose of stealing fruits and other things from the market. Hence, it is invariably the policy of the Police to take charge of any child, found working or roaming in the market, as a destitute.

(4) Dana Bunder, opposite to Prince's and Victoria Docks. A large number of grain godowns are situated here. The godown people employ the cheap labour of women and children in cleaning grain, sweeping and dusting. Therefore hundreds of families live on the foot-paths round about these godowns. Usually in the evening rice is distributed freely by owners of several godowns. Both Hindu and Muslim families from outside the province of Bombay may be found here. The children often roam about near the docks, picking up anything lying loose, and thus getting into trouble.

In addition, many destitute and run-away children are brought to the Children's Home by the G. I. P. Railway Police, as soon as these juveniles get down from trains and are found to be without tickets.

Probation order. A child, who is brought to the Juvenile Court, is either discharged, sent to a Certified School or placed on probation. The probation order is usually passed by the Juvenile Court Magistrate in consultation with the probation officer who is concerned with the case. Sometimes both the Magistrate, and the probation officer have to face some intricate situations. Here, for instance, is a boy who is brought to the Court for stealing. The parents of the child are poor and have come to the city to make a living. They

have no fixed residence. They maintain themselves partly by work and partly by begging. As transient workers it is quite possible that they may leave the city at any moment. The parents state in Court that they will take the child to their native place, without paying for the travel. This habit of defrauding the Railway cannot be encouraged. At the same time, neither the Society nor the Court is able to send the whole family. In such a situation the Magistrate asks the probation officer how to dispose of the case. Since there is a genuine bond between the parents and the child, the worker hesitates to recommend institutional commitment. At the same time, probation is a definite risk. The worker, swayed perhaps by his sympathies, requests the Magistrate for a probation order, though well aware of the difficulties. There is very little possibility that constructive work can be done and yet the risk is taken. This is only one of the many cases where the choice between alternatives is difficult and the prognosis is doubtful.

School. Schools in a community are generally considered as social agents in moulding the character of children. But the schools of today are uncongenial and distasteful to children. Strange to say our schools are housed in buildings originally constructed for living purposes. The class rooms are small and unattractive and without sufficient light and air. The surroundings are noisy and sickening. The number of children in each class is proportionately so large that the teacher is unable to acquaint himself with each and every student. In the lower classes the shift system also prevails. Besides being overburdened with large classes, the teachers have to work for long hours. Further, many are old-fashioned and incompetent, having no insight into the problems of children.

Regarding my experience with this sort of schools, I shall narrate one or two incidents. A few months ago, I had to go to a Municipal school to get one of my probationers re-admitted to the school. I found that his name had been struck from the rolls because he had been constantly playing truant. The head master recollected the name of my probationer and in a distasteful manner told me that the boy was a first class truant, insubordinate, unruly and mischievous. He added that he was afraid of admitting him again for fear of his becoming a danger to other students by starting an epidemic of delinquency. The boy's former class teacher, who was as old-fashioned and bigoted as the headmaster himself, came on the scene and endorsed the feelings of his superior. It was only after considerable persuasion that I got my young charge re-admitted to the school. But ere long I found him running about in the streets instead of attending school. The active antagonism of the school staff proved more effective than his friendship for me and the fear of the Court.

My second experience was not so discouraging. A few weeks ago, I put X in school. He was ten years old and was the only son of his parents. It was the first time he had ever seen a class room. I found the mother keenly interested in the education of her son, although the father was indifferent. After a few days, I came to know that X was irregular at school. Both his mother and I went to trace him and we found him watching fishermen launching boats into the sea. His mother told me that her son loved fishing and that was his main hobby. I knew that the major cause for his truancy was that his teacher resorted to caning, because the boy could not follow the class lessons. I understood that X really liked to go to school but he resented the teacher's attitude. His teacher, fortunately happened to be a young man and so he tried to understand my view-point. He confessed to me that he knew no other method of maintaining discipline in the class except by caning and instilling fear in his students. I requested him to take some interest in problem children, like my probationer. He said that he had no time for such special attention. He intimated that he would be questioned by the headmaster if his class results were not good. However, he promised to try the new method of gaining the confidence of children by friendly advice and guidance, instead of punishment. Some days after, my probationer spoke to me in a delighted fashion that his teacher was very friendly to him. I found him showing a new interest in his study.

It is a pity that the school knows nothing about its students beyond the class-room. The only information the school can furnish the probation officer is about the attendance of students in class. Of course this is of some value to the probation worker, in that he can find out when the particular child began his truant habits.

The children coming before the Juvenile Court may be classified into the following groups: (1) Those who have never attended school. (2) Those who have left school. (3) Those who are irregular at school.

Truancy from school, leaving school at a tender age, or not attending school at all are danger signals. It is the responsibility of the probation officer to encourage school attendance, wherever possible. But this is no easy task. In the beginning it is highly necessary that the probation worker should visit the school, as well as the home of his probationer, at least once a week until the boy shows a genuine interest in his study. But the probation worker, like the school teacher, has not sufficient time for such frequent visits, because he is already overloaded with much office and field work.

Some problem children can be well adjusted by transfer to another school. I have discovered from my own experience, that some children form obnoxious associations and unhealthy alliances with undesirable pupils in the

school and that a transfer may sever these intimacies. Moreover, truancy from school may be traced to the unhealthy attitude of teachers, the bullying of other pupils in the class, or to the low academic achievement of the child himself. But to find a suitable school is the problem. Every school is more or less of the same type. Unfortunately, we have no special schools for problem children.

• *Recreation and leisure-time activities.* One of the fundamental functions of any community is the promotion of leisure-time activities and recreational facilities for children. Youth is full of energy and restlessness which should be directed into healthy and constructive channels. From experiments made in Western countries it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that organized recreation can counteract the unwholesome city influences that very often lead to delinquency. But at the same time one should not be over-optimistic about recreation as a preventive of delinquency, because any single programme also has its limitations.

In Bombay city, recreational facilities are lamentably lacking in areas highly congested and mostly inhabited by poor people. For lack of anything better to do, children turn their interests to commercialised recreation and other forms of unhealthy amusements. Gangs of street urchins wander about, taking their fun where they find it. It is no use telling a boy to keep away from such gangs so long as we fail to give him any suitable substitute outlets for his energy, in the form of recreation. So few attempts have been made in this line that it is not surprising to find many children coming before the Juvenile court in groups for gambling, housebreaking, theft and other offences. The gang influence is so powerful in certain localities that even children of excellent behaviour are intimidated and forcibly dragged into delinquency.

Recently the Children's Aid Society has started a play centre in one of the class-rooms in a municipal school near Crawford Market, with the idea of providing recreational opportunities for all children, but especially for the probationers who are residing nearby. At present this centre is open but once a week, on Friday between 5 and 7 p. m. On the first day, when I went to open the play room at the stipulated time, none of my probationers were there, although previous intimation had been given to them. I was not disheartened; on the other hand, I walked along several narrow lanes, which I found swarming with children, some of whom were busily engaged in playing marbles, while others were simply watching adults at gambling. I found on my way two of my probationers and while going along with them to the play room I asked some of the children roaming in the lanes whether they would like to participate in some indoor games. It was indeed a delightful experience

for me to find the children leaving the lanes and following me eagerly to the play centre. Within a few minutes the play room was full of life and activity. 20 children, including four of my probationers, were present that day. Incidentally, this play centre attracted a probationer who had absconded about five months back and whose whereabouts were not known to me. I found the children were earnest and enthusiastic about play. They were jumping with joy at the new carrom board and other forms of play materials. There is no question but that children will accept wholesome recreation if they are given the opportunity.

The most congested parts of the city need hundreds of play centres for children. It is hoped that our play centre will be an eye opener to the community. At present there are few suitable places in the most congested parts of the city for outdoor activities and so children must make use of the streets and expose themselves to the hazards of traffic. The other day I took a group of youngsters out for a game of football. They were asked to show me a nice place for the purpose. Some of them pointed out a quiet street which could well be closed for traffic and utilised as a play centre in the evening. Then they took me to a very dirty open space which also could be converted into an excellent playground. Finally I had to suggest that they accompany me to the distant Azad Maidan.

The city street is a definite challenge to us. The leadership in the street is usually assumed by an older boy who is an undesirable figure. In the street corners and alleys one can hear the filthy talk of children, as well as adults, and the "mawalis" control the conduct of youngsters. It is here the probation worker meets with the greatest obstacles. The street life of children must be controlled. But how to do it is the question. First of all, as I have already stated, we have no suitable places for providing recreational facilities, and secondly, we have no workers-at-large for the organization of such activities.

Employment. Many of the children coming before the Juvenile Court are found to be not school-going. They have either been engaged in some unskilled jobs or are habitual wanderers. The majority of this group are above school age and so the main solution of their problem is to find suitable jobs. It is quite common for parents themselves to encourage their children to take up any job, regardless of the conditions under which these youngsters have to work. The following is a list of jobs in which children under 16 are engaged :

1. Newspaper boys.
2. Restaurant boys (barwalas).
3. Hotel boys.

4. Domestic servants.
5. Hawkers.
6. Ice-fruit venders.
7. Carrying cinema posters.
8. Cinema theatre boys, for selling cold drinks, tea, etc.
9. 'Cooly' boys.

Any casual observer can come to the conclusion that the jobs mentioned above are not conducive to the wholesome growth of the personality of the child. I have now and then pondered over the question whether minors should be allowed, or rather advised, to seek employment on grounds of poverty. No ready answer can be given to this question. Firstly, we have to take into consideration whether the particular job impairs health, endangers morals and arrests the mental development of children. Secondly, it is important to know whether there is any possibility of the children being exploited in any way, and thirdly, whether the parental control and authority at home will suffer on account of the child's economic independence. The jobs listed above undoubtedly retard the future of children and they remain unskilled for the rest of their working lives. It is, furthermore, dangerous and risky to send children to work night and day under nobody's responsibility. We social workers should take a long view of things. It is true that we have to face opposition from parents and children, and even from the community as a whole, if we attempt to prohibit children from seeking blind-alley jobs. Of course, there are some trying situations when the probation worker has to allow his probationer to take up work instead of remaining idle. It is a common practice for probationers and their parents to pester the probation worker for jobs, imagining that he is an employment bureau. In fact, the probation worker is often helpless in the matter. But what he can do is to acquaint himself with all available resources in the community. He should be quick to understand the aptitudes of persons so as to give them some sort of vocational guidance. In short, the probation worker should encourage and advise his probationers in the method of seeking employment, himself assuming the place of a counsellor supplying occupational information.

If probation work is to succeed in India, many of our institutions are in urgent need of re-organization. The school should satisfy the physical, mental and emotional requirements of youth. Recreational and leisure-time activities for children should be well organized and widely promoted under trained leadership. Homes should be saved from starvation, poverty and unemployment. Religion and religious organizations should assume a new responsibility in solving individual as well as group problems in the community. Charity trusts should direct their interests towards child welfare. A

co-ordinated and concentrated effort on the part of all organizations will help to solve many present problems of juveniles.

For this new social awakening, we social workers should educate public opinion. In this connection, may I suggest the opening of a Juvenile Research Department in our School for supplying facts and current information to the public. This department will be of immense help, especially to those of us who work in the field of probation.

PLAY AND PHYSICAL TRAINING IN SEVENTY-ONE BOMBAY SCHOOLS

E. J. S. RAM

Every programme of delinquency prevention emphasizes the values in play and recreation. This study makes it quite clear that play alone is no panacea for either juvenile delinquency or for building a healthy citizenry. A programme of play must be intelligently planned and adapted to individual needs, under careful supervision, before it can realize its potential possibilities.

At the time of making this study Mr. Ram (*Tata School, 1938*) was Physical Director of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Bombay. His present position is that of Labour Welfare Officer with the Government of Bombay.

THE most satisfactory definition of play is probably a functional one. Thus, play may be physical, as in active games and sports; mental, as in satranj, card games, draughts and puzzles; rhythmic, as in music and dancing; creative, as in arts and craftsmanship; or a combination of two or more of these. In fact, as has been well said, "any type of activity primarily engaged in for its own sake, which is in itself pleasing and satisfying, is characterised by the play spirit." Play has been described as "a safety-valve for overflowing motor energy"; "recapitulation of the earlier activities of the race that have survived in modified form in the play of the child"; "a method of education or preparation for life activities"; "a pleasurable emotion which is enhanced by crowds"; and "a recreation and relaxation from the drudgeries of life." Play is not simply amusement, nor is it the mere spending of superfluous energy. It is a cry of developing muscles and nerves which must be answered. It is a biological and social necessity.

The advantages of play are numerous. Play—

- 1) • increases the physical fitness of the young.
- 2) develops co-operation, a sense of mutual rights, obedience, loyalty, friendliness, democracy and other such qualities.
- 3) is an antidote for anti-social tendencies.
- 4) affords mental development and acts as a mental stimulus.
- 5) helps the child to gain control over his body, acquire accuracy and precision in motion, judge distances, sights and sounds.
- 6) is a way by which the child learns of life—of such fundamental things, e. g., as the hardness of wood and the wetness of water.

It is thus clear that play helps not only to build the body and keep up one's health, but also to build character, as it trains in self-mastery, obedience, justice and sportsmanship. The values inherent in play, however, will not be

fully realized apart from competent leadership and an adequate supporting environment.

For the purposes of our study physical exercises and physical activities can be grouped into three general types:—

A. Formal Activities. (1) Free-hand exercises, that is, exercises done without the use of apparatus. (2) Exercises with light apparatus, such as wooden dumb-bells, light Indian clubs, poles, wands and chest expanders. (3) Exercises with or on heavy apparatus, such as heavy weights, bar-bells, horizontal and parallel bars, ladder, buck and horse.

B. Informal Activities. (1) Informal group games, of both a competitive and non-competitive nature. (2) Activities like tumbling, pyramid building, fencing, lathi play and sword play.

C. Major Activities and Games. (1) Combative activities, such as boxing, wrestling and jiu jitsu. (2) Organized games, like football, hockey kabaddi and atya patya.

These activities are not gone through in a haphazard manner in the modern process of physical training, but are carefully conducted and skilfully selected according to strict physiological principles. Exercises should proceed from the simple to the more difficult, in order to obtain more effective results and to avoid undue strain on the heart and the muscles. There should also be a gradual progression in activities and exercises to suit the sexes and the different ages. Exercises should be gone through in groups rather than one at a time so that the cumulative effect of the exercise may result in increased circulation and respiration. Finally, the activities should suit the needs, interests and physical capacity of the individual

Broadly speaking, physical training can be classified into two distinct departments—one dealing with exercises and the other with games. Recently the games section has received such importance that it is called 'Playground Culture.' Both exercises and games, play an important part in the development of the whole child. In addition to their corrective, educational and hygienic value, they give the child much-needed recreation after a day's toil in the class-room. They help to build the character of every child that learns to play the game in the right manner.

In view of the enormous potential good to be derived from supervised play I visited 71 schools in Bombay for the purpose of studying existing play conditions and suggesting, if possible, means by which the existing conditions might be improved. I discovered that out of about 36,862 students, 31,222 students were actually participating in some type of physical training activities. The present position can probably be best understood in the light of the brief history of physical education in Bombay.

It was only in 1926 that educationists recognized the need of introducing some sort of physical training as a compulsory subject in all Government and aided schools of Bombay. In 1928, physical training was actually introduced in all such schools and at least one period per week was allotted to each class. Some schools provided themselves with gymnasiums of the type discarded in European countries. Others who had some open space in front of the school building engaged the students for a few minutes in the evening in physical jerks and drill. Still others who had neither a play-ground nor a terrace to be used as a play-ground, shut their pupils in their class rooms and left them to the mercy of ignorant, unqualified and cane-equipped drill masters.

The masters were ill paid and had no real training for the work they were called upon to do. They were more like policemen at school, than teachers who imparted education through play. In most cases both the drill teacher and the drill-period were a dread to the pupils.

Play, till recently, was regarded as only for the dull, unteachable and lazy child, and the bright student of the class-room variety, as well as his parents, considered compulsory play as a shameful imposition.

On the whole, it may be asserted that thus far physical instruction has not been much of a success in Bombay. The standard of efficiency is shockingly poor, leadership is hardly qualified and the schools are shamefully understaffed for the purposes of physical instruction. Want of play-grounds and financial resources are difficult obstacles. The school curriculum is too heavy to permit adequate time and opportunity for play and amusement. Malnutrition of children, lack of provision for effective medical inspection of school children, unhygienic surroundings and improper clothing are other complicating factors.

Since 1924, the Bombay Municipality has taken an interest in providing play facilities for children. Today, about 20 parks and 30 recreation grounds and open spaces are controlled by the Municipality. But out of these, only four recreation grounds are under the supervision of qualified play leaders. The remaining 26 recreation grounds and 20 parks are either ill-supervised or unsupervised. It is reasonable to expect that a good number of school children are making use of these parks and grounds, but with what results, it is difficult to say.

There are also several clubs for different sports. These, however, can be used by only those who can afford to pay for them. As the economic condition of most of our school children does not permit such membership, the responsibility of the schools to provide proper play facilities is all the greater. Even those who can afford to make use of these clubs do not get proper training and exercise, as most of the clubs are busy in organising matches and running competitions.

The Participants. The ages of the children, in the 71 schools studied ranged from 6 years to 18 years. In the 22 girls' schools there were 7,842 students, out of which 6,757 girls were actually taking part in active games and physical exercises according to the requirements of the school curriculum. In 16 out of these 22 schools, girls studying in the matriculation class are exempted from the drill periods and 270 girls with certain defects, deformities and ailments were excused.

As for the boys' and co-educational schools, out of a total number of 29,010 students in 49 schools, only 24,465 pupils attended the drill periods. In 42 out of the 49 schools, matriculation students are excused from taking any physical exercise as "all their energies must be directed towards books for the purpose of the examination." 6% of the pupils were exempted on medical grounds. The average number of girls that reported for physical training under a single leader was 31 as against 56 in boys' and co-educational schools.

Most drill masters require their pupils to adhere to the age-old ideas of discipline—a blind obedience to authority and conformity to the social group. Any departure from the drill-masters' instructions during the drill period is met with severe punishment. No proper attempt is made to study the factors responsible for the child's misbehaviour. As long as the leaders or supervisors personally supervise the drill, there is a certain amount of order, but the students are generally unwilling to behave themselves when a leader chosen from among the group is asked to supervise the play. Discipline seems to be more easily maintained among girls than among boys.

As already pointed out a goodly number of children are excused in every school. The usual grounds for such exemption are medical or matriculation examination. But it must also be pointed out that the reasons given are not always genuine. Increasing attention should be paid by the heads of institutions to exempting only the deserving, for I found that while able children were sitting and watching the 'fun', sickly-looking, weak children were drilling, just because they could not get medical certificates. Exemptions should be reduced to the minimum and the children should be educated regarding the value of physical training.

Little discretion was shown in the choice of items for physical exercises for different sexes and different age groups. It must not be forgotten that although till the 10th year both boys and girls may be given the same exercises, after that age they need different types to suit their physical development and their physiological changes. In 10 out of the 22 girls' schools, folk dancing was a popular exercise. Dancing on tip-toes, skipping and swimming are excellent types of physical exercises for girls of all ages. It is sound practice to provide exercises which are attractive in themselves and which can be carried on into adult life.

In 75% of the schools nearly the same activities were given to each class and age-group, with no attempt at grading, but physiological age is a most important consideration in arranging a programme of physical activity. Following are some of the characteristics of various age-periods :

- (a) *Babyhood (0-6)*. This is the period of 'Early Childhood' when the child is more interested in the activity itself than in the results achieved. Babies enjoy rolling, running, kicking, jumping, stories and simple rhythmic games.
- (b) *Later Childhood (7-11)*. This is an age of individualism and self-assertion. The characteristic play of the period is vigorous and varied with very little tendency towards co-operation and team play. Ball games are very popular with this group. The children enjoy short races, relays; hockey and such other group games.
- (c) *Early Adolescence (12-14)*. This is a period when sex characteristics are developing. Children begin to grow rapidly and often grow awkward in appearance. The child develops a love for adventure and a strong desire for new experience. Ideals of self-sacrifice and heroism appeal strongly to children of this age. They have a strong desire to belong to a group. There is an unusual interest shown in scouting, camp fire and club activities. Boys like to participate in field and track sports. Girls like to play tennis, basketball and badminton. They like to play apart from boys of their own age. They also take to table games, contest games and team activities.
- (d) *Middle Adolescence (15-16)*. At this period the growth is more in the direction of increasing strength and stamina. Sex attraction asserts itself during this period. There is a strong desire for social fellowship. Aesthetic appreciation is also developed. There is a great deal of hero-worship and responsiveness to leadership. Great interest is shown in team games and athletics; in parties, picnics, outings, dramas; in singing, reading, debates, discussions and other social activities.
- (e) *Later Adolescence (17-24)*. At this age both boys and girls become physically and mentally mature, and consequently their habits, ideals and opinions tend to become fixed. Sex attraction becomes strong and aesthetic appreciation deepens. Creative imagination also matures. Young people of this age like team games and parties and show a great deal of interest in club activities, picnics and outings.

The health of school children has not yet become a sufficient concern of school authorities. There is no adequate provision for the medical examina-

tion of pupils. 28 schools, out of the 71 studied, had secured the services of a doctor, either on a small honorarium, or free. But the periodic medical examination is gone through as a matter of routine, both by the doctor and the school, and no attempt is made to make a real study of the condition of the children's health in relation to their play and studies. In 10 schools where there was reported medical inspection, only a few suspected cases were examined and the rest exempted. No arrangements were made for follow-up work after examination.

Far from improving the physical health of children, the type of exercises given in 50% of the schools studied, would tend to produce postural defects, heart trouble, muscular strain and nervous disorders. Such unfortunate results can be avoided only when the leader possesses a sound knowledge of the structure and functions of the human mechanism at different ages and understands essential sex differences.

Malnutrition among school children in Bombay is as much the result of ignorance as of poverty. Much could be done to improve the situation by a little more attention to food values and change in the outlook of the housewife and parents. A well balanced diet is indispensable to physical development. Hence it becomes the duty of the agency which compels physical education to provide healthy and adequate diet for those who cannot afford it. State aid is essential in matters relating to nutrition, because the stability and prosperity of the state depend on the efficiency of its citizens.

There are four important things to be considered in setting up *an adequate physical education environment*: "(1) the elimination of unnecessary hazards; (2) the proper provision of appropriate facilities; (3) the provision of adequate and skilled leadership; and (4) proper control of the personnel of the group of students brought together."¹ Judged by this standard, I found that in 35 schools the environment was far from satisfactory. The rooms were ill-ventilated; the surroundings, far too often, used as public latrines; while heaps of rubbish and stones appeared to be a part of the natural scenery. Wherever the environment is not hygienic, the activity programme of the child is greatly hampered.

To a casual visitor to any school during the drill period, the unsatisfactory *dress of the participants* is immediately apparent. Loose dhotis, badly wrapped saris, chappals on the feet and neckties are not uncommon sights. Suitable costumes for play and exercise are not luxuries, but necessities, and unsuitable foot-wear is definitely harmful.

• *What they play.* A common practice is to give two periods per week of 25 minutes each, for physical exercises. Apart from this scheduled time

¹ Nixon and Cozen : *Introduction to Physical Education*, p. 96.

children have the long recess in the noon to themselves for unorganized and unsupervised games. All the heads of institutions agree that the present unorganized herd system, together with two periods of physical training per week, is neither educationally nor biologically sound.

The huge variety of play activities may be divided into two main divisions : outdoor and indoor activities. Gymnastics and drill are good for muscle-building and may be used to correct bad and faulty postures. But ordinarily they lack the emotional interest found in games and sports, and so they contribute very little towards the growth of mind and will power. Those games and activities may be said to be best which combine the maximum possibilities for growth with keen interest and are meant for the largest number of children.

The most popular games among boys in most of the schools studied were cricket and hututu. 9,140 boys, in 41 schools, played cricket and 6,600 boys, in 16 schools, played hututu. Girls prefer badminton, basketball and hututu. Badminton drew 2,630 girls in 13 schools ; basketball, 2,050 girls in 11 schools, and hututu 1,750 girls in 5 schools. The games next in popularity among boys are football, hockey, kho kho, volleyball, badminton, tenikoit, boxing and tennis. The girls have as their second choice atya patya, kho kho, tenikoit and tennis.

Indoor games attract large numbers. Both boys and girls are interested in carrom, ping-pong, card games, draughts, dominoes, bagatelle and guessing games. At present very few of the new indoor games are being introduced. In order to introduce the children to these games the old games should be taken out for a time and the new ones placed in the rooms. The usefulness of indoor games during the Monsoon makes them indispensable.

A number of schools encourage the formation of Scout troops and Girl Guides for children under 18 and of Wolf Cubs and Blue Birds for children under 12 years. There were in all, 2,131 Scouts and 1,031 Girl Guides in the schools studied. But it must be pointed out that no regular programme of activities is planned for scouts and guides. Camps are organised occasionally but they cannot be said to be run satisfactorily. It would be well for the authorities to realise the immense play value of these organizations when they are conducted properly.

Camps, in particular, offer opportunities for the development of group co-operation and group loyalty through games and athletics, which it is difficult to duplicate in the ordinary play activities of the school. The timid boy is introduced to group activities, and ways are found of checking the activities of the over-aggressive and domineering types.

It is to be regretted that not enough pupils are taking interest in track and field sports. These seem to be reserved for a few star athletes. Only 200 boys took to track as a regular part of their training and only 2 schools included this branch of athletics as a regular physical training feature. There is inadequate equipment, improper ground facilities, bad training methods, and there is hardly any provision for coaching the athletes. Consequently the performance of athletes at the annual sports day of the schools is mediocre, to say the least.

Leadership. The usefulness of the physical training given in schools depends to a great degree on qualified leadership. In the schools studied there were 3 teachers under 25 years and 5 over 46 years, while the remaining 54 men and 29 women were between 26 and 45 years. 57% of the total number of those in charge of drill could be said to have had some sort of training in a Physical Culture Institute, the Y. M. C. A., or some such training centre. As for the academic qualifications of the instructors, 23 were non-matriculates, 42 matriculates, 10 graduates and 11 undergraduates.

Some of these were part-time and others full-time workers. The full-time teachers are usually trained teachers, teaching academic subjects in the school as well. For conducting physical training and games for an hour a day, they are generally paid Rs. 10/- per month in addition to their regular salary. The remuneration of the instructors ranged from Rs. 25/- to over Rs. 150/-. In the schools studied it was found that 25 instructors received from Rs. 41/- to Rs. 60/- monthly; 19, from Rs. 61/- to Rs. 75/-; 17, from Rs. 26/- to Rs. 40/-; 11, from Rs. 75/- to Rs. 100/-; 7, Rs. 25/- and under; 4, Rs. 150/- and over; and 3 from Rs. 101/- to Rs. 150/-.

Whether to employ professional physical instructors or teacher instructors is the problem that many heads of institutions are facing. When leadership both inside and outside the class-room is uniform, more permanent results are a possibility. But the teacher-instructor is at best an amateur physical training instructor and may not be as scientific and as efficient as a professional instructor. Both have their own advantages and disadvantages. However, for a large number of schools a teacher-instructor is more suitable. The day scholars, living in homes of different social strata, some of them ill-fed, will not benefit from physical training of a sterner or a quasi-military character. A teacher-instructor can realise the varying needs of the pupils, whereas a part-time specialist does not make any allowance for them.

Play-spaces. In a city like Bombay where even living space is inadequate, finding a place to play is a real problem. It becomes all the more difficult for schools to make adequate arrangements for the physical training of pupils, as many of the schools are situated in very closely-built areas,

Some schools have merely hired a portion of a building and quite often on the upper floors. Therefore schools are driven to use closed gymnasiums, outdoor gymnasiums, school compounds, school terraces, school halls and even school class rooms for physical training.

Out of 71 schools studied, there were only 22 play-grounds in boys' and co-educational schools and 8 in girls' schools. These were used for games such as cricket, football, kho kho, tenikoit, badminton and tennis. But I found that while the smaller play-grounds were kept neat and accurately marked, the larger ones were badly kept and marked wrongly. During the rainy season they were slippery and therefore not very satisfactory for play.

There were but 5 gymnasiums in the 71 schools studied. But they were mostly badly ventilated, and not very suitable for indoor exercises, as they were originally ordinary class-rooms. They were all equipped with immovable apparatus and were generally used only during school hours. Closed gymnasiums are very necessary for schools in Bombay, because of the heavy monsoon, but in no case should they replace play-grounds.

There were 10 schools having outdoor gymnasiums, constructed on the school campus, and equipped with see-saws, swings, slides, ladders, parallel and horizontal bars. Children between 6 and 12 years of age made the most use of these. But the outdoor gymnasiums are not generally supervised and are not kept in good condition.

In the other schools, where play-grounds were not available, school compounds, rooms and halls were used for drilling and playing. There are schools where there is enough space in the compound to make play-grounds, but authorities are more anxious to beautify their schools by laying gardens there, than to provide facilities for their pupils to play. As for the school rooms and school halls, there is hardly enough room for indoor games of the mildest type. They have no air and light, and conducting physical training there is more harmful than not having any exercises at all. In one girls' school they go to the extent of closing all the windows and doors of the room to protect the girls from possible public gaze.

More than a dozen schools have terraces, but only two of them are used for exercises. They do not serve the purpose of the school adequately as they cannot be used when it is too hot and when it is raining. Only formal types of exercises are possible on these terraces.

Whether the physical programme is conducted in rooms, halls, terraces or small compounds, one criticism applies, and that is that the type of exercises given during the drill period have little scientific value. The need to pay more attention both to proper play spaces and the proper use of the places cannot be too greatly emphasised.

The money problem. The success of physical training and games depends to a considerable extent on the money available for this purpose. The money required for providing play equipment has to come from the fees that children pay. Usually there is a separate fund, called the 'games fund', and most schools pay the salaries of instructors and provide the required equipment from this 'games fund'. The average income from fees, per student, worked out at Re. 1-11-4 per year, and the average expenditure at Re. 1-9-0 for each participant per year. 11 schools made no expenditure for games, but charged the students a nominal games fee to cover the salary of the drill instructor. 8 schools provided games and other amenities for play free of charge. In all other schools every pupil had to pay the prescribed games fee whether he participated in games or not.

The annual expenditure on games and physical training was as follows : 8 schools spent less than Rs. 250/-; 12 between Rs. 250/- and Rs. 500/-; 21 from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1000/-; 14 between Rs. 1000/- and Rs. 2000/-; while 5 schools spent over Rs. 2000/-. In nearly all schools a large portion of the money was spent on the school representative teams. While I do not suggest that these teams should not be given extra facilities, I strongly feel that the money spent on them is quite out of proportion, and the school has no right to disregard the claims of other pupils who contribute equally towards the 'games fund'.

Again it cannot be said that the money budgeted for games "is always in right relation to the required expenditure. Greater efforts should be made to suit the budget to the requirements rather than suit the requirements to the budget.

The better way. The existing state of affairs as regards play and physical training in schools calls for immediate improvement. An impetus in this direction was supplied when the Congress Ministry appointed a Physical Education Committee to suggest ways and means of dealing with the problem. A brief summary of the Committee recommendations may not be out of place here :

1. Physical education should be looked upon as an integral part of general education.
2. Government should undertake the responsibility of paying the full share of the grant-in-aid due on all expenditure on physical education incurred by a school or a local body, irrespective of Government's ability to pay the ordinary grant-in-aid on the total expenditure of that school or local body.
3. The expenditure on expensive games like tennis and cricket, should not be considered as admissible for the grant-in-aid recommended above.

4. Where suitable land is available, Government and local bodies should either make a free gift of it to the local schools or at least permit its use on a nominal rent. Where such land is not available suitable plots should be acquired for schools on a grant-in-aid basis. To solve the problem in big cities Government should press the respective municipalities to make adequate provision for open spaces in their town planning schemes.
5. Physical education should be considered as a compulsory subject in the school courses of studies and it should have the status of a major subject. The minimum period of tuition should be laid down as five hours instead of four per week, out of which 45 minutes at least should be given to physical activities.
6. The majority of class-room teachers should also be physical instructors.
7. Government should start a training institute for physical education where no fees should be charged and provision should be made to admit 100 students, men and women.
8. Government should also establish at an early date a College of Physical Education, on a par with the College of Engineering, with a three years' course after the Intermediate examination in Science.
9. Government should create a special agency for inspecting and directing physical education in schools.
10. Government should also institute short term courses (a) for secondary teachers, (b) for primary teachers in rural areas, and (c) for primary teachers in district towns.
11. Hawkers should be forbidden to hawk near the schools.
12. Government should create a Statutory Standing Committee to advise the Minister of Education on all matters of physical education.
13. The Standing Committee should be responsible for propaganda on physical education.
14. The Committee recognises the gymnasia as valuable national assets
 - in physical education and recommends that they should receive help from Government.
15. Hindi should be used when commands are given in P. T. exercises.
16. Physical Education Days, Weeks and Months should be observed in schools.
17. Senior students should be formed into volunteer corps to render social service.
18. Pamphlets on diet written in simple style in the different languages

of the province should be distributed by Government, to educate the masses in dietetics.

19. The Standing Committee should undertake educative propaganda for organizing charity and supplying milk, free of cost, to school-going children.
20. Government should control Sadavartas and other endowments for feeding the poor, by legislation if necessary, and should reserve them for the benefit of school-going children.²

In addition to these valuable recommendations of the Committee I would suggest the following items :

1. Every school should have compulsory medical examination for all pupils and should make adequate arrangements to give medical treatment to those that need it.
2. Special classes should be conducted (a) to correct bad posture and remediable deformities; (b) to give opportunity for individual consultation and advice; (c) to train student leaders to help in the conduct of games.
3. The staff members should be given health instruction and should engage in some physical activities, that they may co-operate in promoting student recreational activities.
4. Each student should be required to pass a physical fitness test of a given standard.
5. Every school should have a well qualified physical instructor, who should be given equal status with the rest of the staff.
6. Every school should have a Physical Education Department, to be run by a committee of staff and student representatives, presided over by the physical instructor.
7. The aims of this department should be :
 - (a) to promote normal growth and organic development;
 - (b) to develop such qualities as will help the student to live a well-adjusted social life, and make him a true 'sportsman' ;
 - (c) to develop regular habits of healthy exercise and play.
8. Every school should have a well-qualified doctor, whose duty should be to examine every pupil before admission, and from time to time thereafter and advise the physical instructor as to the physical condition of each pupil, so that he may devise suitable exercises for the normal and the sub-normal student.
9. The whole school should be divided into different 'Houses' so that there may be inter-house competitions.

² *Report of the Physical Education Committee, 1937, pp. 38-39.*

10. Every student should be given a card on which should be recorded the type of exercise taken, the credit he receives in physical training items, and such other things as will enable the school to know the exact attention the student has been paying to physical education. A satisfactory card of this nature should be a pre-requisite to being permitted to appear for the examination.
11. It should be the aim of every school to have an adequate physical education library, consisting of the latest books on the subject, to enable the physical instructor, staff and pupils to keep abreast of the latest methods of physical education.
12. The value of physical demonstrations, organized on an inter-school basis is very great. These demonstrations should be meant for the benefit not only of students, but the general public also.

Most schools will dismiss these suggestions on the plea that financial considerations make it impossible to put them into practice. But when the public is made to realise the great need of scientific physical education, parents will not lag behind in bearing their share of the burden. It is the responsibility of the schools to help the parents to realise the importance of such education. When the schools, the parents and the state combine to look after the health of the children, Bombay can be assured of having healthy citizens.

SOME ASPECTS OF PROBATION ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

S. NAGESWARAN

On another page of this issue of the *Journal* there is a Report of the First All India Penal Reform Conference. Tangible evidence of the growing interest in Penal Reform is found in the United Provinces First Offenders' Probation Act, which is a step towards the individualization of the treatment of adult offenders.

Mr. Nageswaran, who is the Chief Probation Officer in the United Provinces, graduated from the Tata School in 1938. He is assisted in his work by seven probation officers, trained in a special class at the Tata School.

I HAVE advisedly chosen the title for this paper, for I shall be limiting myself to those elements of Probation Administration and Organization which I meet with in my day to day life in the United Provinces and which at the moment are uppermost in my mind.

BACKGROUND

I shall review briefly the position before I actually assumed office as the Chief Probation Officer, U. P., on the 1st August, 1939. The Congress Government in the United Provinces had accepted the responsibility of the State for maintaining an effective system of after-care for prisoners. With this object in view Government constituted the U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society with the Parliamentary Secretary for Jails as Chairman, the Judicial Secretary to Government as Honorary Secretary and the Inspector General of Prisons as the Honorary Treasurer. Along with them, the Inspector General of Police, U. P. ; the Rural Development Officer, U. P. ; Registrar, Co-operative Societies, U. P. ; the Director of Industries and Commerce, U. P. ; the Director of Public Instruction, U. P. ; the Officer in Charge of Criminal Tribes, U. P. ; two members elected by the U. P. Legislative Council and four by the U. P. Legislative Assembly ; all Superintendents of Central Prisons, U. P. ; the Superintendent of Chunar Reformatory School and the Secretary of the U. P. Jails Association are ex-officio members of the Central Committee which manages the affairs of the Society. Government also directed that branches of the Provincial Society, styled as District Committees, be established in all the 48 districts in the United Provinces.

By the 31st March 1939 each of the districts in the United Provinces had its District Committee functioning. The District Magistrate serves as Chairman of the District Committee, while the Superintendents of Local, Central and District Jails, the Superintendent of Police, Chairmen of the

District and Municipal Boards at the Head Quarters of the District, the Chairman of the Rural Development Association and the Secretary of the Committee are ex-officio members of the District Executive Committee. It will thus be clear that while the Central and District Committees of the U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society are non-official, a large measure of official countenance and support is forthcoming to the Society.

THE U. P. FIRST OFFENDERS' PROBATION ACT (ACT VI OF 1938).

The U.P. First Offenders' Probation Act (Act VI of 1938) came into force from March 1st, 1939. It is a most important step towards the individualization of the treatment of the adult offender in our Province. I have on other occasions in the columns of the *Indian Penal Reformer* and in the pamphlet, *Probation and the Role of Magistrates*, discussed the main provisions of the Act and the Rules. I might, however, mention in passing that section 3 of the Act relates to the release of offenders after due admonition and covers the case of all persons irrespective of age or sex convicted of an offence punishable with not more than two years of imprisonment. Section 4(1) of the Act relates to the release on probation of good conduct and covers the case of all persons convicted of an offence not punishable with death or transportation for life, irrespective of age. The second proviso of Section 4(1) of the Act makes it obligatory for the Court to release on probation of good conduct all first offenders under 21 years of age who are convicted of an offence punishable with imprisonment not exceeding six months, except where the Court, for special reasons to be recorded, wishes to depart from the mandatory nature of the proviso. Under Section 4(2) of the Act the Court may make a Supervision Order directing that the offender released under section 4(1) be placed under the supervision of a probation officer, provided the offender is under 24 years of age. The period of probation cannot go beyond the age of 25 years. Rule 12 is a most useful provision for the Courts which enables them to call upon the probation officer to make the preliminary enquiries, in cases where a Supervision Order is contemplated.

The main provisions of the Act, dealing with probation, have in the first instance, been brought into force in a selected area, in the seven important districts of the U. P.—Lucknow, Cawnpore, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Bareilly and Meerut. The U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society has, with the approval of the Government, appointed a probation officer for each of these districts. These officers have been carefully selected and were deputed for a special course of training at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, for a period of four months. They joined their duties from October 1st, 1939. Thus one of the most important problems in

the Administration of Probation Work—the selection and training of the probation staff—was solved by the Society itself taking the initiative in the matter.

When the ex-Parliamentary Secretary for Jails, U. P., Mr. Gopinath Srivastava—to whose personal interest, untiring energy and zeal so much of penal reform work in the United Provinces is due—invited me to accept the newly-created office of the Chief Probation Officer, I readily accepted the offer because of the greater field of work and new opportunities. Before I assumed office on the 1st August, 1939, I toured the Madras Presidency and hence had some personal knowledge of what is being attempted in the field of adult probation. The Probation Department was formed soon after my appointment. The administrative office includes the office of the Chief Probation Officer at the Council House, Lucknow, which is my head quarters.

MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF THE PROBATION DEPARTMENT

The major problems of the U. P. Probation Department resolved themselves into the following :

1. *The formulation of an administrative plan.* The necessity for the formulation and putting into effect of a methodical and logical plan of organization and administration was recognised at the outset by the Probation Department. Every effort was made to meet this need so that work would proceed in an orderly fashion.

Emphasis was made of the interlocking relationship between Magistrates, Judges, the Probation Department and staff, other social agencies and the Police Department. Policies were formulated, and the duties of the probation officers were prescribed by circulars. The above material was supplemented by means of further circulars on the extension of activities. Periodical circulars to probation officers were a distinct aid to orderly administration.

2. *Co-operation with the Magistrates and Judges.* The probation officer is responsible to the Magistrates of the Courts for the administration of the system. The understanding and sympathetic co-operation of the Magistrates and Judges is invaluable in promoting the effectiveness of the Probation Service and the treatment of offenders. The Court has full powers of discretion in the matter of passing Probation Orders and in fixing probation conditions. Upon the approval and appreciation of an intelligent Court depends the maintenance of the highest standards of work of the Probation Department. The Pamphlet on *Probation and the Role of the Magistrates*, prepared by the Chief Probation Officer, was distributed extensively to all Magistrates, District and Sessions Judges, Police Officers, etc. A short note explaining the Act and the Rules was also extensively distributed to the

Magistrates. It has been the duty and the privilege of the Chief Probation Officer to present to the Court the larger aims and values of the Probation Service and to bring before it examples of high attainment in other parts of the world. The co-operation between the Court and the Probation Department was effected and advanced by conferences of the Magistrates with the Chief Probation Officer and by means of Government Circulars from the Judicial Secretary to the Government of United Provinces to the District Magistrates.

3. *Administration of Probation Work.* Each probation officer was supplied with *A Hand Book of Probation Officers*, prepared by the U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, acquainting him with the responsibilities and opportunities of his position. The duties of the probation officer were prescribed by means of circulars. Supervision of case planning, difficult case conferences, direction of procedure and guidance in certain cases, regular articles in the *Penal Reformer* on probation matters, were some of my efforts to advance the knowledge and increase the efficiency of the personnel.

4. *Esprit-de-Corps.* It is very essential to cultivate an esprit-de-corps in every group of probation officers. The Chief Probation Officer while on tour in the districts holds frequent conferences, in which the work in all its details is discussed. Such conferences tend to promote a strong, successful type of work. We have been fortunate in having the enthusiastic co-operation and untiring team work of our probation staff.

5. *Forms and Records.* A well-planned system of records has been standardized by the Probation Department. Reference Register, Preliminary Enquiry Forms, Probationers' Progress Book, Periodical Reports to the Court, Monthly Reports to the Chief Probation Officer, Index Cards, Case Treatment Form and Case Progress Record have all been standardized; and instructions issued to the probation officers regarding the keeping of these records.

6. *Development of Probation Technique.* Probation in order to reach its highest development, and in order to perfect a methodology of its own similar to that of other professions, must sharply define its wants, its problems, and its methods of procedure. It must work for an improvement of the conditions under which it must operate, and by means of experiment, analysis and careful planning, work out a technique of procedure. It is our aim not only to put into practice the finest standards of probation service, but also by constant testing and analysis of our Department, to formulate a probation methodology. As the work progresses, more definite knowledge regarding the value of our present procedure will be available to us.

7. *Other Contacts.* At the outset it was recognised by us that efficiency in probation involved the co-operative service of many kinds of skill and many points of view. It was understood also that co-operation spelled both efficiency

and economy—efficiency in getting results and economy in utilizing existing agencies, with a minimum of expense and a maximum of inter-stimulation. We sought the co-operation of many agencies—social, recreational, educational, etc., in seven districts in the United Provinces. Likewise we extend our co-operation to the service of other agencies, when so requested.

In the work of our Department the importance of the right sort of contact with Public Officials and Magistrates and Judges has not been minimized. The co-operation of the Police is also very necessary. The Magistrates and Judges have been kept in constant touch with the developments and needs of the system. The unfailing support and friendly regard of the Magistrates has been a constant source of strength.

The relation between the probation officers and Public Officials has been uniformly friendly, and the resulting co-operation exceedingly valuable.

8. *Educating Public Opinion.* The education of the public is too often an overlooked phase of probation activity. There has been such a dearth of publicity in regard to probation that many critics have deplored the lack of authoritative information in regard to it. Moreover, since the probation service is supported by public funds, the public is entitled to current reports on the progress and results of the probation work. There is a great need for educating the public with regard to the aims, methods and accomplishments of probation.

We have sought to do our part by the publication of pamphlets on the probation system and by means of articles in the *Penal Reformer* and in the daily press. About 2,000 copies of *Probation and the Role of the Magistrates*, were distributed to all the Magistrates, District and Sessions Judges, Police Officers and the Central and District Committee members. 1,000 copies of the Hindi pamphlet on *Probation* and 500 of the Urdu pamphlet on *The Probation System*, prepared by us, were sent to each of our probation officers for discriminate distribution to the intelligent public. We feel that our propaganda has had considerable effect in educating the public on scientific probation work. Since January, probation returns in the United Provinces are published every month in the *Penal Reformer*, to acquaint the public with the work of the U. P. Probation Officers.

9. *U. P. Probation Officers Conference.* Taking advantage of the presence of three of our probation officers at the All India Penal Reform Conference in Bombay in February, a Conference of the U. P. Probation Officers was arranged, which was presided over by Mr. Gopinath Srivastava, M.L.A., U.P.

The following recommendations were made at the meeting. It now remains for me to move the Central Committee of the U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society to give effect to these recommendations ;

(a) The office of the District Committee, in the seven districts where the probation officers are working, should be located in the Collectorate building.

(b) The District Committees may be requested to provide a clerk and a peon for the probation officer, and if their funds do not permit the appointment of a whole time clerk, the District Magistrate may be requested to allot the clerical work of the probation officer to some assistant in his English Office and pay him an allowance for this work from the funds of the District Committee.

(c) Since the probation officers have to go into the outlying parts of the districts which are not connected to their head quarters either by railways or bus service, and their pay is so small that they cannot purchase their own conveyance without any advance being made from the Society, it is recommended that money be advanced to the probation officers for the purchase of motor-cycles, the advances to be recovered from the consolidated T. A. in easy instalments.

(d) Probation work where first offenders under 24 years are concerned, should be entrusted to one First Class Magistrate in each of the seven districts where probation officers are working. The reasons for this recommendation follow :

- (1) It will give the Magistrate entrusted with such work a clear understanding of the Act and the technique of the probation system.
- (2) Since the probation system is a departure from the regular procedure and involves some extra work, every Magistrate cannot be expected to take an equal amount of interest in the system. To some, it appears a great botheration to deal with cases under this system.
- (3) If this work is entrusted to one Magistrate, there will be a closer contact between the Magistrate and the probation officer and far better results will be obtained from the Probation Act.
- (4) Arrangements can be made with one Magistrate to fix one day in the week to take up Probation Cases and thus allow time for the probation officer to make his enquiries and do his work on other days of the week. Such an arrangement would also enable the Magistrate to do his other work on other days of the week, and would not bind him to probation work alone.
- (5) The High Court may be requested to condone reasonable delay in cases where the preliminary investigation under rule 12 is called for.
- (6) The Police may be requested to inform the probation officer, at the time of filing the charge sheet in Court, about all first offenders below the age of 24 years.

- (7) Attention of Sessions Judges may be invited to section 4(2) and Rule 12, and they may be requested to make a liberal use of them in Sessions trials.
- (8) All G. O's from the Police, Jail and Judicial Departments, in connection with Probation Service, may be sent to the office of the Chief Probation Officer, Council House, Lucknow.
- (9) Forms of reference from the Courts to the probation officers for preliminary enquiries under rule 12 may also be standardized.
- (10) A standardized form of notice under section 4(4) may be made in Hindi and Urdu and translation of forms B and C may be made in Hindi and Urdu.

The form of license under the U. P. Release of Prisoners on Probation Act may also be translated into Hindi and Urdu. Further, the Society may publish a pamphlet in Hindi and Urdu detailing in simple terms the procedure under the U. P. Release of Prisoners on Probation Act and giving the salient features of the Act.

- (11) Reasonable financial aid in case of deserving probationers should be an appropriate charge on the funds of the District Committee.
- (12) Letter heads should be standardized by the Probation Department of the Central Society for the probation officers.
- (13) Half-Yearly meetings of the probation officers should be arranged.
- (14) The Chairman of the District Committee may be required to expedite enquiries when the probation officers ask for the same.

The problems of probation administration cannot be exhaustively treated in one paper. I hope, however, that the topics, which I have here discussed, in the light of our experience, may be of some help and value to those who may be called upon to organize probation work elsewhere.

I must conclude by saying that the friends and promoters of probation must be unflagging in their efforts if they are to achieve their aims. Probation workers should remember always that they are the torch bearers of that truth which Dean Pound has called, "the most important change of the Century—the transference of the sense of value from property to humanity."

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC OF THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

THE Child Guidance Movement is one of the outstanding endeavours in the field of child welfare. Its scope extends not only to providing direct aid and treatment to children presenting various behaviour and personality problems, but also indirectly to coming generations of children, through patient study and research into the causation and prevention of such problems of maladjustment.

The Child Guidance Clinic, the unit of the Child Guidance Movement, is unique in that it deals with the child, in his total setting. The whole range of the multiplicity of the causes of the misbehaviour, or of the problem, are studied by trained specialists in the fields of medicine, psychology and social work—these different workers co-operating in joint therapeutic endeavours for each child.

The Child Guidance Clinic of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work was started in 1937—the first of its kind in the Bombay Presidency. It was started on an experimental basis with due regard to the fact that social conditions being different in our country from those existing in Europe and America, a number of special difficulties would have to be overcome and many modifications employed in the actual running of the Clinic. But although it has been found necessary to employ certain modifications based on differences of language and culture, the results of about two years of work have shown that the same fundamental approach to the problem yields satisfactory results and that the difficulties of running the Clinic are not significantly more numerous than in countries with Western culture.

The Child Guidance Clinic of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work is a clinic for the scientific study and treatment of children suffering from various behaviour disorders such as unmanageableness, stealing, lying, truancy, sex offences, violence, destructiveness; personality disorders such as obstinacy, shyness, sensitiveness, moodiness, depression, fears, nervousness, day dreaming; habit disorders such as bed wetting, thumb sucking, nail biting,

masturbation, fidgets, stuttering; disorders in scholastic achievement, when these are due to emotional disturbances in the child's life; and from physical symptoms or medical disorders such as fits, involuntary movements, paralysis, loss of sensation, aches and pains, and disturbances of appetite, digestion and breathing, when these are based on emotional factors.

The following few examples indicate some of the different types of children dealt with:

A, aged 11, was brought to the clinic because of stealing and telling lies. His father stated that he had tried every method of treatment from coaxing and advising to thrashing him severely. Lately the severe thrashings, though very frequent, were found to be completely useless and so the father had applied to the magistrate to send the boy to a Reformatory School.

B, aged 12, was brought by his mother because he suffered from headache and vomiting every morning and because he was backward at school. He also suffered from fidgets and stuttering.

C, a little girl aged 6, was referred by her headmistress because she was day dreaming and rambling in her speech; she hit younger children, she screamed, she was generally unmanageable, and she could not be taught how to write.

The Clinic does not accept mental defectives for treatment but these are often brought by parents. In those cases where an estimate of intelligence indicates gross mental defect, it is explained to the parents that the Clinic is not a suitable place for such children, but is meant essentially for children of average intelligence, suffering from behaviour problems and emotional difficulties. Mild cases of mental defect, however, are admitted, especially when there are super-added emotional difficulties.

The aims and objects of the Clinic may be stated as follows:—

- (1) To provide the community with a team of trained workers in the fields of Pediatrics, Psychiatry, Psychology and Social Work for the purpose of study and treatment of children presenting behaviour, personality, habit and scholastic problems—as also disturbances of physical functioning when these are due to emotional or psychological causes.
- (2) To assist in the development of mental hygiene technique and concepts through such study and experience.
- (3) Through formal courses and informal lectures to transmit the results of such study to parents, teachers and professional workers, such as social workers—especially those in training at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work—physicians and others who are intimately connected with the care and upbringing of children.

REPORT FOR 1939

CASE LOAD

New cases admitted during 1939	...	...	63
Old cases continued from 1938	...	...	11

SOURCES OF REFERRAL

The cases referred in the year 1939 came from the following sources:

			<i>No. of cases</i>
(1) Children's Aid Society	...	...	26
(2) J. J. Hospital and B. J. Hospital for Children	..		18
(3) Parents	...	...	8
(4) The Dadar Colony Clinic	...	...	6
(5) Schools	...	...	3
(6) Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home of the Society for the Protection of Children	...	...	2
			<hr/> 63

MAIN PROBLEM FOR WHICH THE CHILD WAS REFERRED

. *Behaviour and Personality Disorders.*

(1) Stealing	...	...	13
(2) Lying	...	...	11
(3) Truancy	...	...	11
(4) Unmanageableness	...	...	7
(5) Obstinacy	...	...	4
(6) Mischief	...	...	2
(7) Shyness	...	...	2
(8) Fits of depression	...	...	2
(9) Outbursts of Violence	...	...	1
(10) Fears	...	...	1

I. *Habit Disorders.*

(1) Bed-wetting	...	...	6
(2) Stuttering	...	...	4
(3) Masturbation	...	...	2

III. *Educational Problems.*

(1) Backwardness in studies	...	...	5
(2) No interest in studies	...	...	1
(3) Difficulty in writing	...	...	1

IV. *Disturbances of Physical Functioning.*

(1) Jerky movements of the body	...	...	1
(2) Nervousness and tremors	...	...	1

			<i>No. of cases</i>
(3) Fits	...	...	1
(4) Pain in the chest	...	...	1
(5) Severe pain in the abdomen	...	...	1
(6) Headache	...	...	1
(7) Difficulty in breathing	...	...	1
(8) Difficulty in passing urine	...	...	1
(9) Frequency of micturition	...	...	1
(10) Poor appetite	...	...	1

CLINIC PROCEDURE

When a case is referred to the Clinic a general idea of the problem for which the child is sent is first obtained by the Psychiatric Social Worker or Psychiatrist from the parent or person accompanying the child. During such an interview the child is taken to the playroom and is encouraged to indulge in any play he likes. If the case is deemed suitable, and accepted for regular full service at the Clinic, the following investigations are carried out by the different workers.

The Psychiatric Social Worker obtains a detailed social and developmental history from the parents and guardians of the child. Visits are paid to the home, school and other institutions with which the child comes into contact, to get a more accurate picture of the environment of the child.

The Pediatrist conducts a thorough physical examination of the child. The physical examination makes it possible to detect cases whose problems are caused or complicated by organic disturbances. Certain bodily conditions are known to lead to behaviour and personality disorders and these are sought for and corrected. In view of the fact that a large proportion of the children sent to the Clinic have had a physical examination at a hospital or dispensary, just prior to being referred to the Clinic, physical examination is not made as a routine in every case but only in the cases of those who have had no such examination. It is proposed in the future, however, to arrange for a physical examination in every case.

The Psychologist administers mental tests to every case, to ascertain the mental capacities of the child—this estimate being necessary for a proper understanding of the child's difficulties. If the results show gross mental deficiency the case is not accepted for treatment, as the clinic endeavours to limit its activities to the problems of children of average intelligence. Children showing only a slight degree of mental defect are accepted.

The Psychiatrist observes the child during play, and through such observation, and verbal contacts with the child during play, acquires an

insight into the emotional factors which are mainly or partly responsible for the problem. The Psychiatrist is considerably helped in this diagnosis of the nature of the emotional factors by reports from the play room workers of their observations of the child's play, carried out during the friendly contacts they make with the child.

FORMULATION OF A TREATMENT PROGRAMME

The different sets of facts regarding the child gathered in these ways by the Psychiatric Social Worker, the Pediatrist, the Psychologist and the Psychiatrist are co-ordinated and evaluated during discussions, with a view to arrive at as complete and detailed a diagnosis of the nature of the problem as possible, and a treatment programme is then planned. The progress of the case is followed and changes are made from time to time according to the individual needs of each case.

TREATMENT ACTIVITIES

Having arrived at a diagnosis and formulated a treatment programme, therapeutic measures are instituted by the different workers. Before describing the work done by these workers it would not be out of place here to state some of the objectives of therapy influencing the treatment procedures at the Clinic.

There is firstly, of course, the removal of the particular act of misbehaviour : e.g., in the case of A, the removal of his stealing and lying. But more important than the removal of the specific type of misbehaviour is the fact that the treatment is directed to the child as a whole, in order to make him better adapted to his environment, so as to produce harmonious relations between himself and others.

In bringing about such improved relations between the child and his environment some measure of peace and harmony is also brought to the parents, in so far as the lack of peace and harmony have been caused by the child's misbehaviour. The great relief brought to the parents, as a result of the removal of their child's difficulties, further helps in its turn in promoting healthier relations between the child and his parents and in bringing about a diminution in the child's problems.

Apart from the relief brought to the parents as a result of the removal of the child's misbehaviour or other difficulty, another therapeutic objective is to bring about an alteration in such of the attitudes of the parents towards their children as appear to contribute to the production of the child's problems. In view of the intimate and invariable connection between the child's behaviour and the parental attitudes, it is usual to try and give the parents an insight into the connection between the two to alter the faulty attitudes and to replace these by healthier ones,

Then again, some of the parents who bring their children to the Clinic appear to suffer from definite personality disorders or psycho-neuroses. Some of these parents, themselves, approach the Psychiatrist for treatment. Other parents, while thus suffering from severe emotional difficulties, are not prepared to see the connection between their own emotionally disordered life and the behaviour or personality difficulty of the child. In either case there is the further objective of treating one or both parents of the child in order first to remove their own illness, and thus to bring about an improvement in the child. What has been stated in regard to the parents, in the above exposition of the objectives influencing therapy, holds good also for parent-substitutes, and other adults—such as teachers and relatives—who come in contact with the child.

To sum up the objectives of treatment it might be said that attempts are made to deal with the whole personality of the child and to try to bring about more harmonious relations between the child and his environment, over and above the removal of the specific act of misbehaviour or the particular personality difficulty for which the child is referred. It goes without saying that in order to produce the best results in bringing about such harmonious relations, attention is paid both to treating physical defects or disturbances and to building up sound physical health, and to giving help to the child for any remediable defects or blockings in his intellectual capacities. In effecting such a comprehensive therapeutic programme all the different workers co-operate in the treatment of each child, but it is convenient to describe the 'activities of each under the following separate heads.

METHODS

The Pediatrist's Contribution. The Pediatrist, or Children's Physician, having made a thorough physical examination of the child to eliminate the possibility of organic physical illness, treats the bodily condition in the appropriate manner or refers the child to the appropriate hospital. Certain bodily conditions are well known to lead to behaviour and personality disorders and these are sought for and corrected when present.

The Psychiatrist's Contribution. The Psychiatrist contributes his share to the study and treatment of the child's misbehaviour by frequently repeated interviews with the child and with the parents. According to the indications of each case the interviews with the child are either purely verbal or verbal contacts during play. It may be convenient, and sometimes necessary as in the case of deaf mutes, to make the interviews non-verbal, and to study the child's mind by observation of his play only. The method of talking to the child while the latter is engaged in a definite type of play is the one most usually employed at the Clinic.

Of the different play activities found useful for diagnosis and treatment, play on the sand tray is usually found very helpful. The child is asked to create a scene on the sand tray using sand, water, trees, houses, motor cars, boats, animals, men, women and children. He is given only one instruction, namely, to create whatever scene he likes. In this way he gives expression to his inner cravings and phantasies, or his fears and anxieties, and thus enables a specially trained worker to detect the source and nature of many of the mental conflicts leading to the misbehaviour or personality disorder. This detection is made easier by engaging the child in conversation during the actual construction of the scene.

Play has also therapeutic values in so far as the child is encouraged to give expression to his anti-social impulses in play, with resulting diminution of anti-social behaviour. Diagnosis and treatment through play, however, are not restricted to the sand tray, for similar diagnosis and therapy are effected by detailed study or encouragement of other forms of play, indulged in by the child. Throughout the treatment, the Psychiatrist deals with the child in a manner lacking the usual formality between a physician and patient. He adopts an attitude of friendliness and camaraderie and shows the child that if he ever appears to attempt to bring about an alteration in behaviour, this is done through an effort to understand the child and his grievances, rather than because of any formed or fixed ideas about discipline on the part of the Psychiatrist.

Another function of the Psychiatrist is to interview the parents and other adults who exert their influence on the children. Interviews with the parents are necessary, in the first place, as was mentioned earlier, to obtain the history of the child's illness or difficulty. In view of the fact that the early development of the child is gone into very thoroughly, this interview may take more than an hour. Secondly, interviews are needed to give the parents some idea of the child's illness, irrespective of what part the parents may have played in the production of the misbehaviour. Such interviews serve the purpose of giving parents an insight into the nature of the child's difficulties and of clarifying their own minds regarding any misconceptions that they may have about the child—such as, that the child is suffering from insanity. Parents also naturally wish to know about the likelihood of cure or improvement, and as a very large majority of children do improve within a few weeks, or a few months, the relief brought to most parents on being so informed, is often very substantial. The diminution in parental anxiety and tenseness, in its turn, further favours a diminution of the behaviour or personality problem of the child. Then again, as mentioned earlier, the Psychiatrist tries to modify such harmful attitudes of parents towards their children as appear to contribute to the child's

difficulty. In this connection it does not suffice merely to give parents and relatives advice as to the desirability of changing their faulty attitudes. If any measure of success in attitude-changing takes place, it does so in the majority of cases, on account of a natural development of a friendly relationship or rapport between the parents or relatives and the Psychiatrist or Social Worker. Finally, interviews are given, either because the parents themselves apply for regular psychological treatment, or because such treatment seems necessary, as in the case of parents who are definitely neurotic or suffering from a severe personality disorder. Apart from attending to parents and children, the Psychiatrist confers with the different members of the staff, and after discussions with them, he plans out suitable forms of treatment for each child.

The Social Worker's Contribution. The Social Worker spends most of her time interviewing the parents and other adults looking after the children, such as superintendents of children's homes and school teachers. The interviews take place at the Clinic, either to collect details of the child's social and developmental history, or to receive reports of his progress. Frequently difficulties in the management of the child are discussed in conjunction with the Psychiatrist during such interviews and appropriate measures indicated to the adults. The Social Worker has often to visit the child's home or institution where he lives, in order to make more friendly contacts with parents and others and to get a more accurate picture of the social setting of the child. She has also to visit the homes, and the schools which the children attend, to make sure that the adults are keeping up the modifications in their attitudes suggested at the Clinic. She may often discover new sources of difficulties at the home and either deal with them on the spot or bring these to the notice of the Psychiatrist. The frequency of later visits depends upon the nature and requirements of the case. In the current year in some cases monthly or fortnightly visits were sufficient, whereas in other cases weekly or even more frequent visits were necessary. When arrangements for schooling, recreation, or for placement of the child had to be made, almost daily visits were required in a few cases. Later when the case is closed the Social Worker visits the child at intervals of a few months to ascertain whether or not the child's recovery or improvement is maintained. In the cases where the child has shown a relapse, she either deals with the situation on the spot, or suggests that the child be sent back to the Clinic for a few weeks. It is intended to follow up each case for as long as possible, even up to twenty years, to ascertain the after-effects of Child Guidance Clinic treatment given during childhood, and thus contribute to knowledge in child psychiatry.

Apart from work with adults the Social Worker forms valuable contacts with the children and this is again characterised by frankness and friendliness

and the absence of a formal disciplinarian attitude, which only too often characterises the relation of the parents to their children.

The Psychologist's Contribution. The Educational Psychologist makes a test of the intelligence of the child. Two sets of tests are used for mental testing, viz., the Stanford Revision of the Binet Simon Tests and the Drever and Collins Performance Tests. In view of the different languages spoken by the children, e. g., Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, English and South Indian languages, it has usually been found necessary to assess the intelligence of children by Performance Tests. Modifications have been made to adapt the details of tests to Indian conditions and with further study of the mentality of Indian children, modifications will be gradually made to make the tests more suitable for our children. When the Binet Simon Tests are administered, similar modifications are made and the translated tests given in Hindi, Marathi or Gujarati. The mentally defective children are thus delimited on the one hand, and on the other hand, the degree of intelligence of the children accepted and treated at the Clinic is estimated. The findings of the Educational Psychologist regarding the mental age are evaluated in relation to clinical observations by the Psychiatrist.

The Educational Psychologist, and on occasion other members of the staff—particularly the Social Worker—deals also with coaching children suffering from general scholastic backwardness or from defects in special subjects, such as arithmetic, writing or reading.

The Playroom Worker's Contribution. Students in training at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, and two honorary lady workers, Mrs. Kamdar and Miss Soonie Powvala, have been very helpful in making observations of the children's play. The playroom workers submit a report of their observations to the Psychiatrist and the records are frequently filed in the child's case sheet. Owing to lack of playroom workers, however, it is necessary to assign more than one child to each worker for observation, and this has rendered a systematic filing of play records impossible.

The Clinic until recently had only one fair-sized room for play activities and so the children have not had enough room for play. More recently, however, arrangements have been made to provide two other playrooms and a separate room for mental testing. This will mitigate the congestion in the main playroom.

RESULTS

Out of the 63 new cases referred, 17 were mental defectives and not admitted. Of the 46 children admitted during 1939, 8 children attended only once or twice soon after admission and therefore received practically no clinic

treatment, thus leaving 38 children for 1939 who could be considered from the point of view of effects of treatment. These 38, plus 11 children continued from the previous year, make a total of 49, and the results of these 49 cases are as follows :

14 broke off treatment in the middle—9 of the number doing so because they left Bombay, leaving a total of 35 children who received adequate clinic treatment. The figures for these 35 cases are as follows :

Cured or very much improved...	...	...	15 cases	or 43 %
Improved ...	...	...	11 cases	or 31 %
No change ...	...	...	8 cases	or 23 %
Could not be judged	...	...	1 case	or 3 %

The results thus show that 72% of the 49 children received adequate treatment. 28% left off treatment—18% doing so because of leaving Bombay.

Of the 49 cases who received adequate treatment, 74% are grouped in the combined categories of cured or very much improved, or improved, whereas 23% showed no improvement, or improvement of insufficient degree to be recorded as noticeable improvement. In 3% of cases the results could not be judged. While it is readily admitted that these figures could be improved upon, they are a source of satisfaction considering the numerous handicaps of the Clinic. On the other hand the fact that 8 children attended only once or twice and that 5 children interrupted treatment in the middle, although they did not have to leave Bombay, is not so satisfactory. With increased facilities, this aspect can no doubt be improved.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Formal courses of instruction were given to the students in training at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. Three courses were given thus : (1) Mental Hygiene, (2) Psychiatry for Social Workers, (3) Mental Health in Childhood. In the second term of the second year the students attended informal seminars where they were brought in contact with the practical side of child guidance problems. These seminars were also attended by physicians and others who were interested in, and assisted, the work of the Clinic. Lectures on Child Guidance were delivered to medical students in training, in more general courses on Psychiatry and Psychology at the Grant Medical College. Single lectures were delivered by the Director at a considerable number of public meetings and private gatherings in the city of Bombay.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work for making it possible to maintain the

Clinic. The results of the work are gratifying, taking into account the extreme infancy of the Clinic, the shortage of trained staff and the absence of the Clinic's own premises. With the gradual removal of these difficulties, it is hoped that the results will be even more encouraging.

CHEMBUR CHILDREN'S HOME

ADDRESSING a small gathering of Bombay citizens interested in the welfare of children, on the 13th August, 1938, Mr. K. M. Munshi, the then Home Minister of the Government of Bombay, said, "I have invited you all to an informal conference in order that we may consider afresh the problem of destitute and begging children in the city of Bombay. I want to place the following questions before you for your consideration :

- (a) Whether the efforts made so far are adequate and effective ?
- (b) Whether our outlook has been proper ?
- (c) What should be the proper outlook?
- (d) What further steps should be taken to solve the problem?

Mr. Munshi pointed out that the existing institutions for destitute children in Bombay could accommodate about 1,000 children, but that if facilities were available, 5,000 children could easily be taken off the streets and placed under protection. Whereas Government and the public are spending roughly from Rs. 150/- to Rs. 200/- per year for every child maintained in a public institution, there is little question but that these same children, if living in their own families, would be maintained on from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ this amount. "Are we justified in pitching the standard of relief so high?" asked Mr. Munshi.

Again, most of the destitute boys picked up in Bombay are from the villages, and would have grown up as agriculturists if they had continued their natural family ties. If our ultimate aim is to rehabilitate these children in ordinary life when they grow up, it is very questionable whether city institutions will accomplish this end. "I want you to consider," said Mr. Munshi, "what will happen to these boys and girls, whom you train in your Bombay institutions, when they will be thrown into the larger world without the shelter which you have given them. We shall have housed them, fed them, given them picnics and free cinema shows; satisfied our conscience that we have rendered service to humanity; and in the end unfitted them for being absorbed in village life to which alone they naturally belong."

In view of these considerations, the Home Member said he had come to the conclusion that satisfactory results would never be obtained, even if more accommodation for housing and sheltering more children was made available

within the city, because the costs of city maintenance are too high ; because city institutions cannot meet the needs of village children, and because no provision is made for these children after the Children Act ceases to apply to them. The remedy seems to lie in another direction, viz., a village colony, where children from the villages, would be trained for reabsorption into the villages.

The Public Information Series of the Government of Bombay for the 1st March 1939, contained an article entitled, "Children's Colony at Chembur." In the course of this article it was stated that "Government has under consideration a proposal to establish a new school at Chembur, mainly agricultural in character, which will provide accommodation in the first instance for about 750 children. This school will serve the needs of most of the children detained under the Children's Act, for the first few years and also of senior children who will stay on for purely agricultural education. The existing Junior Boys' Home at Umarchadi, Bombay, will be closed and the children transferred to the new Home. The Willingdon Boys' Home, Bombay, will no longer be utilized as a certified school for boys and all the boys in that School will be transferred to the new Home. Similarly, the David Sassoon Industrial School, Matunga, Bombay, will be utilized only for those children who show special aptitude for advanced industrial training, the other boys being catered for in the new school at Chembur.

"The proposed new Home (including a school) will be managed by the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, under the control of Government."

The same issue also contained a statement by Mr. Munshi. "It is now proposed," he said, "that such of those who are not absorbed in society should be placed in the proposed Home at Chembur, near Bombay. There they will be housed, not in dormitories as at present, but in Village Homes, especially constructed for them, and educated and trained in school and workshop. The education will be principally in basic crafts and elementary agriculture.

"After three years, the trained boys with special aptitudes will be brought to the City in institutions like the David Sassoon Industrial School or the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home. The others will be trained at the Home in Village Colonies. The Colonies will be trained in crafts and agriculture so as to enable them to make a living on a village scale. When a colony is properly trained it is proposed to transfer it to a District in the Province.

"This scheme will have the following advantages :

- (a) It will give accommodation to a larger number of destitute and delinquent children than is at present possible and permit a larger number being taken up under the Act.

- (b) It will discourage traffic in children now going on in the City for the purposes of beggary and prostitution.
- (c) It will restrict the supply of fresh recruits to Bombay's under-world.
- (d) It will train the children in such a way as to bring them up as useful citizens ready to be absorbed in the City or in the villages according to their aptitudes.
- (e) It will, when complete, send a larger number of well-equipped and trained agriculturists for useful work in the villages."

The general plan is that there shall be 60 village homes, each accommodating 15 children and one matron. Fifty homes will be for boys and 10 for girls. To each home will be attached a cattle shed, necessary equipment and a cow. The ideal is to make each home an economic, self-sufficient unit. There will also be 3 school buildings, each accommodating 300 boys and another school for girls. Other items in the scheme are workshops, a small detention home for new arrivals, a hospital, and a home for mentally deficient children. Among the crafts, which will eventually be taught, are laundry work, fruit and vegetable cultivation, agricultural carpentry, agricultural smithy, agricultural hut-making, dairying, poultry and bee keeping, tailoring, weaving, pottery and shoe making.

The Home opened on the 15th September, 1939 with about 200 children. Today the number has increased to 400. Writing in January, 1940, Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, the Secretary of the Children's Aid Society, states: "Each hut of 20 boys is being looked after by a Matron, and each hut cooks for itself—the inmates learning cooking and doing it by turns. This experiment of individual cooking has already proved very successful and it is more manageable than a central joint cooking for 350 children . . . Whilst the cost of maintenance per child in the city is between Rs. 7/- and Rs. 8/- per month, the cost of maintenance per child at Chembur is at present about Rs. 3/13/- and will soon be reduced to Rs. 3/8/- per month."

The beginning has thus been made of a great plan. It is too early to pronounce judgment on the working of the Home, but the emphasis thus far has been largely on reduced costs rather than meeting the inner needs of active, individual children. The future of the Institution will depend in very large measure upon the type of personnel chosen to man the Home. The Children's Aid Society has undertaken a great public responsibility, which can only be discharged by men and women adequately trained for their work. Otherwise, the Scheme—no matter how good it looks on paper—will be doomed to failure.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE JUVENILE BRANCH ON THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE CHILDREN ACT IN THE
BOMBAY PROVINCE 1938-39¹

THIS being the first Report of the Juvenile Branch, the Report is prefaced by a brief history of the Juvenile Branch, 1934-39. The Branch was constituted by Government Resolution, Home Department, No. 4278/3 of 1st April, 1934, and placed under the direct control of the Backward Class Officer in the capacity of Chief Inspector of Certified Schools. "Up to this date, work under the Bombay Children Act had been restricted in practice to Bombay City and Suburban District under the direction of the Children's Aid Society. The main activity of the Juvenile Branch from 1934 to 1937 was the extended application of the Children Act to selected mofussil areas. Part IV of the Children Act dealing with youthful offenders was placed in operation throughout the Province from 1935. The application of the Reformatory Schools Act of 1897 ceased within the limits of this Province as its provisions were more than covered by Part IV of the Children Act." Parts II and III of the Children Act were applied to six urban areas and steps were taken for inspecting the existing certified schools.

Towards the end of 1937, the post of Inspector of Certified Schools was created, for the purpose of raising the standard of work and co-ordinating activities. In January, 1939, Government appointed an Assistant Inspector of Certified Schools.

The Report points out that "the factor of destitution tends to hinder Children Act work in this Province . . . Because of the prevalence of destitution, a far greater number of children have to be committed to institutions and a much smaller number can be dealt with under supervision or on probation . . . Again, owing to complete homelessness of a large section of children in this Province, it is possible to pass supervision and probation orders only sparingly . . . Extreme poverty and lack of compulsory education also hindered successful Probation Work."

At present there are seven Remand Homes in different areas of the Province, where the whole Children Act is in operation. Only in Bombay City is there any opportunity for a problem remand child to obtain expert psychological treatment.

Juvenile Courts have been established in 10 centres. The Juvenile Court Magistrates, both Stipendiary and Honorary, are on the whole doing their work well, but progress is handicapped by the frequent changes of the Stipendiary Magistrates in mofussil areas. In three up-country courts within one year there were no less than three changes of personnel. "As Juvenile

¹ *Bombay, Government Central Press, 1939,*

Court work is still pioneer work in India, it necessarily takes time for a newly appointed Magistrate to adjust himself . . . Unhappily it is not all police officers and Juvenile Courts who have a thorough knowledge of the correct procedure and outlook for administering the Children Act. Cases have happened when boys have been brought to certified schools roped, handcuffed and accompanied by an armed guard. Government has now issued instructions in the matter and it may be hoped that such cases will never happen again . . .

"The standard of probation and supervision work in this Province undoubtedly needs raising . . . In Bombay City probation and supervision work have attained a higher level than anywhere in the mofussil . . . There is still too much tendency for a District Probation Officer, fighting a lone battle against tremendous odds and overwhelmed with the daily in-rush of work, to regard supervision as mere surveillance rather than as an avenue of constructive help."

The 17 certified schools fall into two main categories: (1) Government Institutions, and (2) Voluntary Institutions, mainly aided by Government. Five of these institutions—4 in Bombay and 1 in Poona—have been carrying the brunt of the load. The new Children's Home at Chembur is expected to relieve the present congestion.

A major problem confronting the certified schools is in respect of the school standard of life. "The haphazard growth of these institutions has led to half of them being located in Bombay City, although 43·6 per cent. of the children admitted to the Umarkhadi Remand Home are from upcountry. Bombay standards are higher than those in the mofussil . . . There is a real risk of providing the inmates of certified schools with a standard of life which is higher than is available in the general population outside and which would prove more of an impediment than an asset to the boys on their discharge."

The problem of the unruly girl is not being dealt with satisfactorily, and there is at present no proper provision for the care of mentally defective children.

"The record of success and failure of juveniles released on license during the last three years works out as follows :

• Number of children released on license, 1936-39	... 358
Number of children finishing period successfully	... 148
Number of children breaking down within period	... 58."

The crux of the problem of after-care is the lack of proper employment facilities. "It is regretted that employers of labour evince undue hesitation in taking on discharged boys. Government have issued a circular on the subject and have themselves granted preference to the recruitment of discharged lads to apprenticeships in the Central Press . . .

“The need for trained and experienced workers is acutely felt today . . . In the Starte Report comment was made regarding the ‘lack of specialization and absence of practical training’ for Children Act work. Since its publication the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Science has been established in Bombay, providing a general course of two years’ social training for post-graduates . . .

“Work under the Children Act in this Province is still in its infancy. Steps have as yet only been taken to lay a basis on which, in future, work can be developed on provincial lines. It is, however, necessary to realise that the problem of the prevention and right treatment of juvenile delinquency cannot be solved by the application merely of one legislative measure. The roots of the problem strike deep into social and economic conditions and cannot be extirpated without widespread social reform.”

FIRST ALL INDIA PENAL REFORM CONFERENCE

THE question of penal reform in India was seriously taken up for the first time only twenty years ago, when a Jail Reform Committee was appointed by the Government of India. The Committee recommended a number of reforms, but only a few of them were put into effect by the Provincial Governments, the remainder being side-tracked because of “financial stringency.” It was but natural, however, that when men, who had themselves experienced prison life as political prisoners, came into positions of power, they should direct their attention to the subject of penal reform and so it was with the Congress Ministries. The Government of the United Provinces was particularly active in this direction, under the influence of the Parliamentary Secretary for Jails, Mr. Gopinath Srivastava.

A group of Bombay social workers, who were interested in the subject, began to consider plans for a Provincial Prison Reform Association, but after discussing the matter with Mr. Srivastava, it seemed best to endeavour to launch an All-India effort at penal reform, and steps were taken to convene an All-India Penal Reform Conference at Lucknow in October, 1939.

With the advent of the War and the resignation of the Congress Ministries the subject was dormant for some months, but in January, 1940, it was decided to hold the Conference in Bombay under the auspices of the Children’s Aid Society, the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India and the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. The Chief Justice of Bombay, the Hon. Sir John Beaumont, consented to serve as the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The object of the Conference, as stated by the Conveners, was to set up an Indian Penal Reform League for the purpose of furthering: “(a) a wider

and scientific study of delinquency and crime, and of the methods of effectively dealing with them; (b) the study of criminal law and procedure with a view to improving the laws in relation to offences and offenders, and devising the methods of effective enforcement of such laws; (c) the improvement of penal, correctional and institutional education centres throughout the country; (d) the co-ordination of effort of individuals and organizations interested in the administration of certain, speedy and adequate after-care; (e) the formation of penal reform groups in the legislatures with a view to stimulating public interest in penal reform."

The Conference was inaugurated on February 24th, 1949 by the Hon'ble Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India. In the course of his inaugural address the Chief Justice said : "The subject matter of the Conference is penal law reform, and it is one in which, I think, every good citizen ought to take an interest. The administration of law and justice is something which touches us all, and the penal laws are but one aspect of it. But the penal laws are, or should be, of interest to us for another reason altogether, for they touch our common humanity. We no longer look upon the criminal as a wild beast to be hunted down without pity or remorse. We have come to recognize that he is a man like ourselves, and indeed that we, or our fellow-citizens, may have to bear part of the responsibility for having made him what he is . . .

"The subject-matter of your deliberations seems to divide itself naturally into two parts : criminal law and its administration on the one hand, and the punishment of crime on the other. Under the first head there fall such subjects as the criminal code and the definition of crimes, the functions of the police in the prevention and detection of crime, and the machinery of the courts where accused persons are brought to trial and their guilt or innocence determined. Under the second there is the vast question of punishment, its basis and justification, the administration of prisons and the treatment of prisoners after conviction."

Suggesting that the chief task of the Conference and the League would be to enlist the support of the public in the matter of changing the whole attitude towards crime and the criminal, Sir Maurice remarked: "I have been struck by the singularly detached view which seems to be taken of crime generally in this country . . . I have heard of dreadful cases of cruelty towards prisoners in jails which would in my own country have raised such a storm of indignation as might even have endangered the government of the day; here they seem scarcely to have aroused more than transient and local interest. I do not know if this is an example of fatalism or of detachment; but I can see very clearly the difficulties likely to be met by reformers who seek to induce another attitude of mind."

Discussing the true basis and justification of punishment, the Chief Justice said that it partakes of three aspects—vengeance, a deterrent, or a means of reformation—the importance to be attributed to each varying with the circumstances or the habits of thought in each country. The system of punishment must satisfy the average citizen. “He will be outraged, not only by excessive punishment, but also by punishment which he feels to be inadequate; and all the reasoning of the scientists and the appeals of the humanitarian will not move him. If the administration of the law does not satisfy that deep-seated instinct, there will always be a risk that people will take the law into their own hands; and hence the importance, when you are attempting to reform, of carrying public opinion along with you. You may educate public opinion, but you must also convince it. You may find yourself in advance of it, and if so you have a perfect right to attempt to persuade it to follow you; but if you go too fast, you may do more harm than good, and you may even endanger public order.”

The philosophy which is the basis of modern conceptions of crime and punishment is based upon the recognition of human personality, the conception of social justice, and a faith in the common humanity of us all. Society has the right to protect itself against anti-social individuals, but it is well for society to remember that the individual has an equal claim to be protected against a society which creates criminals.

Sir Maurice warned the Conference not to depend too much on Government assistance in the matter of penal reform. Further, in professionalising social service, they should not treat too lightly the sentimentalist, who has the emotional drive which is needed to further great causes.

In conclusion, he said: “The holding of this Conference is nevertheless a sign of the times, and it will one day, I hope, be looked back upon as a true landmark in the history of the social services in this country . . . I think it is true to say that we can detect throughout the whole history of criminal and prison reform two distinct influences at work, of which now one and now the other has produced for the time being the more far-reaching results. The first is to be found in the evolutionary development of those general ideas which underlie the progress of all civilization and therefore affect indirectly our views on crime and punishment as on other matters; the other is the direct and powerful influence which a convinced and determined body of reformers in a particular field, inspired by an almost missionary zeal and disdaining none of the arts of the propagandist, can exercise upon their generation. When these two influences are combined, they are almost irresistible. The ferment of new ideas in India today shows that the first is already at work; I hope that the new Penal Law Reform League may furnish the second.”

Speaking of the nature of work which the League might be expected to do, Mr. Gopinath Srivastava, the Convener of the Conference, said : "The two-fold purpose for which a League for Penal and Prison Reform ought to stand, is to afford protection to the community, to which it is entitled, against social aggression of its own members, individuals or groups and to provide the right conditions for a social and vocational training of the offender with a view to fitting him or her to a self-dependent life in a free community." Mr. Srivastava expressed the hope that in the near future the League will undertake to study recent developments in criminal law and correlate these to our own needs. The League should also suggest improvements in our penal and correctional institutions and urge the necessity of providing training for their personnel. When finance permits, a central institute of research, with a well-equipped clinical laboratory and library, should be established. The League must not neglect the problem of the after-care of prisoners.

The President-elect of the League, Mr. K. M. Munshi, ex-Home Member of the Government of Bombay, said in his presidential address that "the scope of the League should be sufficiently wide to include the study not merely of penal reform, but of the whole field of criminology of (a) crime and criminals; (b) crime in relation to our social conditions; (c) the agencies of prevention and control of crime; (d) criminal justice; (e) the treatment of criminals, potential and actual; and (f) the causes of criminal tendencies and their removal."

Mr. Munshi dealt at length with the complex question as to what acts and omissions should be considered as crimes. After quoting examples of much difficulty from the Indian Penal Code he concluded "the position in this respect can be summarised in a few propositions. No behaviour which does not offend the general sense of the community and which is not recognised as a social danger by it should be made a crime. The general sense of the community which is sought to be reflected in the creation of an offence must be real and widely shared. The view that social reform is not within the domain of criminal law, but must be left to moral persuasion is not acceptable to the modern mind as all States show a tendency to be socialistic in action, if not in theory. Unless the general sense of the community is translated into legislation, maladjustment in society cannot be removed with the speed which modern life and temperament demand. At the same time more offences on the statute book imply more power to the police, more interference with individual freedom and more pervasive attempts at evasion. The benefit derived by the community by such penal provisions, therefore, must be greater than the evils which will follow their successful evasion."

Discussing the end of criminal justice, Mr. Munshi said that the modern

outlook on this question is that criminal behaviour "is not an unconnected act or omission; it is an aspect of the criminal's personality. This is the only true scientific attitude. Criminality varies with the subjective conditions of the offender; and, therefore, punishment must be related to the criminal, not to the crime alone. Criminal justice must move in the direction of individualization." The outstanding reform in criminal law in the direction of the individualization of justice has been in the treatment of children.

"No scheme of reform aiming at individualization of criminal justice would be complete without a change in the outlook of the police. The efficiency and sense of discipline of the police force in India under proper chiefs is unquestioned, but the problem for study is first, to find out a method by which the police force, now either dreaded or hated, may come to be recognized as the most essential and helpful service in a democratic system; secondly, how, while on the one hand it loses its character as an army of occupation, on the other it may continue to remain untouched by party politics; and lastly, how to control the lawlessness of some of its members in the shape of alliances with gambling, prostitution and other forms of racketeering."

Mr. Munshi then touched upon the problem of jail reform and said that we should guard against considering all punishment and discipline as harmful and turning jails into public schools for adults. At the same time, the present administration of jails must undergo a change. The Jail Manual is out of date and the staffs are ill-qualified for their work.

In conclusion, Mr. Munshi pointed out that administrative reforms are at best palliative. In order to produce lasting results these efforts must be accompanied by steady pressure in the direction of the gradual elimination of the root causes of crime.

The Afternoon Session of the Conference was given over to business, the major item being the adoption of a skeleton constitution to enable the League to form a proper organization and begin its work.

The final session on February 25th was devoted to short papers on various phases of penal reform, criminal tribes and juvenile delinquency.

There was criticism of the Conference from some quarters because it did not pass a long series of resolutions demanding immediate reforms. The feeling of the Conference was, however, that for the present at least, it is best to make haste slowly, and to begin with the collection of basic facts. The immediate programme of the League is to "undertake research into the problems connected with the supervision, training and vocational placement of social problem children. The League proposes also to make analytical and critical study of the records and statistics of criminal tribes settlements and the laws relating to them, with a view to formulating long-range measures to

reclaim these tribes to normal community life It is proposed to set up expert standing committees on subjects of penal and criminological import, for instance on criminal law developments, social problem individuals, juvenile delinquency, training of penal personnel, educational and vocational programmes of rehabilitation and kindred subjects." In addition, popular talks will be organized on penal subjects and public meetings held in the bigger cities in order to help the public to understand the purpose and operation of modern preventive, correctional and after-care agencies.

The Indian Penal Reform League contains the germ of something exceedingly worthwhile. We shall watch its development with interest.

LITERACY WORK IN BOMBAY CITY

IN January, 1938, the Government of Bombay appointed an Adult Education Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Clifford Manshardt, the Director of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. The Committee report was published in June, 1938, and Government at once took steps to implement its recommendations. A Provincial Board for Adult Education was set up and a special Literacy Officer appointed for the Province.

In May, 1939, Government, looking to the special character of literacy work in an industrial centre like Bombay, appointed an Adult Education Committee for Bombay City and Suburbs, independent of the Provincial Board for Adult Education. This Committee appointed five sub-committees for different purposes, such as planning, propaganda, and preparation of materials.

A whirlwind campaign for literacy was organized in Bombay during the month of May, under the supervision of the Social Service League. Government then decided to make a permanent literacy effort and took over the direction of the classes.

About 5,000 adults attended 320 classes conducted for four months, and at the end of this period, viz., 31 August, 1939, a simple test was held and certificates given to those students who satisfied the requirements. 4,866 students received certificates of literacy. The second campaign began in November, 1939. Nearly 600 classes were opened in the city and more than 12,000 pupils—men and women speaking six or seven regional languages, were enlisted. These pupils were tested at the end of February, with the result that nearly 10,000 more adults were declared literate—bringing the total to about 15,000 new literates for the year.

About 450 classes were opened in the months of January, February and March 1940, enrolling another 8,000 adults.

The Adult Education Committee spent nearly Rs. 48,000 during the

financial year, in order to turn out about 15,000 literates. Thus the cost of each adult literate is about Rs. 3-4-0.

Realizing that the lapse into illiteracy is very easy unless adequate follow-up efforts are made, the Committee is now engaged in producing follow-up materials, which will engage the attention of the new literates for at least a year.

CHILDREN IN A DEMOCRACY¹

AT a time when the child in India is receiving increasing attention from both Government and the public, the findings of the most recent American conference on child welfare are of particular interest to us. Since 1909 a decennial conference, devoted to the interests of children, has been held in the White House at Washington. From the first conference came the "mother's pension" movement and ultimately the United States Children's Bureau. From the second in 1919, organized by the Children's Bureau, came far-sighted standards for child welfare. From the third, called in 1930, came the "Children's Charter" and the impetus to a number of movements concerned with maternal and child health.

The 1940 White House Conference on "Children in a Democracy," attempted "to focus the attention of the public upon those things which democracy ought to assure to children and upon ways in which a fuller measure of opportunity might be afforded to make it possible for youth to develop qualities necessary for participation in a democratic civilization."

The rights of the child. The Children's Charter, which embodies the findings of the 1930 White House Conference, declares that every child has "the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps." But as the depression settled down over America it soon became evident that thousands of children were suffering because of the unemployment and economic distress of their parents. Viewing the past ten years in retrospect, the 1940 Conference says: "The experiences of the depression period have proved the impossibility of dealing with the problems then created, or for the first time fully recognized, except through nationwide measures.

"Conserving and strengthening home life is the first objective of child welfare measures." To this end, every American State now has a public welfare department with responsibility for services other than institutional administration. "Local public welfare administration has been greatly extended and strengthened in the past ten years and has provided services to children in

¹ The materials for this article are drawn from the February 1940 issue of the *Survey Midmonthly*, "Children in a Democracy."

their own homes, as well as foster care. At the end of 1939 child welfare workers, paid in whole or in part from federal funds, were employed in approximately 470 rural communities—more than one-sixth of the total number of rural counties in the United States.”

If State assistance in the matter of child welfare is regarded as essential in a country with the resources of the United States, how much more essential is such help in our own India.

It is in the family that “the child acquires, or fails to acquire, the virtues of ‘self-sufficiency, enterprise, initiative, and intelligent obedience’ To improve the use of the family’s opportunities as the first school in democratic life, ‘the conference holds that continued steps be taken to strengthen and extend parent education.’ ” Realizing the fact that the “basic economic problem of the family is the basic economic problem of the nation,” the Conference resolved to support measures “which tend to make employment more stable and to protect standards of living,” such as minimum wage laws, laws defending the rights of collective bargaining, old age insurance, unemployment and industrial accident compensation.

Findings such as these remind us sharply that every step which India takes to protect the family is a step for the protection of her children. Family disintegration in the industrial cities of India is a sign of the times. As the health, training and opportunities of children depend upon the family, any measure to strengthen the institution of the family will be a much-needed and welcome move.

Housing. “Not only the attitudes and the income of the family but also the kind and location of the family dwelling affect the welfare of the children.” This was another considered conclusion of the Conference. The Conference complains that “many of the nation’s children suffer from crowded, insanitary, or hopelessly old-fashioned housing.” The criteria of these unsatisfactory conditions are that “of some eight million city homes . . . 15 per cent were found to lack indoor flush toilets, 20 per cent to have no bathtubs, and 40 per cent no central heating.” Making due allowance for the difference in the standard of living, consider the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*. Speaking of housing in urban and industrial areas the Report says: “Neglect of sanitation is often evidenced by heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage, whilst the absence of latrines enhances the general pollution of air and soil. Houses, many without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation, usually consist of a single small room, the only opening being a doorway often too low to enter without stooping. In order to secure some privacy, old kerosine tins and gunny bags are used to form screens which further restrict the entrance of light and air.

In dwellings such as these human beings are born, sleep and eat, live and die." (p. 271)

The American Conference declares that "the nation's housing problem cannot be solved overnight. Nor are old methods of private initiative and financing sufficient . . . The problem calls for substantial responsibility and leadership on the part of government—federal, state and local; continuance and expansion of the programme of slum clearance and low rent housing through federal loans and through grants to local housing authorities; . . . better housing for families of moderate means through safeguarding credit for home building to assure low interest rates and long term amortization; co-operative effort on the part of the building industry and labour to reduce building costs; encouragement of housing co-operatives; adequate regulatory laws and housing inspection, with modernization of zoning laws and building codes; provision for adequate housing in public assistance budgets, . . . and the organization of citizen committees to promote public understanding of housing problems."

Yes, this is India, but is the solution of our housing problem any less pressing than that of America ?

Child Labour. Several of the articles in this issue of the *Journal* deal with child labour. The findings of the White House Conference on this subject are of interest. The Conference "recommends standards for child labour, specifically including industrialized agriculture as well as factory employment and employment in trade and service occupations; a minimum age of sixteen for all employment during school hours and at any time in manufacturing and mining; a minimum age of sixteen for employment at any time in other occupations, 'except as a minimum age of fourteen may be permitted for limited periods of work after school hours and during vacation periods'; a minimum age of eighteen or higher for employment in hazardous or injurious occupations; hours of work for persons up to eighteen not to exceed eight a day, forty a week, and six days a week; requirement of employment certificates for all minors based on a physician's certificate of fitness for the proposed employment; at least double compensation for injury to illegally employed children; minimum wage standards; abolition of industrial homework 'as the only means of eliminating child labour in such work'; adequate administration of all laws relating to the employment of children and youth."

But in India, unorganized industries still employ children of 10 and 12 for long hours and there is little concern regarding employment during school hours or whether the child ever attends school. The plea is economic necessity, but the problem is not one which can be ignored.

Other findings of the White House Conference 1940, deal with children

under special disadvantages, child health, the needs of youth, religion, education and the use of leisure time.

The task now is to "keep the report from sliding into oblivion." To accomplish this end plans are under way for a nationwide follow-up programme, utilizing all the agencies—private and governmental—that can be mustered.

Is not the time ripe in India for the calling of the First All India Children's Conference to consider the problems of the Indian child and looking forward to the establishment of a Children's Division as an integral part of the Central Government.

THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

THE SECOND CONVOCATION

THE Second Convocation of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work was held on Friday, March 8th, 1940, with Mr. S. D. Saklatvala, M.L.A., the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, in the chair. A large and representative audience of Bombay citizens was in attendance.

Following the academic procession, Dr. Clifford Manshardt, the Director of the School, presented a brief statement regarding the School and its work. Dr. Manshardt stated that the School was founded by the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust in June, 1936, "with the object in view of capturing the social idealism of Indian University students; generating power through a two-year course of post-graduate study, and transmitting this power into channels of significant national service.

"The work of the School may be divided roughly into 9 general heads : pre-professional and general courses to provide the essential background material ; family and child welfare; medical and psychiatric social work; juvenile and adult delinquency; industrial relationships; social service administration; social research and field work.

"The first class of 20 students, selected from a list of over 400 applicants, drawn from every part of India, was admitted to the School in June, 1936, and graduated at the Convocation in March, 1938, when the-then Prime Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher presided and Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, of Lucknow University, delivered the Convocation Address on 'Social Disorganization in India.' "

Dr. Manshardt stated that the present class had also been limited to 20 students, selected from a long list of applicants, and that they represented every part of India, and Burma as well.

He referred to the many demands made upon the School, both by official and private agencies, and said that in a day when many would divorce higher education from the affairs of every-day life, the Sir Dorabji Tata School counted it as a privilege not only to train social workers, but also to act as a social servant. The School both recognizes, and is willing to accept, the responsibilities of leadership.

Dr. Manshardt pointed out that "though the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work is practical in its approach, it is not a mere professional training school. The School has no interest in giving its students fixed programmes to be applied in all situations. It is interested in supplying

an academic background and in stimulating the student's own mental processes so that he rejoices in problems and has the fundamental equipment of scholarship which will assist him in solving problems."

The Director paid tribute to the late Sir Nowroji Saklatvala, the first Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and expressed his appreciation of the splendid co-operation which the School was receiving from the Board of Trustees. He concluded his remarks by saying: "In a time of unrest and confusion, is it too much to hope that the union of industrial leaders and social workers which we find in this School may be prophetic of a new day when we will face our national problems, not from the standpoint of conflicting classes, but from the standpoint of the welfare of our common humanity."

The Chairman, Mr. S. D. Saklatvala, reviewed the reasons leading to the founding of the School and referred briefly to its progress during the four years of its existence. He felt that the School was more and more coming to realize the ideals of the founders and that it had before it a splendid opportunity for disinterested national service. He then introduced the Convocation Speaker, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Mrs. Naidu emphasized that the basis of social work is a true understanding of the individual and his problems. Addressing herself to the graduates she said: "You who are going out into the world, imbued with the spirit and ideals of the great pioneers of social service and reform, carrying the torch of wisdom, justice and peace, will be faced with perplexing problems which will at times plunge you into distress and suffering. But I have learnt from my own personal experience, that from such sufferings, from the depths of misery and distress, the lessons of life are revealed as they can be revealed in no School or by no course of training. And when you yourself have experienced, you are then truly prepared to serve suffering humanity.

"Millions in India are awaiting the friendly assistance which only the educated servant can give. They need words of love and courage, that they may face life with the spirit of men. True social service is a labour of love, requiring courage, tolerance, understanding, vision and sympathy. There is no place in social work for sectarian or personal prejudices."

But however enthusiastic or selfless social workers may be in their work, all their efforts will be wasted if they are not organized and scientifically directed. "In these modern days," said Mrs. Naidu, "it is only systematic and organized effort that can achieve anything. The days of individualism are past and there should be organization in every walk of life."

In conclusion, the speaker said: "You who have had the privilege of receiving your training in a School which has specialised in social work, will

carry its traditions into every centre of India, and inspire into the hearts of those with whom you come into contact, the real meaning of brotherhood. As ambassadors of the nation, you will spread by your zeal and self-sacrifice the message which you have been given, multiplying your training by the hundred-fold."

Fifteen students received the Diploma in Social Service Administration, and two students the Certificate of the Faculty, from the hands of the Chairman. The names of the graduates, together with their theses topics, follow:—

I. DIPLOMA STUDENTS

- Ananta Narayanan, P. S. Palghat, Madras
B. Sc., Madras University, 1934. "*The Working of Prohibition in the Salem District, Madras.*"
- Doraiswami, Miss Kokila Mylapore, Madras
B. A. (Hons.), Madras University, 1937. "*A Study of 100 Juvenile Delinquency Cases Appearing Before the Madras Juvenile Court in 1939.*"
- Goel, Om Prakash Meerut, U. P.
B. A., Agra University, 1936. "*A Study of Young Offenders in Bareilly and Lucknow Jails.*"
- Golwala, Kaikobad B. Karachi, Sind
B. A., Bombay University, 1934. "*A Social and Economic Study of the Parsis Living in the Sir Ratan Tata Blocks of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Colony, Bombay.*"
- Gopala Rao, G. K. Gudibanda, Mysore
B. Sc., Mysore University, 1935. "*Labour Conditions in the Kolar Gold Fields.*"
- Gurbaxani, Bhagechand D. Hyderabad, Sind
B. A., Bombay University, 1933. "*A Study of Social Service Agencies in Karachi.*"
- Harshe, Govind N. Poona
B. A., Bombay University, 1936. "*A Study of the Mang Garudies under Settlement Conditions at Mundwa, Poona.*"
- Ladli Nath Meerut, U. P.
B. A., 1934; M. A., 1936, Allahabad University. "*A Study of 35 Stealing Cases Passing Through the Bombay Juvenile Court in 1939.*"
- Paul, Cherayath I. Ernakulam, Cochin State
B. A., Madras University, 1935. "*A Research in Marital Adjustment Within a Selected Group of Hindus.*"
- Pandaykar, Ramchandra Rao Bombay.

B. A., Mysore University, 1932. "*The Labour Welfare Programme of the Bombay Government in Bombay City.*"

Sher Sing Meerut, U P.
B. A., 1935; M. A., 1937, Agra University. "*Adult Education in the City of Bombay.*"

Shikhare, Vasant P. Poona
B. A., Bombay University, 1935. "*Housing Conditions in the Second Nagpada Section of Bombay.*"

Sidhu, Miss Rajindra Kaur Bhasone, Patiala, State
B. A., Punjab University, 1937. "*A Study of 40 Cases of Juvenile Delinquency in Bombay City.*"

Singh, Wilfred. Indore, Central India
B. A., Agra University, 1933. "*Child Labour in the Bidi Factories in E and F Wards, Bombay.*"

Velayudhan, R. Trivandrum, Travancore
B. A., Madras University, 1937. "*A Study of the Social Conditions of the Pulayas of Kaladi (Travancore).*"

II. CERTIFICATE STUDENTS

Kin, Ba Pegyet, Myingyan, Burma
"*A Survey of Rural Reconstruction in Burma during the Years 1934-1939.*"

Limaye, Gopal A. Bombay
"*A Study of 300 Boys Employed in Hotels in Bombay City.*"

The Convocation terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Convocation Speaker, proposed by Dr. J. M. Kumarappa of the Faculty.

THE ALUMNI INSTITUTE

THE First Alumni Institute of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, arranged under the auspices of a Provisional Alumni Committee, was convened on Sunday, March 10, 1940. The Conference was limited to members of the 1938 Class, members of the 1940 Class and members of the Faculty. Miss Aloo Lalkaka was voted to the Chair and announced the programme of the day—a morning session of four papers and discussion and an afternoon session of two papers and discussion, followed by a business session.

The first paper was read by Mr. D. V. Kulkarni, who outlined some of the problems of an institutional administrator, as he had encountered them in his work at the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home of the Society for Protection of Children in Western India.

Mr. K. Thozhuth discussed the responsibilities of a city probation officer and Mr. S. Nageswaran explained the working of the Probation Act in the United Provinces. Mr. Gulam Mehkri struck a somewhat different note in reading a paper on "The Place of Literature in Social Work."

The papers were followed by a full and free discussion, both alumni and faculty participating. Many valuable suggestions were made for dealing with some of the more important problems raised. Since the session was somewhat in the nature of a confessional, it does not lend itself to free reporting. At the same time one could not but be struck by the insights gained even in so short a period as two years of active work.

In the afternoon session, Miss Freny Soonavala revealed some of the difficulties met with in the administration of a Municipal Welfare programme, and Mr. S. L. Sahni gave a glimpse of the work of a labour officer. These papers were again followed by discussion, after which the Conference considered the Draft Constitution for an Alumni Association, which had been prepared by the Provisional Committee.

The Draft Constitution was discussed clause by clause and was finally adopted in the following form :

CONSTITUTION

Name. This organization shall be called the Alumni Association of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.

Aims and Objects. The Aims and Objects of the Association shall be (1) to serve as a binding link between the School and its alumni and to build up a professional morale; (2) to further the cause of social work in India; (3) to help to promote and co-ordinate research activities in the field of social work; (4) to hold up a high professional standard in social work.

Membership. All those who have undergone the two year course of training in The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work shall be eligible for membership in the Association. Members shall pay Rs. 2/- per annum to the Association.

Office. The Office of the Association shall be situated at The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.

Office Bearers. The Executive Committee shall consist of two Secretaries, one Treasurer, and four other members, out of whom at least two shall be from outside Bombay. The Committee shall be elected every year at a meeting of the General Body. The voting shall be by ballot. Votes of members from outside Bombay shall be collected by post.

The Executive Committee shall be responsible for carrying on such activities as will promote the Aims and Objects of the Association. It shall

meet at least once in three months, and four members shall constitute a quorum.

Meetings of the General Body. The General Body shall meet at least once a year. One-third of the members in Bombay, or one-fourth of the total membership of the Association shall constitute a quorum.

Amendments to Constitution. The Constitution shall be amended by a two-thirds majority of the General Body. In amending, voting by proxy shall be permitted.

The following Office Bearers were elected for the year 1940-41 :—

Secretaries : Miss Indira Bellinal

Mr. K. B. Golwala

Treasurer : Miss Freny Soonavala

Members : Messrs. S. L. Sahni, Wilfred Singh, S. Nageswaran,
G. N. Harshe.

The business session terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair, and was followed by a Tea Party at which the 1940 Class were hosts to the Class of 1938 and Faculty.

ALUMNI NEWS

Class of 1938

JOH^N Barnabas carried heavy responsibilities in the Nagpada Neighbourhood House during Dr. Manshardt's furlough in America. He is now a Research Associate in the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.

Miss Indira Bellinal is doing good work as a Social Worker attached to the Child Guidance Clinic. She acted as Convener of the First Alumni Institute and is one of the secretaries of the Institute for the current year.

Vamanrai Bhatt has been doing a most interesting piece of work as field research man for the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh. He is gaining a comprehensive knowledge of social problems in all parts of India.

Thomas Edward continues as Labour Officer for the Khatau Makanji Mills. He recently married Miss Sophia Bhasker.

D. V. Kulkarni is finding plenty to do in fathering the 200 and odd children under his care in the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India. He is bringing the standard of work in the Home to an excellent level of efficiency.

Gulam Mehkri is working as an organizer with the Hindusthan Scout Association.

Miss Indira Mehta married Mr. U. Bhatt, State Engineer of Bhavnagar,

the very day of her graduation. She has a fine young son. Mr. and Mrs. Bhatt have but recently returned from a trip to Europe and America.

Miss Manjula Mehta has recently been married to Mr. A. Shukla. Mr. and Mrs. Shukla reside at Ahmedabad.

S. Nageswaran is the Chief Probation Officer in the United Provinces. He was a delegate to the All India Penal Reform Conference and read a paper on "Problems and Possibilities of Probation Work in the United Provinces."

R. C. Patel is a Probation Officer with the Child Protection Society, Surat.

E. J. S. Ram has left the staff of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House to become the Labour Welfare Officer of the Government of Bombay. He is organizing a splendid group of welfare centres in the mill areas of Bombay and Ahmedabad.

Miss Kamala Rangi Lal is carrying a heavy case load as a Probation Officer with the Children's Aid Society, Bombay.

Sikandar Lal Sahni continues as Labour Officer in the Swadeshi Mills, Kurla.

Miss Freny Soonavala and Shankarlal Dave are responsible for organizing and administering the labour welfare programme of the Bombay Municipality. From all reports they are doing a fine piece of work.

Kochavara Thozhuth, after a year of service as a case worker with the Goan Emigration Society, joined the Children's Aid Society, Bombay as a Probation Officer.

C. K. Velayudhan is carrying on under great difficulties as a worker in the Rural Development Centre, Cherpu, Cochin State. We salute him as the only member of the Class of 1938 to engage in rural work.

Mrs. G. B. Seervai continues to be active as a voluntary worker with various Bombay social work organizations. She is doing effective work as a Joint Honorary Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India.

Class of 1940

P. S. Anantanarayan has been appointed as Labour Welfare Officer in the Tata Oil Mills at Tatapuram, Cochin.

Miss Kokila Doraiswami has joined the service of the Madras Red Cross Society.

Om Prakash Goel is a Case Worker with the Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society.

Kaikobad Golwala has taken up service as Superintendent of the Cowasji Jehangir Colony, Bombay. He is one of the Secretaries of the Alumni Association for the current year.

Govind Harshe has returned to his home-town, Poona, as a Probation Officer with the Poona After Care Association.

Miss Rajindra Kaur has been appointed as Lady Welfare Officer in the Delhi Cloth Mills.

Maung Be Kin has returned to his Rural Reconstruction Work in Burma.

G. A. Limaye, who was on deputation to the School from the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, has returned to his work as a Probation Officer with the Society.

Ladli Nath has also joined the probation staff of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay.

C. L. Paul has joined the Labour Department of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Jamshedpur.

P. R. Rao is working in the Labour Welfare Department of the Government of Bombay.

Sher Singh is at work in the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad.

Vasant Shikhare has become a probationary worker of the Social Service League, Bombay.

Wilfred Singh is a member of the probation staff of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay.

R. Velayudhan is joining Vamanrai Bhatt as a field worker for the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh. His principal work will be in South India.

BOOK REVIEWS

The books reviewed in this issue of the *Journal* are books written or edited by present or former staff members of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.

Verrier Elwin was for two years a Research Associate of the School.

Dr. Arthur E. Holt, Professor of Social Ethics in the Divinity School of The University of Chicago and The Chicago Theological Seminary, was a Visiting Professor in the Tata School in 1936-37.

Clifford Manhardt is the Director of the Tata School.

The Baiga. By VERRIER ELWIN. [London : John Murray, 1939. pp. 550. 30s.

The present century has witnessed a deterioration in the interest taken by scientific thinkers in the life of primitive society. Or is it perhaps that the foundations of Anthropology were so well laid by the pioneers, that little new work remains for the present generation. The materials on which the great standard works have been based, were mostly obtained in Africa, Australia and in the Americas. India has contributed relatively little, due to lack of investigators and also perhaps to the absence of what may be regarded as pure primitive societies. On the other hand, Indian interest has not been completely absent in societies which, for lack of a better terminology, have been loosely called "aboriginal." Although the Report of the Simon Commission placed the number of aborigines in India at eight million, and although Mr. Amritlal Thakkar's rejoinder placed the number at sixteen million, in my opinion, twenty-three million would be a fair rough estimate of the number of backward forest and rural people in India and Burma.

Details of the life of these "unknown millions" of our countrymen—amongst whom are included vast communities like the Santals, Bhils, Gonds, Oraons and others, are few and inadequate. The best materials have come from the pen of India's renowned anthropologist, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, whilst for some studies we are indebted to British and foreign scholars.

Mr. Verrier Elwin's, *The Baiga*, is the latest contribution to our store of anthropological lore, and because of the detailed, scientific and unprejudiced nature of the study, it takes its place as one of the important works written to explain that which approaches primitive life in India.

Verrier Elwin's study once more brings to light the fact that modern conditions of civilization have not failed to touch the remotest man—at least on the Indian continent. The *Baiga* is no longer primitive, though in his society, as in the case of many other groups, we find abundant material explaining man's early struggles with his environment.

Mr. Elwin's book is intensely human. It is not written from the point

of view of a politician or missionary, who cannot understand the lives of others because he carries fixed patterns and moulds in his own mind. On the contrary, throughout the book there is a distinct sense of aloofness and an unwillingness to judge other human beings from the point of view of established yardsticks of history, morality or civilization. This is a very welcome characteristic of the younger generation of English scientists.

Unlike Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, who did his utmost to probe into unknown history and legend to chronicle the past and the migrations of the Mundas and Oraons he studied, Mr. Elwin makes no attempt to touch the past history of the Baiga. This is no fault of the work, for it is the handicap of all anthropologists in India that they cannot find any material evidence or "lingering memories" of the vast unknown span of time which has been experienced by a particular community.

Mr. Elwin's study is essentially a study of the present, with a brief and hazy glimpse of the future that is in store for these people of the "Unknown" as they gradually take their place in the world of the "Known." It is a study faithfully done, with a keen eye for details, and revealing an inquisitive mind interested in the many loose cords of human life that reveal a people as they are.

The plan of Mr. Elwin's book is typical of the Western mind. A study of work life is followed by an examination of the elements of Baiga society, the sex life of individuals, courtship and marriage. The book concludes with an examination of religious beliefs, practices, ideals and ideas which explain the mind and psychology of these in-no-way strange people. Perhaps a plan which might better have suited the logic of the situation would have been to notice the habits, the religion and psychology of these people, as the basic foundation of their life, holding up the superstructure of social and economic organization.

The book contains valuable information for the ethnologist. The dances, games, songs and riddles of the people, together with their folklore, make educative reading even for the layman. A study of the sex life of the Baigas is a special contribution not always found in similar works.

The details of the life of the people, reveal on the one hand the usual traits of primitive life, whilst on the other hand they give a clear insight into the steady and persistent inroads of Hinduism into the language, religion and social life of the people.

Mr. Elwin, wisely, makes no attempt to dabble in problematic theories of races and affinities. He sees the people as they are, and sees them as victims of a new environment which is created for them by personal powers over whom they have no control. Mr. Elwin's plea, which is strongly supported by Mr. Hutton, that the Baiga should be given much greater opportunity to exploit

the forest, which is his homeland, will be welcomed by all intelligent Indians, as it is the repetition of a demand which has been consistently made for the last thirty years. We cannot share, however, the idea expressed in Mr. Hutton's Preface that the burden of solving the problem of the Baigas has now passed from the shoulders of the British rulers to their Indian brethren. Much as we might hope this to be true, the time is still far distant and it is to be hoped that "the real powers that be" will take into their hands, not so much the "protection" of communities like the Baigas, as the provision of such opportunities as will enable them to release their real creative genius without destroying the beauty of their past heritage.

Mr. Elwin's suggestion to turn Baiga-land into a sort of Reserved Park is both novel and interesting. We gladly accept the sincerity and honest motive of the idea, but we feel that in the twentieth century it is impossible to build a wall of segregation round any group of human beings. Mr. Elwin is no doubt aware that in India there are other communities, which would fall into the same class as the Baigas, and who have perhaps far greater traits of primitive life amongst them than the Baigas. It would be impossible to put all of these people into Reserved Parks, and it would be very difficult to choose only a few of them for this special honour.

The march of time is irresistible. It may be true that there is much in the life of people like the Baigas, which can be said to be both healthy and beautiful, but it is impossible to cry "Halt" to the Law of Change in order to preserve that health and beauty. The record of the life of people like the Baigas will remain in interesting books of the type written by Mr. Elwin, but the people will continue to evolve according to sociological laws—their life being gradually moulded and assimilated into new patterns after contacts and conflicts with other people and circumstances.

Mr. Elwin's book contains an excellent pictorial record of the life of the Baiga. The volume is written in a simple and fascinating language which reveals both the scientist and the artist, and the charm of diction is heightened by the personal sympathies of the author, who is always on the alert to understand and record the simplicity and beauty of a people so far removed from the civilization to which he belongs.

The cost of such intensive scientific effort is always high, and the price of the book can be said to be almost prohibitive for Indian readers. But at the same time it should find a place, not only in every Indian library, but also in the homes of all intelligent Indians who are interested in the life of sister communities—far, far removed from them both in distance and from the point of view of sympathetic understanding.

BEHRAM H. MEHTA

The Delinquent Child in India. By CLIFFORD MANSHARDT. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 1940. Pp. 335. Rs. 4-8-0.

This book comes from the pen of an experienced social worker who has not only been closely associated with the child welfare movement in India, but has also the advantage of a deep study of work for children in America and an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of conditions in England. He could not have chosen a more timely subject to write on, as workers in the field of child welfare in India are at present groping in the dark for want of a proper understanding of the correct approach to delinquent children. The child is increasingly attracting public attention in India. Children's Aid Societies are springing up; Provincial Governments are passing Children's Acts. The recent All India Penal Reform Conference decided to set up a special committee to study child delinquency. After editing a book on "The Child in India," Dr. Manshardt now presents a detailed study of the delinquent child in India. As the author suggests, "those interested in child welfare must acquaint themselves with current thinking in this field, and those with the ability and facilities for research, must study the Indian child in his Indian environment." This book is the first able attempt in that direction.

The book is a fairly exhaustive study of the various aspects of the subject. It starts with a rapid survey of the "Changing Conceptions of Delinquency" and suggests that society has travelled away from the time when the child offender was treated as a young criminal and has now come to realise that "delinquency is a social problem, and each delinquent must be studied as a social case." The author then answers the question, "Who is the Child Delinquent?" and gives an elaborate account of the "Causes of Juvenile Delinquency." After critically examining the various methods of dealing with the problem prevalent in India today, he ends up with suggestions for the treatment and prevention of delinquency.

Dr. Manshardt attacks the popular conception that the delinquent is a criminal type and that delinquency is inherited and asserts that delinquency is of multiple causation. The treatment of the delinquent child must therefore tend towards individualization. He rightly condemns the present tendency of Juvenile Courts and probation officers to rely too much on the remedial powers of remand homes and institutional treatment. He feels that more children could be supervised in their own homes. Some may be placed in foster homes, orphanages and temporary hostels. For "the advantage of a multiple, as opposed to a unitary detention scheme, is that such a scheme allows for individualization of treatment, and does away with the temptation to detain children unnecessarily. Detention is reserved for those for whom it is absolutely essential."

But if supervision, whether for diagnosis or for treatment, is to be effective and useful the army of probation officers must be increased and they must be well equipped for their task. "In India," he says, "the question is often raised whether the bulk of probation work cannot be handled by volunteer workers. While giving due credit to the work of the volunteer, the answer must be that probation is a specialised task; it requires a special type of training, and few volunteers are able to give the time, or have the essential back-ground, to work probation successfully. Experience in other countries does not favour the use of volunteer workers, save in a supplementary capacity to the professional staff." The importance of trained probation workers is further brought home when he states that "in any given community the philosophy of juvenile court may be adequate. The magistrate may be both efficient and in sympathy with the Juvenile Court ideals. But unless the probation staff carries out its work of supervision in an intelligent and conscientious manner, the work of the court will not succeed. The probation process is essentially an educational process."

The chapter on "The Juvenile Court and Juvenile Court Procedure" deserves the special attention of the public. Some regard the Juvenile Court as a separate court for young criminals. Others maintain that it is not for young criminals, but for children who are in need of society's protection. It so happens that in England the Juvenile Court has not been separated from its criminal court antecedents, while America presents the latter view. Law makers in India having had the background of English law have initiated India into considering the Juvenile Court to be the Junior branch of the criminal court. Dr. Manshardt shows on the strength of both American and English writers the advisability of an immediate change in the philosophy of the Juvenile Court in India. The conception of the Juvenile Court must be consistent with the accepted causes of delinquency and the purpose of detention. Society, today, has come to recognize its large share in the delinquency of the child. Hence the court cannot think in terms of retribution or revenge, it must consider the child as its ward.

The last two chapters on the treatment of delinquency contain valuable practical suggestions, worthy of careful consideration by the State and various agencies working for the welfare of the child in India. The public is almost challenged into active preventive work by the pertinent observation, "Although any forward-looking society will organize itself to care for its delinquent children through a system of Juvenile Courts, trained probation officers and progressive correctional institutions, it will not feel that in providing these facilities it has solved its problem of delinquency, for the real test of the social vision of the community is the effectiveness of its programme of prevention,"

The fact that the author has had to depend a great deal on American and English statistics shows the sad dearth of much needed research in India in this field. One would also like to have had a more critical estimate of the present work for child delinquents in India, even though such work is still its infancy. Certainly those responsible for leading the movement on behalf of the delinquent child in India would do well to study this book carefully. There is no individual who is not in one capacity or the other concerned with the child. The book contains valuable thoughts and information for the parent, the teacher, the magistrate and the legislator. To the worker with delinquent children it will serve as an indispensable text book. Every citizen should read it. Workers with delinquent children should possess it.

JOHN BARNABAS

The Fate of the Family. By ARTHUR E. HOLT. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1936. Pp. 192.

The chapters of this book were originally presented by Dr. Holt as part of the radio extension programme of the University of Chicago. The contents are brought under four parts. In the first part, the author describes the three prominent types of families : the Oriental, the conventional or the European, and the democratic. In the former two types, he tells us, very little emphasis is laid on the wishes and decisions of the bride and the groom. The rights of society and the race are considered to such an extent that complete subordination of the desires of the individuals most concerned is taken for granted. After dealing with the merits and demerits of these two kinds of families, he sets up the democratic type over against them. Freedom of courtship, acceptance of the task of self-support and free association with other people are pointed out as essential characteristics of this type. The remaining three parts of the book are given over to a popular discussion of the problems of the democratic family and of its future.

The democratic family, which is a product of the West, has, so the author believes, developed in America with the democratic movement, and as such it will share the fate of this movement in the future, and whatever modifications take place in the movement will probably be registered in the family also, for family life shares to a large extent the type of culture and the general organization of which it is a part. At present the social changes and the over-emphasis on individualism, which characterize American society, have affected seriously the stability of the family, bringing about an immense amount of family disorganization. The chief objective evidences of disorganization are divorce, separation, failure to provide for the family, and incompatibilities resulting in various forms of physical and mental violence.

Among the causes of family disorganization in the United States, there are some social factors to which Dr. Holt gives special attention. In American society there is, on one hand, an increasing demand on the part of women for personal freedom of the type actually enjoyed by men and, on the other, the failure of men to realize the significance and implications of this demand. Then, there are the ever-increasing opportunities for women to be economically independent. The economic freedom of woman enables her to choose more deliberately when she marries, and to obtain a divorce less hesitatingly when the marriage relation becomes intolerable. This economic change has made individualization possible to an exceptional degree. Moreover, the social freedom and the almost unlimited transportation facilities with which Americans are now provided enable both men and women to associate socially and professionally with others of the opposite sex to a much greater extent. This movement has vast possibilities for good as well as harm. Naturally, these and other changes in American social organization during the last twenty-five years have loosened the family solidarity and integrity.

What then is to be the fate of the family? Can it be adjusted to America's changing civilization? Or should a substitute be sought? Sound social procedure consists in efforts to improve an institution before destroying it or establishing a substitute. The author believes that the future of the democratic family is assured, since no other institution in society shows any large tendency to take over the function of the family, which is of vital importance to national and social welfare. The family has proved to be the most effective primary group for the inculcation of the personal virtues. And the loyalties, affections, emotional satisfactions and traditions necessary for social achievement and responsible living have their roots in wholesome family life. Rightly therefore the author puts forward various suggestions for improving the family and making it function more effectively in a democratic society. Though the book deals with the American family, much of what Dr. Holt says with regard to the destructive trends and how to prevent them will be useful not only to social workers but to every one interested in the family and its welfare.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

This Nation Under God. By ARTHUR E. HOLT. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1939. Pp. 205. \$ 2.00.

This volume contains the series of lectures delivered by Dr. Holt under the Rauschenbusch Foundation at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School in 1938. In the book the author makes a strong case for democracy which, as a form of government, has been at a discount since the last World War. His faith in democracy seems to be rooted in his conception of human nature and

of the purpose of God in the Universe. When the dominating conception of human nature is too narrow, it gives rise to forms of government which are more restrictive than liberating. As a result, such political theories as Fascism and Communism, glorify the State and ignore the worth and dignity of the individual. Nevertheless, man, because of his infinite capacity to adapt himself, finds his place in a variety of social arrangements. But this is not the same as saying that they are completely satisfying.

All the same, it must be admitted that in no instance has society been built up from a truly adequate conception of human nature. However, Prof. Holt believes that under democracy some such result can be obtained. "As things stand," he says, "democracy seems to be holding on to God and freedom, and neglecting responsibility and common welfare, while totalitarian States are holding on to responsibility and common welfare, and rejecting God and freedom." If democracy is to be saved and if democratic ends are to be achieved, Dr. Holt maintains, religion must play its part in creating an environment which can produce democratic men. Since democracy in its American expression has been closely associated with Protestantism, he devotes the major portion of the book to a discussion of the place and function of Christianity, and of its institutional form, the Church, in the creation of a democratic social order.

The building of a unified society of public-minded individuals presupposes, so the author tells us, the discovery of a hierarchy of values which can be the objects of human loyalty and which will give to the inner life of man a sense of unity, wholeness and dignity. This, Dr. Holt points out, is primarily a problem in the realm in which religion operates. It is at this point that democracy makes its contact with religion, for the real basis of democracy is moral. Only men, who trust one another and demand for others the same rights that they demand for themselves, are capable of acting responsibly.

But the State, by its very nature, cannot be the final teacher of morals. It is the business of religion to make its members spiritually mature and fit them for responsible living; it is also the function of the Church to be the critic of the State. Unfortunately, however, the Church as well as the School, has allowed itself to be controlled by vested interests. Both of these institutions, the author declares, should "train men in social judgment, courageous to challenge old systems and rise in rebellion against tyrannies," and "emphasize duty, loyalty, faith, belief and courage for social adventuring". Only when training of the will along these lines is seriously taken up by the Church and the School will it be possible to generate responsible living. The Church should supply the school and society with the great motives which come

welling up out of Christianity and direct them into the channels of public-mindedness. The Church should function in this way to nourish the roots of democracy, for democracy needs a more strenuous and more truly human ethic, and this is found in the "consonants" of Christianity. This book is a distinct contribution to American thought, and it will be of special interest to all those interested in the future of democracy and in the influence of religion in the evolution of a democratic social order.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Some Social Services of the Government of Bombay. Edited by CLIFFORD MANSHARDT. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1937. Pp. 141. Rs. 3-4-0.

A timely publication, because it deals with a subject over which the public conscience is much exercised, is *Some Social Services of the Government of Bombay*, edited by Dr. Clifford Manshardt and published by D. B. Taraporevala and Sons. The book is a symposium of ten lectures delivered by Government officials of various departments during last cold weather at the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, under the auspices of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. Each lecturer being an authority with practical experience of his or her subject, the views expressed are valuable and the whole forms an excellent bird's-eye view of official effort. Critics who consider that the State is not sufficiently alive to its duty of raising the standard of living of the people, and others who assert that Government has been backward in promoting social reform, may find their views modified by a perusal of this little book. Two of its articles disclose how far-reaching, both in the geographical sense and in objective, is our system of medical relief. Industrial welfare work is dealt with in five chapters covering the work of the Labour Office, factory law and its administration, workmen's compensation, the task of the Labour Officer, and a survey of industrial housing in Bombay City. Next comes a description of what the village improvement movement has done in the Nasik District, while a more general picture of rural life is contained in the chapter on the work of co-operative societies. Finally we have a most instructive survey of ten years' work under the Bombay Children Act.

The book confirms the impression generally held that Bombay is at least as advanced as any other province of India in the maintenance of social services, and is striving to keep abreast of modern ideals. Admittedly conditions are in many respects deplorable, and those engaged in the task have to fight an uphill battle in order to eradicate the entrenched forces of ignorance, superstition and abuse. But no one can read these chapters without being

made aware that the war is strenuously waged and is producing satisfactory results on several fronts. With the stimulus provided by the advent of popular government and its emphasis on social regeneration, there is every hope that the near future will see considerable advance upon the present position.

—*The Times of India*

The Child in India. Edited by CLIFFORD MANSHARDT. Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1937. Pp. 166. Rs. 4/-.

Since the children of today are the citizens of tomorrow, it is but natural that their care, training and protection should find an important place in our schemes for the promotion of national welfare. And yet, incredible though it may seem, there was not a single organization in Bombay before 1917 to care for and protect the forsaken, maltreated or exploited children.

It was only about the middle of January of the year 1917 that the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India was brought into existence to give legal and social protection to neglected children. During the last 20 years the Society, in spite of its initial handicaps, has rendered much useful service.

In commemoration of the coming of age of the Society, the volume "The Child in India", has been edited by Dr. Clifford Manshardt. In his preface to this book, Lord Brabourne rightly remarks that of all kinds of social service there is none more important than the protection of children, and none more worthy to be performed.

The opening chapter by Mr. R. P. Masani tells us the story of how this Society came into being, what its aims and objects are and what it has achieved so far. The rest of the chapters, written by experts in their respective fields, are not only forward-looking but present valuable ideas and methods for the improvement of child welfare work.

It is now coming to be recognized more and more that the conditions surrounding the earliest years of childhood are the most important determining factors in adolescent and adult life. Bodily or mental ill-health, frustrated or rebellious personalities, economic inadequacy, truancy, delinquency and crime usually have their source in untoward circumstances surrounding the developing life of the little child.

The chapters on "The Dependent Child," and "The Delinquent Child," contributed by Dr. Manshardt, throw much light on the economic, mental and social factors involved in dependency and delinquency. After a brief survey of the various factors which cause dependency, he suggests some methods of dealing with this problem. In all these methods of approach, it is essential, he points out, to keep the integration of the family and the preservation of the home constantly in mind as fundamental to the reduction of dependency.

The anti-social behaviour of children is now receiving serious attention. In the past, attempts were made to find out the causes of juvenile delinquency and provide treatment. But now greater attention is being paid to the discovery of ways by which delinquency may be prevented. The chapter dealing with delinquency shows how this problem is being studied in the United States, what methods are being adopted for its prevention, and how India should proceed to tackle this problem.

Similarly Dr. K. R. Masani analyses the behaviour problems of children and shows how personality, behaviour and habit disorders arise in the child. His chapter gives us a clear exposition of the Child Guidance Clinic. This approach to an understanding of the child's anti-social behaviour, and the treatment and the guidance involved need careful consideration and wider application in India.

If we are to give the children of today the opportunities which will determine to a large extent their ability to meet the demands of the present, and to develop those qualities of body, mind and spirit, which will enable them to live vigorously, intelligently and courageously in the critical years ahead, it is necessary to give them the right type of education from their infancy. So maintains Dr. J. M. Kumarappa in his chapter on "The Education of the Pre-School Child." He points out the importance of the pre-school years in the development of the child, and makes a plea for a wholesome, sane and scientific system of nurseries to furnish an environment in which the child can develop a sound mind in a sound body and acquire desirable social attitudes.

In addition to the above, interesting educational information is found in the chapters on "Changing Objectives in Indian Schools" by Mrs. A. E. Harper, "Training for Character" by Dr. P. G. Bhagwat, and "Recreation and Play" by Dr. B. H. Mehta.

Pushing beyond the pre-school period, or even the period of infancy, we find that a child's right to healthy birth is seriously jeopardised if facilities for good maternity care are lacking. The maternity mortality rates in Bombay as those in other parts of the country, clearly indicate that the problem of providing medical and nursing care for mothers is a very real and pressing problem.

Comprehensive programmes of maternal and child health must be carried on, and more adequate resources for medical and nursing care at delivery, and throughout the antepartum and postpartum periods must be developed if the lives and health of the mothers and new-born infants are to be safeguarded. Sir Mangaldas V. Mehta deals with this aspect in his chapter on "Maternal Welfare," showing what is actually being done in Bombay.

The security and welfare of children depend not only upon the intelligence, economic resources, and devotion of parents, educationists, and social workers, but upon the foresight, integrity and ability of law-makers, public officials, and administrators of privately sponsored organizations. To all such *The Child in India* has very valuable information to give.

Our understanding of the child and his nature, and the methods we use for his care and growth will determine the extent to which India will succeed in creating conditions of community life in which security and opportunity for children will be cherished as the central objective of economic and social organization.

—*The Illustrated Weekly of India*

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FACTORY LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

T. W. JOHNSTONE

The history of factory legislation in India is a progressive one. In this article Mr. T. W. Johnstone, M. B. E., A. R. C. S., D. I. C., J. P., Chief Inspector of Factories, Bombay Province, discusses the subject both in its historical and administrative aspects.

THE rapid development of the industrial system in Britain in the early years of the last century led to a number of abuses. Public opinion was ultimately stirred and the remedy was sought after a great deal of opposition in the passing of the first Factory Act, and the creation of a staff of inspectors to enforce it. The centenary of the British factory inspectorate was celebrated in 1933 and a deservedly high tribute was paid to the pioneering work of the four men who "blazed the trail."

With the development of the factory system most countries have found it necessary to create a factory inspectorate charged with the duty of administering the laws passed to regulate conditions of work, and in the early seventies the need was felt and voiced in the Bombay Presidency, where 18 cotton mills had been established with over 10,000 employees, many of whom were women and children.

The principal enactments in India are the Act of 1881, the amendments of 1891, the Act of 1911, the amendments of 1922, and finally, the Act of 1934.

It is usually necessary to limit the application of factory law, hence the Act of 1881 started by defining a "factory" as a premises using power, and employing 100 persons simultaneously for four months or more in the year. As far as the employment of labour was concerned, this initial Act only attempted to control the employment of children, and it declared a "child" to be a person between the ages of 7 and 12 years. The hours of work were fixed at 9 a day, with a rest interval of one hour. 4 holidays had to be given in each month. Children were also prohibited from cleaning machinery in motion and from working between the fixed and moving parts of machinery. This latter provision was necessary to prevent serious or fatal accidents which were

a fairly common result of children working on spinning mules. Children were also prohibited from working in two factories on the same day, and, in the absence of compulsory birth registration in India, provisions for the certification of children for age and fitness were incorporated.

These were the only provisions regulating the employment of labour, but measures to secure the safety of all persons were framed. The 1881 Act dealt with this important matter by requiring certain machinery to be securely fenced, whilst power was reserved to the Local Government to frame rules in other cases, and the factory inspector whose appointment was required by the Act, was also empowered to issue an individual order to require the fencing or guarding of machinery not covered by the Act or rules. To prevent an arbitrary exercise of this rather wide prerogative, an inspector's order was subject to an appeal. I do not know whether the framers of the 1881 Act were men of exceptional sagacity, or whether they built better than they knew, but this method of dealing with accident prevention has survived to this day. The method is almost unique in factory legislation, but its undoubted value was brought to the notice of the world by the International Labour Office a few years ago.

The initial Act also required the maintenance of registers, the posting of notices to enforce the restrictions on child labour, and stipulated that a list of holidays to be observed must be sent to the inspector. All accidents that involved death or prevented an injured person from returning to work within two days had also to be reported to him. Penal sections provided for a breach of the requirements of the Act.

The Act of 1881 was criticised on the grounds that it afforded insufficient protection to children, and failed to regulate women's labour. Commissioners were appointed, and the 1891 amendments followed.

The number of persons required to constitute a factory was reduced from 100 to 50, whilst Local Governments could, by notification, extend the Act to concerns using power and employing between 20 and 50 persons. The definition of "employed" was extended to include all persons whether adults or children and the lower age limit for a child was raised from 7 to 9 and the upper age from 12 to 14.

Except in shift-working factories, a compulsory stoppage of work for half an hour for all persons was required, and, subject to certain exceptions, a weekly holiday had to be given.

Women, except in seasonal factories, were prohibited from working at night. Their daily hours were limited to 11 with a rest interval of 1½ hours, or proportionately less if fewer hours were worked. They were prohibited from employment in more than one factory on the same day, but except for

the latter requirement⁴, fairly wide powers of exemption were reserved to the Governor-General in Council.

The night employment of children was prohibited and their daily hours reduced from 9 to 7. To prevent a "traffic" in children's certificates, a penalty for using a false certificate was enacted.

The rule-making powers of the Local Government were extended to include the provision of drinking water, while sanitation, ventilation and the prevention of over-crowding were legislated for. Rules were framed to enforce the submission of occasional or periodical returns and provision was made for the publication of draft rules for criticism before final publication.

There was a great deal of agitation in the late ninety's and the early years of this century for further changes. No attempt had been made to control the daily or weekly working hours of male adults. To a very great extent their duration was only limited by natural conditions. They could be employed from day-light to dusk and in several textile factories they were so employed.

The introduction of electricity for lighting purposes and the boom of 1904-1905 also led to a longer working day than was contemplated in 1891 and a considerable volume of opinion accordingly urged a statutory limitation of the working hours of men. The Factory Labour Commission, appointed by the Secretary of State, reported in 1907 and the 1911 Act was brought into operation in 1912. This again effected great changes. The definition of a child was unchanged. The meaning of "employed" was extended to include the baling of material as a manufacturing process, whilst the loophole through which many seasonal factories escaped all control, by working a day or two less than four months, was stopped.

The definition of "factory" was enlarged to include those run by electrical power, but electrical, generating and transforming stations, mines, and factories on tea, coffee or indigo plantations were exempted.

Advances in the health and safety requirements were also made. The inspector was granted power to order the installation of exhaust fans to remove dust or fumes, and water used for humidifying purposes in weaving sheds had either to be taken from a public supply or be effectively purified before use. Power was also granted to the inspector, subject to appeal, to secure adequate lighting. In new factories the doors of each room in which more than 30 persons were employed had to open outwards, whilst provisions for means of escape in case of fire and precautions against fire were required. A series of fatalities to women in cotton-pressing factories resulted in a special provision to secure their safety.

As far as hours of employment were concerned, unexempted work had to be stopped for a period of at least half an hour after not more than 6 hours

work. Children and women were not allowed to work for more than 7 or 11 hours a day respectively and could not be employed, subject to slight variations, before 5:30 in the morning or after 7 in the evening, although this latter provision, as far as women were concerned, did not apply to cotton gins and presses.

A distinction was made between textile and other factories and a daily limit of 12 hours was placed on the working hours of male adults in the former factories. The 1911 Act also reduced the working hours of children in textile factories to six hours per day.

Relevant changes in the requirements regarding notices and registers were made and, since it was found that an occupier could in some instances escape the penal provisions, the manager was made jointly liable with him.

Supplementary provisions provided for the hearing of appeals from orders of the inspector, by assessors appointed by Government and by representative industries, for a variation of the times—to suit local conditions—during which women and children might be employed, and for the exclusion of a period when work was interrupted, from the computation of working hours.

Experience of the 1911 Act disclosed a number of defects, whilst the growth of public opinion fostered by the War and the setting up of the International Labour Organization under the terms of the Peace Treaty, led to a sweeping revision of the Act in 1922. By these amendments the distinction between the textile and non-textile factories was abolished and a maximum 11 hour day for men and women alike, with a 60 hour week was introduced. The rest interval was increased from $\frac{1}{2}$ hour to an hour with a permissive power, if the employee so desired, to fix two half-hour intervals. Women were prohibited from employment during the night in cotton ginning and pressing factories. The definition of factory was altered to include all concerns using power and employing 20 or more persons, whilst Local Governments were enabled, by notification, to extend the Act to concerns—whether or not mechanical power was used—and wherein 10 or more persons were employed.

The exemption hitherto enjoyed by tea, coffee, and indigo factories, and concerns transforming or generating electrical energy were cancelled, whilst fairly numerous exemptions were either curtailed or abolished.

The lower age limit was raised from 9 to 12—a far sweeping change—and the upper age was increased from 14 to 15. Power was granted to the inspector to send for re-examination those children who appeared to be adversely suffering from their employment. A maximum limit of 6 hours a day was placed on all child labour.

Excessive humidification was controlled, and power was given to the inspector to issue an order where danger from the ways, works, or even the

buildings themselves was apprehended. Fatal accidents to infants and children who were brought into factories, led to the grant of power to the inspector, subject to appeal, to prohibit their admission to factories, whilst a new feature in Indian legislation was the control of the employment of women and young persons on dangerous lead processes.

New ground was also broken by insistence on a special rate of over-time pay when exempted persons were worked longer than the weekly maximum ordinarily permitted. Although the power of substituting any day within three days of the Sunday as a holiday was not altered, it was enacted that no person should be employed for more than ten days without a holiday.

The rule-making powers of Local Governments were extended to meet the new conditions and the maximum fine for an offence was increased from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 500/-. Since legislation for workmen's compensation was under consideration, a clause in the Amending Act of 1922 enabled compensation to be awarded by a Court out of fine imposed under the Factories Act, if death or injury resulted from a breach of the safety requirements. This, a transitory provision, enabled relief to be given in particular cases.

The 1922 restrictions were entirely on the employment of labour and although they were fairly far-reaching in this respect, the removal of the restriction on the use of machinery in textile factories, the abolition of the control of the inspector over a system of shifts, and the deletion of the provision for a simultaneous rest interval, have added to the difficulties of administration.

Slight changes were made in 1923, 1926 and 1931—the most important being the one to penalise parents and guardians who permitted children to work in two factories after obtaining two certificates.

The Royal Commission on Labour visited India in 1929 and 1930 and a very comprehensive survey of Indian labour conditions resulted. Partly as a result of this study the Act of 1934 was passed.

This Act recognises three classes of factories, viz., perennial factories, continuous production factories, and seasonal factories, i. e., those concerns that work during certain well defined seasons, and do not ordinarily work for more than 180 days in the year.

The weekly hours for men and women in the different categories are fixed at 54, 56 and 60 respectively. Maximum daily working hours for men are fixed at 10 in the first two groups and 11 in the last. A daily limit of 10 hours is placed on women's labour.

The maximum hours of work for children are fixed at 5 and a special provision states that no child may be exempted from the weekly holiday under any circumstances.

Under previous legislation it was possible to fix the working hours of men during any period of the day. The Royal Commission, however, drew attention to some rather serious cases of undue "spreadover." To limit this, a "spreadover" clause was introduced whereby the hours of work and the rest intervals of men cannot, unless a special exemption has been granted by Government, be spreadover a longer period than 13 hours. The same provision has been applied to women, except that the "spreadover" must lie between any 13 hours from 5:30 a.m. to 7 p.m. The "spreadover" for children is limited to 7½ hours, and no child may be employed except during the times allotted to women.

The age limits of children have not been altered, but to avoid, in some measure, the sudden break from a child to an adult, persons between the ages of 15 and 17 are now required to obtain a certificate of fitness before adult work may be undertaken.

The conditions applying to rest intervals have not materially changed, but the requirement relating to "simultaneous" employment in the definition of a factory has been altered so that it is no longer possible for shift working concerns employing more than 20 persons in the aggregate to avoid regulation.

Health and Safety. The more important provisions of previous enactments have been materially strengthened and extended. India was fortunate in not having committed herself to a formal standard of ventilation based on a carbonic acid content. It was thus possible to take advantage of the change over from the chemical to the physical view point which very largely received its impetus by the invention of the kata thermometer and the work of Dr. Leonard Hill.

Although a standard based on the wet kata thermometer is impractical, a restricted power has been given to the Chief Inspector to deal with the matter in hot factories. He may also require the recording of the wet kata observations in factories.

As far as some aspects of safety were concerned, the powers granted by the changes in 1922 could not be effectively exercised, and remedial measures are incorporated in the New Act. Power has also been granted to the Provincial Government to frame rules where there are special risks from injury, poisoning and disease. A slight advance was made in 1922 when the employment of women and young persons on lead processes was regulated. Rules have been framed to secure the protection of persons employed on lead processes, the manufacture of aerated waters and processes connected with the manufacture of rubber, chromium plating, cellulose spraying, sand blasting, and the generation and use of petrol gas. In some instances women, adolescents and children have been prohibited from employment.

Welfare. Powers are granted to Local Governments in respect to the establishment of dining rooms and rooms where the infants of women workers can be looked after. The entire absence of medical aid in some factories or facilities for treating injured persons has been remedied, and factories that do not adequately provide for the medical treatment of injured persons are required to provide standard First-Aid boxes. With the co-operation of St. John's Ambulance Association, employees, mainly from the small factories in Bombay and the mills in Ahmedabad, are now being trained in First-Aid. Several classes for the mills in Bombay were established some years ago.

The Provincial Government have passed rules whereby factories that ordinarily employ more than 100 women are required to provide suitable rooms for the use of their children and to arrange for their supervision. 116 concerns have provided facilities to the required standard.

The Act of 1934 was further amended in 1935 and 1936. The first amendment prohibited women supervisors from working at night, whilst the second extended the definition of a factory to permit Local Governments to bring under regulation work done in the open air. This was found necessary to control the arduous conditions of work in dhabhi-ghats.

The principal changes in factory legislation have been considered. It is clear that very vast improvements in the law have been made and that the trend in India as elsewhere has been in the direction of greater control over the conditions of employment in factories. Various difficulties and anomalies in the law have been rectified from time to time so that the 1934 Act is a fairly comprehensive one.

A "factory" is ordinarily a premises using power and employing 20 persons on any day in the preceding 12 months, but a Provincial Government has power to apply some or all of the provisions of the Act to factories using power and employing between 10 and 20 persons and to concerns not using power.

The Provincial Government have utilised their powers on an extensive scale and suitable regulations have been adopted for a very large number of such concerns.

A recent All India amendment has applied certain provisions of the Act to "small" factories, i.e., to premises using power and employing between 10 and 20 persons if children are employed. The same provisions may be applied by Provincial Governments to power concerns employing less than 10 persons if children are employed.

The Employment of Children Act. All India legislation to control the employment of children in several industries was passed and came into operation on the 1st of October, 1939. Occupiers are required to send in a notice and the employment of children below the age of 12 years is prohibited. The Act

will be worked by local officials in the areas not covered by the inspectorate in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona.

The following table shows how employment in factories subject to regulation has increased :

Year	Number of Factories	Number of persons employed			Total	Number of persons per factory	Ratio women to men	Percentage children to total employees
		Men	Women	Children				
1892	253	94,660	25,539	5,946	1,26,145	498	1 to 3·7	4·71
1897	343	1,06,780	26,930	6,669	1,40,379	409	3·97	4·75
1902	400	1,34,327	39,118	6,779	1,80,224	450	3·43	3·76
1907	519	1,61,447	42,899	10,106	2,14,452	413	3·76	4·71
1912	687	1,96,015	49,486	14,344	2,59,845	378	3·96	5·52
1917	835	2,26,084	56,215	13,092	2,95,391	353	4·0	4·43
1922	1,062	2,79,608	67,518	13,392	3,60,518	348	4·14	3·72
1927	1,596	2,95,391	80,155	6,322	3,81,868	239	3·69	1·65
1932	1,852	3,12,878	73,977	2,792	3,89,647	210	4·23	0·72
1935	1,999	3,43,194	70,235	1,941	4,20,716	210	4·91	0·46
		4,691*	655*					
1936	1,879	3,24,027	62,652	922	3,91,771	208	5·17	0·24
		3,481*	689*					
1937	2,108	3,64,765	65,891	466	4,35,207	206	5·56	0·11
		3,673*	412*					
1938	2,810	4,02,449	71,591	943	4,79,103	170	5·65	0·19
		3,777*	343*					
1939	3,460	3,90,817	70,597	920	4,66,040	134	5·55	0·19
		3,224*	482*					

* Adolescents

The increase is due to changes in the law and to industrial development. The ratio between men and women, and the percentage of children, indicate that, from broad social considerations, the Bombay Province has not much to learn from other countries. Child labour has practically ceased, and the abuses connected with child labour have been almost entirely obliterated. Factory legislation, inspection and improved certification are partly responsible, but there has been a growing tendency on the part of employers not to employ child labour now that adult labour is available in adequate quantity.

Administration. The first charge on an inspection service is to ensure observance of the laws. With a comprehensive Act that includes practically all workers within its scope and with the scattered nature of Indian industry the securing of compliance with the provision relating to work and holidays is, in itself, a difficult task. Factories have almost entire freedom over the actual fixing of their time tables. Women and children cannot of course be employed

at night and the actual duration of the hours of work and rest periods for individuals must conform to the Act. But otherwise, night shifts and group systems of working may be adopted. The weekly holiday too, may be varied within fairly wide limits. The development of night shifts has thrown a great strain on the department and, without a large number of surprise visits, infractions of the law, particularly in the smaller mofussil factories, would be frequent. Inspectors therefore have to inspect both day and night and have frequently to give up their own Sunday holiday.

A rather bald statement regarding prosecutions for infringements of the law is published annually. There is, however, often an underlying history of a cross country ride late at night or early in the morning to obtain the evidence necessary for a conviction.

Fencing of Machinery and Enquiry into Accidents. These have always formed a most important part of the activities of the inspectorate. New problems are always arising in connection with new machinery and new industries, and attempts are made to keep pace with them. The machinery accident rate in the textile industry in the Town and Island of Bombay is only one half of that in Britain. Enquiries cover the simple types of accident as well as those involving fairly difficult technical matters.

The Department has encouraged the new approach to accident prevention with the financial assistance of employers' organizations, warning posters have been prepared, warning signs have been painted on machinery and several safety committees have been established.

The atmospheric conditions in which operatives work have a great bearing on their health and efficiency. The law has been extended and new powers incorporated, but a great deal has been effected by persuasion and demonstration. Practically all the newer mills in the Presidency have been equipped with air conditioning plants capable of effecting air changes of from 10 to 20 per hour. A great advance in many of the older mills has also been made. Working conditions in many textile concerns have been revolutionised and over 40 lakhs have been spent in this direction alone. The results are better health, better work, more contentment and greater efficiency. The inspectorate has been very active in this direction and may legitimately claim a fair share of the progress made.

In addition to the activities of the inspectors, the full-time certifying surgeons in Ahmedabad and Bombay, apart from their duties of examining children and adolescents for age and fitness, have been appointed additional inspectors under the health and sanitary sections, and they examine, from time to time, workers who are employed on operations likely to affect their health adversely.

Maternity Benefit Act. This Act was passed by the Legislative Council in 1929. It provides that women in factories in Bombay and Ahmedabad shall receive 8 annas a day for four weeks after confinement and at the same rate up to a maximum of four weeks for the period between the rate of absence from work and the date of confinement. In other centres the rate has been fixed at the average earnings. To qualify, a woman has to put in 9 months' service and she is protected from dismissal during the period she receives her benefit.

Amendments were made in 1934 to secure that women, subject to safeguards, could secure four weeks' benefit shortly after leaving work since it was found that, under the original measure, women were not utilising the benefit to the best advantage, owing to the delay in receiving it.

Much of the administration of this Act is in the hands of the lady inspector, who not only assists the women with advice, but follows up the infants in the creches and does much to break down the prejudices of the women. With the development of maternity hospitals in Bombay, supplemented by the Maternity Benefit Act and the establishment of creches in the mills, the lot of the average mill woman and her child has been very materially improved in the last decade.

The following table shows the extent to which the Maternity Benefit Act has been of benefit to working women :

Year	Number of women who were paid maternity benefit	Number of other persons who were paid maternity benefit under Section 7	Total number of benefits paid	Total amount paid		
				Rs.	As.	Ps.
1929-30	1,684	16	1,700	34,663	14	0
1930-31	5,194	37	5,231	1,21,325	12	0
1931-32	5,398	57	5,455	1,28,542	0	0
1932-33						
Up to 30-6-33	5,749	41	5,790	1,35,813	3	2
From 1-7-33 } to 31-12-33 }	2,728	18	2,746	64,417	4	0
1934	4,123	54	4,177	97,879	8	9
1935	3,895	29	3,924	94,351	5	6
1936	4,276	34	4,310	1,03,930	14	10
1937	3,559	21	3,580	88,762	5	6
1938	3,861	27	3,888	96,556	1	0
1939	4,352	29	4,381	1,11,380	7	11
TOTAL ...	44,819	363	45,182	10,77,622	12	8

Pre-Maternity Benefits in the year 1939.....2,159.

Workmen's Compensation. Under this Act workmen who are injured by an accident arising out of and in the course of employment are entitled to compensation. The members of the inspectorate have done a great deal to make the provisions of the Act known to injured workmen, particularly in the moffusil areas. They have often been the means of securing the payment of compensation that would not otherwise have been made. A close contact is maintained with the Commissioner of Workmen's Compensation in Bombay who, as Commissioner of Labour, is in control of the Factory Department.

Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act. This is mainly a trade measure, but factory inspectors are required to sanction plans of new factories and have been able to secure a much higher standard of ventilation and fencing of machinery as a result.

Payment of Wages Act. This Act was brought into operation in 1937 and is administered by the Factory Department. Its provisions are ordinarily applicable to all factories using power and employing more than 20 persons, but the reserve powers of the Provincial Government have been utilised to apply the principal provisions to the large number of factories brought under regulation by the reserve powers of the Factories Act. The objects are to secure the prompt payment of wages and to regulate deduction from wages and to limit fines. Wage periods cannot exceed a month in duration and wages must be paid within 7 or 10 days of the expiry of the period according to the size of establishment. Discharged employees must be paid within two days. Fines may only be imposed for offences according to an approved list and cannot exceed half an anna in the rupee of the wages earned during the wage period. Fines have to be recorded in the register and spent on the welfare of the workers.

Although the powers of an inspector are wide, they are strictly limited in some directions. It is always possible, however, to make suggestions, and although there is a much greater scope for welfare work in the factories of this Province, a fair amount of welfare work has been done and the inspectorate has been, and I hope always will be, a progressive force in this direction.

THE WOMAN AS WAGE EARNER

J. M. KUMARAPPA

According to the census of 1931, the total number of women workers was 48·8 million, or 31 per cent of the total population gainfully employed. The entrance of women into industry helps to solve certain immediate family problems, but it creates wider social problems.

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THE impact of Western culture and the rise of industrialism in India have brought about far-reaching social changes which have profoundly affected both the character of our family life and the position of women. In rural areas, where the old economy still prevails, the family is not only the unit of consumption but also the unit of production. While the man works on land, his wife and children carry on, in addition to the domestic tasks, weaving, spinning and other cottage industries at home; these form the resources on which the family falls back if the main wage-earner is thrown out of employment. Hence the "working woman" is by no means a new phenomenon. But what is new is women working for wages in large numbers outside the home. This new economic role of Indian women is a comparatively recent product of our changing civilization.

Though custom forbids the employment of Muslim and Hindu women of the upper classes outside the home, yet the more modern of them, revolting against this man-made pattern of life, are entering the learned professions and trades in ever increasing numbers. According to the census of 1931, the total number of women workers was 48·8 million or 31 per cent of the total population gainfully employed. A large proportion of this total is made up of women of the poor classes who work mainly as wage-earners; it is this group and its problems that form the subject matter of this article.

While educated women are employed in professions and trades, women wage-earners are employed largely on plantations, in mines and factories. They also work in great numbers as domestic servants and menials. The various occupations in which women of all classes are employed are given in Table I on the following page, with the total number in each.

Out of this total of nearly 154 million persons employed in all occupations, there are, it is estimated, about 56·5 million wage-earners; in other words, over 36 per cent of all those engaged in all occupations depend upon wage labour as a means of livelihood. Though India still continues to be

TABLE I: *Occupational Distribution in 1931*¹

Occupations	Males	Females	Total
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation ...	74,441,002	28,853,437	103,294,439
II. Exploitation of minerals ...	259,583	86,417	346,000
III. Industry ...	10,797,527	4,551,426	15,351,953
IV. Transport ...	2,099,198	242,206	2,341,406
V. Trade ...	5,785,616	2,127,981	7,913,597
VI. Public Force ...	834,453	7,021	841,474
VII. Public Administration ...	962,741	32,543	995,284
VIII. Professions and liberal arts.	1,986,260	323,881	2,310,141
IX. Persons living mainly on their income ...	168,829	47,045	215,874
X. Domestic Service ...	2,094,487	8,803,790	10,898,217
XI. Miscellaneous ...	4,599,238	3,179,404	7,778,642
XII. Unproductive ...	1,054,878	570,969	1,625,847
Total...	105,086,333	48,829,717	153,916,050

largely an agricultural country, modern industries, such as plantations, mines and factories, are absorbing a large number of wage-earners.

Since the middle of the last century, the plantation labour force has been steadily growing in numerical strength. From the point of view of employment tea, coffee and rubber estates are the most important. These are mainly located in the northern and southern parts of India. The principal plantation areas in the South are the summits and slopes of the Western Ghats, the Nilgiris, the Annamalais, the Shevaroyes, Coorg and Malabar. The important centres of the coffee industry are Travancore, Mysore and Coorg. Rubber plantations are to be found mostly in Travancore. The plantations in the North are located chiefly in Assam and Bengal. The Assam Valley and the Surma Valley are the oldest centres of plantation industry, and they employ the largest number of tea-garden workers. Darjeeling, the Terai and the Dooars in the north and Tripura in the south-east are the planting areas in

¹ *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1935, Tables Nos. 17 and 18.

Bengal. Outside of cinchona, which is grown by the Government in the district of Darjeeling, tea is the only plantation crop in Bengal. Some small plantations are also to be found in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa.

Plantations, being seasonal industries, employ many more workers during the busy season than during the slack season. Another interesting aspect is that in proportion to men they employ more women than any other form of organized industry. For example, out of 741,697 persons in 1911 and 1,003,456 persons in 1921, the numbers of women employed in all kinds of plantations were 350,064 and 474,626 respectively, showing a proportion of 47 per cent in both cases. Though such figures for 1931 are not available, it may be mentioned that out of 1,907,126 persons employed in that year as planters, managers, clerks and labourers in all India, 693,299 or over 36 per cent were women.²

Rightly is it pointed out that "the reasons for this proportionately larger employment of women workers on plantations as compared with other organized industries are, in the first place, that plantation work is only a special kind of agricultural work and is therefore more familiar to Indian women, the vast majority of whom live in rural districts; secondly, that facilities have been given to male workers to settle on, or in the vicinity of plantations, and to take their wives and families with them; and finally, that under the old system of labour contracts, based on the principle of utilizing every able-bodied person in the family for labour and of fixing the wage rates accordingly, many women had to seek employment in order to balance the family budget, and although the contract system has been abolished, the wage system and the need for supplementary earnings still remain." Because the wages paid to the male adult are not enough to meet even the family's primary needs, its other members are obliged to work to increase the family income.

Similarly, a considerable number of women are employed in the mining industry. The stimulus given by the World War to the mining industry resulted in an increase in the number both of mines and of workers. For instance, in 1901 there were 95,309 persons employed in coal mines in British India, and by 1924 the number had risen to 187,088. The number of women employed also increased from 27,955 in 1901 to 63,610 in 1924. In India the mining industry covers coal, stones, mica, tin ore, limestone, iron ore, lead ore and manganese. Coal mining is the most important of the different classes of mines, and it is distributed mainly in Bihar, Bengal and the Central Provinces. However, the large coal fields, being in Bengal (Raniganj) and Bihar (Jharia), these form the areas of large mining employment.

² *Census of India*, 1921, p. 285; 1931, Vol. I, Part II, p. 206.

Next to coal, the manganese mines are the most important commercially, and they are found in the Central Provinces, Bihar, Bombay and Madras. The majority of mica mines are small units and they are situated in the rural districts of Bihar and Madras. Stone quarries are widely distributed all over the country and limestone is quarried mostly in the Punjab the Central Provinces, Bihar and Sind. Some 7,583 workers, including 2 993 women, were employed in 1936 in limestone quarries. Iron mines are in Bihar, and they employed 13,017 workers in 1936, of whom 3,814 were women. In these different kinds of mines, there are approximately about a quarter of a million mine workers, about two-thirds of whom are in the coal industry.

In 1901 women workers in mines numbered 30,488 or 29·2 per cent of the total; in 1924, there were 87,434 women miners or 33·8 per cent of the total, and in 1926, women miners were 78,497 or 30·2 per cent of the total. These figures clearly show that women have not been an inconsiderable proportion in the mining labour force. Nevertheless, it was recognized only recently that mining work, especially underground, is particularly hard and strenuous and, in the case of women and children, injurious to health, safety and morals; it is this realization that led to the demand for regulative legislation for mining labour. In addition to the rapid increase in the employment of women in mines, it must also be noted that a considerable proportion of women workers was employed underground. In 1924, for example, 60,375 women, or 69 per cent of all women miners, worked underground.

The distinction between employment in open workings and underground was first made in 1926, when the numbers of women in open workings and underground were respectively 27,833 and 31,889, that is, 35 per cent and 40 per cent of all women workers respectively. In view of the dangers to which women employed underground were exposed, the Government of India promulgated regulations on the 7th March, 1929, prohibiting the employment of any women underground in the coal mines in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces, and the salt mines in the Punjab with effect from the 1st July, 1929. As the summary expulsion of women in the main coal fields would have resulted in a very serious dislocation in the industry, a principle of gradualness was laid down. The annual decrease was to be 3 per cent in coal and 4 per cent in salt mines. Since then there has been a rapid decrease in the underground employment of women as seen in Table II on the following page. From 1929 a period of ten years was allowed for the total prohibition of the employment of women underground. And now no woman miner can be employed in such work.

Among the different branches of organized industry, the one which employs the largest number of wage workers is the factory industry. In this

TABLE II : *Decrease in the Underground Employment of Women since 1929*³

Year	Women employed Underground
1929	24,089
1930	18,684
1931	16,841
1932	14,711
1933	12,799
1934	11,193
1935	9,551
1936	7,301
1937	3,887

industry, as in mines and on plantations, a considerable number of women are employed. In India factories fall under three main categories : (a) those undertakings which do not use machinery or mechanical power but employ a substantial number of workers; (b) those undertakings which use machinery and mechanical power but employ less than 20 persons ; and (c) those undertakings which use machinery and mechanical power and employ 20 persons or more. The Factories Act generally covers the last type of undertakings, and it is these which are legally termed "factories." Table III shows the growth of factories and the increase in women workers during the last forty-five years.

TABLE III : *Factories and Number of Women Workers in Particular Years*⁴

Year	Factories	Women Workers
1892	656	43,592
1902	1,533	85,882
1910	2,359	115,540
1914	2,936	144,157
1918	3,436	161,343
1922	5,144	206,887
1926	7,251	249,669
1930	8,148	254,905
1934	8,658	220,860
1937	8,930	237,933

³ *Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India* for the years given above.

⁴ *Bulletins of Indian Industries and Labour : Indian Factory Law Administration, 1921*, pp. 46 and 47 ; *Statistics of Factories subject to the Indian Factories Act, 1923, 1933-36*.

With regard to factory statistics one should bear in mind that there are thousands of small factories which do not come under the Factories Act, and no statistics are available to show the numbers employed in such concerns. Further, the figures for women are not altogether comparable; for, girls between the ages of 12 and 15 years, who were included among women before 1922, have since been classified as children. The above figures must therefore be considered as merely estimates. Even to-day no reliable statistics are available in our country to show approximately correct figures of the numbers employed in each branch of industry.

From the point of view of the working period, factories are divided into perennial or non-seasonal factories, and seasonal factories or factories which work for less than 180 days. The importance of this classification lies in the fact that not only the nature of work and working conditions, but also housing accommodation and the composition of the labour force are different in these two kinds of factories. To illustrate, seasonal factories, being located in rural districts, employ more women than perennial factories. In 1936 while perennial factories employed 1,161,338 men, they employed only 152,921 women; whereas seasonal factories employed only 214,847 men but women workers numbered 81,285.

One of the most important of the perennial factories is the textile group, within which the cotton and jute mills stand foremost. And these two industries employ women in great numbers. In 1937 cotton mills employed 62,899 women and jute mills had on their roll 38,899 women, giving a total of 101,798 women workers in these two classes of mills alone. While the jute industry of Bengal employs nine-tenths of the total number of workers employed in jute mills in all India, Bombay employs two-thirds of the workers in the cotton mill industry of the whole country. With reference to the other provinces, it may be mentioned that the spinning and weaving of cotton is the leading industry in Madras and the United Provinces, the manufacturing of steel in Bihar and Orissa, and tea factories in Assam. Table IV on the following page shows the provinces where there are 5,000 or more women factory workers, the number of factories and the total number of women employed.

A relatively large proportion of women are employed in non-regulated factories such as mica cutting and splitting, wool cleaning, shellac manufacture, *bidi* making and carpet weaving. Working conditions in all of these are very bad indeed, and little or no control is exercised over them as they do not come under the Factories Act. The Central Provinces Unregulated Factories Act, 1937, applies to (a) *bidi* making, (b) shellac manufacture and (c) tanning, in the Central Provinces. This Act restricts women's hours of work to nine per day, and prohibits their working in any unregulated factory before sunrise or

TABLE IV : *Distribution by Provinces of Women Factory Workers, 1937*^a

Province			Number of Factories	Women Workers
Madras	...	...	1,786	47,985
Bombay	...	...	1,796	65,891
Sind	...	...	311	4,917
Bengal	...	...	1,694	60,601
United Provinces	...	...	514	5,601
Punjab	...	...	798	8,288
Bihar	...	...	295	5,876
Central Provinces & Berar.			767	19,384
Assam	...	...	734	10,203

after sunset. But there is no All-India Act to control unregulated industries as a whole. Similarly, domestic service and menial work absorb a large number of women, but they are unorganized. Here again women are exploited as there is no legislation either to regulate their hours of work, wages, rest periods, or to protect them against cruel treatment, ill-health or accidents.

Owing to the purdah custom, Muslim women of even the poor classes do not, as a rule, work outside the home for wages. But women of other communities do work for wages, and they are practically all married, as marriage is universal. Therefore working women fall under three general groups: (1) women with husbands and children; (2) widows with or without children, and (3) deserted women with or without children. Whether with or without a family, women as wage-earners, taken as a whole, present problems peculiar to themselves because they are women.

Since millions of women of the disadvantaged economic classes are employed as wage-earners, we may now turn our attention to the problems arising out of the conditions under which they work and, secondly, to the effects of their employment on wage standards in general, and on the family and on themselves in particular. In the matter of regulating their working conditions in industry, the first thing that forced itself upon legislators was the problem of controlling working hours. The regulation of working hours is of special importance in the case of women wage-earners, for long hours of work are not only a menace to the workers themselves but also to the community as a whole. In particular industries they are very dangerous to women; in most industries they are uneconomical and more or less harmful.

In the plantations the length of the working day is reported to be about 8 hours; it is also stated that the hours are often less owing to the irregularity

^a *Statistics of Factories subject to the Indian Factories Act, 1937.*

of attendance. But during the busy season the working day is, of course, longer than in the slack season. Generally speaking, women work from 7.30 a. m. to 4.30 p. m. with an hour of rest at mid-day. If we add to these hours of work, the number of hours they work in cultivating their own land, as is commonly the case in tea gardens, the working hours certainly become excessive. Until recently the hours of work in mines were also too long. Curiously enough there were no restrictions upon the hours of work of women in mines until 1923. It was not uncommon then for the miner, his wife, and in many cases his children, to go underground, work and rest in the mine, and stay there for twenty-four hours or more at a stretch. Only when the Mines Act of 1923 was enacted, were the maximum hours of work underground restricted to 54 a week, and for surface work 60 a week. At present, according to the Amending Act of 1935, no woman can be employed in a mine for more than six days in any one week, and the period of work in any one day is not to spread over 9 hours. As has already been pointed out, the employment of women underground was gradually reduced and totally eliminated under the 1929 Regulations.

Since there was no legislation to regulate factory labour in the middle of the last century, women were naturally exposed to cruel exploitation. They were employed for long hours in factories, not only during the day, but also at night. And night work is not only injurious to the health and efficiency of the woman worker but of peculiar hardship to her since she has to work in the factory at night and attend to her manifold duties in the home during the day. As a result partly of the feeling aroused by the merciless exploitation of women and children and the conditions under which they were made to work, and partly of the concern of British manufacturers on the appearance of new competitors in the Indian market, a demand arose for restrictive legislation. And in 1881 the First Indian Factories Act was passed which, apart from making provisions relating to health and safety, concerned itself mainly with the problems of child labour.

It was the Amending Act of 1891 that first limited the hours of women to 11 a day, with an interval of rest for an hour and a half, or proportionately less for a lesser period of work. It also prohibited the employment of women in certain dangerous processes, and between the hours of 7 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. Since then factory legislation has been concerned with the regulation of conditions of work in factories, amplifying the provisions of health and safety, prohibiting night work for women and so forth. According to the Factories Act now in operation, the hours of work for women are 10 a day and 54 for the week in perennial factories, and 11 a day and 60 per week in seasonal factories. It also requires every factory employing fifty or more women to reserve a

suitable room for the use of children under 6 years of age belonging to such women, and to provide adequate shelter for the use of workers during the periods of rest.

The question of shorter hours of work is of vital importance to women. Their jobs are usually dull, monotonous toil, not stimulating to mind or body, and lacking almost entirely the creative interest that lies in the jobs of business or professional women. Professional employment widens a woman's vision, extends her range of interests and increases her capacity for enjoyment. But the long hours and the weary toil of the woman wage-earner makes her a drudge. The only compensation for a life of this kind is a workday sufficiently short to permit relaxation and self-improvement. Labour legislation has, within the last two decades, effected some improvement in the working conditions of women but much still remains to be done. Though a large number of women are employed in unregulated factories, yet there is at present no All-India legislation to regulate their working conditions. In consequence, women are made to work excessively long hours under most unhealthy conditions.

One of the most serious of social problems is the problem of low-paid labour, and the most notable example of low wages is to be found in the work of women. In the plantation areas in Madras Province, men are paid 7 annas per day while women workers get only 5 annas. In Coorg, men get 6 annas and women 4 annas daily. In Assam Valley the monthly wages of men in 1936 were Rs. 6-13-2, and of women, Rs. 5-10-4. In the Surma Valley they were Rs. 5-12-11 and 4-0-1 for men and women respectively. In addition to wages, plantation workers are also given certain concessions such as free housing, medical treatment, maternity benefits and land for cultivation. Even with these concessions, the total income of the adult is so low that it has to be supplemented by the earnings of his wife, and sometimes of his children, to keep up even the bare existence level.

Similarly, women in factories get less than men workers. Unfortunately, there are wide variations in wage rates not only in the different centres of the industry but even in a single centre like Bombay and Ahmedabad. Standardization of wage rate is necessary to avert unfair competition among millowners themselves as well as discontent among the workers. Though wage rates vary in different centres, there seems to be this much in common, namely, the wages of women are lower than those of men. Table V on the following page shows the differences in the earnings of men and women in cotton mills.

When wages are paid according to time rates, women seem to get from 60 to 80 per cent of men's earnings, though this percentage is lower in some places like Sholapur and Belgaum. On the other hand, when paid on piece rate, women get on an average only about 40 per cent of the wages men receive.

TABLE V : *Average Daily Earnings in Bombay Presidency in May 1934* *

Areas	Time Rate			Piece Rate		
	Men			Women		
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.
Bombay City ...	1	0	0	0	10	4
Bombay Suburban, Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri ...	0	14	10	0	8	4
Ahmedabad City ...	1	1	11	0	12	9
Ahmedabad, Kaira, and Panch Mahals ...	0	13	9	0	8	11
Broach and Surat ...	0	13	6	0	9	2
E. & W. Khandesh ...	0	11	3	0	6	10
Poona, Nasik and Ahmednagar ...	0	13	7	0	7	6
Sholapur City ...	0	10	6	0	6	7
Sholapur and Satara ...	0	8	1	0	4	5
Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara ...	0	8	9	0	5	11
Presidency Proper ...	0	15	7	0	10	3
	1	8	6	0	11	6
	0	10	0	0	7	8

In most of the other factory industries women are paid all the way from a third to two-thirds of the wages paid to men. Table VI on the following page indicates the general averages of daily earnings for men and women in all factory industries in the Province of Bombay, excluding the Engineering, the Textile and the Printing Industries.

These figures make it quite clear that, though the wages of men are very often too low, they are never so low as those of women. Men, by the inheritance of tradition, if for no other reason, can always command higher wages than women. Tradition apart, there are many factors which tend to lower the economic worth of women and drive them to occupy the low paid jobs. To begin with, working women as a class are illiterate, ignorant and unskilled, and great armies of such women crowd into industries. When the supply is greater than demand, the general trend is to lower the level of the market rate of wages.

Furthermore, the bargaining power of women wage-earners is very weak. Their low bargaining power is partly the result of their low standard of living and partly of their inability to form labour organizations. It is not always recognized that the further down the worker is in the economic scale, the

* *General Wage Census*, Labour Office, Government of Bombay, 1937. Part I, Perennial Factories (Third Report), p. 132.

TABLE VI: *General Averages of Daily Earnings for Men and Women*¹

Industry	Men			Women		
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.
Oils, Paints and Soap ...	0	14	7	0	5	4
Match Manufacturing ...	1	0	5	0	9	11
Rubber, Crepe and Leather ...	0	15	7	0	10	5
Refined Sugar Manufacturing ...	0	10	1	0	3	0
Chemical and Pharmaceutical ...	0	15	5	0	10	5
Aerated Water Manufacturing ...	1	0	3	0	13	0
Glass Manufacturing ...	0	11	10	0	6	6
Tobacco and Cigarette Manufacturing ...	0	10	11	0	6	2
Flour Milling ...	1	1	11	0	9	10
Paper Manufacturing ...	0	14	10	0	4	10
Dairying, Biscuit and Sweet ...	0	15	5	0	10	0
Tiles Manufacture ...	0	11	7	0	7	3
Power Laundries ...	1	3	6	0	11	10
Distilleries ...	0	14	1	0	7	0

harder it is to organize. To improve their living conditions, women wage-earners must organize; if they organize, they may offend the employer who does not concede their right to organize, and thus lose the miserable jobs they have. How then is this vicious circle to be broken?

But this is not all. Working women, most of whom are married, work with the idea of supplementing their husbands' earnings. Such women do not consider themselves as permanent wage-earners; neither are they awakened to their responsibilities to their fellow workers. Moreover, the widespread adoption of the principle of "family income" instead of "individual income" as the basis of wages has habituated employers not only to the employment of women in low-paid jobs but to regard their earnings only as supplementary to that of the chief wage-earner.

If we look at the effects of the employment of women as wage-earners we find them to be economically harmful and socially pathological. Low wages tend to perpetuate themselves. They are a common cause of inefficiency and inefficiency is largely responsible for low wages. This is another vicious circle which deserves special consideration in connection with women's labour. It has important bearings on men's standard of wages and their employment. Women wage-earners compete with men for the same jobs. The result is that in a number of occupations in which men could be employed just as well, either the men are displaced or else their wages are lowered to the level at

¹ *General Wage Census, 1934.*

which women can be hired. By creating competition with the male workers, the entrance of women into industry has the effect of lowering the wage level, and thus reducing the standard of living for the families concerned. When women's labour displaces men or lowers the wage level of workers as a whole it brings about grave social consequences; such labour is pathological.

The gainful employment of women results also in serious losses to the family. Older women who have passed the child-bearing age or whose children are grown up, probably gain more than they risk by being wage-earners. But young married women who are at the beginning of child-bearing age present serious problems relating to the health both of themselves and their unborn children. In India, as the Royal Commission on Labour points out, "almost every employed woman is married and of child-bearing age." And Dr. Balfour reported before the Labour Commission that the still-birth rate among working women was much higher than that among non-working women, and that the weights of their infants at birth were also lower. While the effects of factory work are injurious to the mother, they are even more so to the unborn child. Further, abortions are often brought about by the necessity of the mother's employment. Wage-earning mothers know only too well that each new baby means illness, loss of work and wages, and one more mouth to feed.

Investigations also reveal a high rate of infant mortality among wage-earning mothers. This may be accounted for by the fact that poverty usually means low standards of living, lack of medical attention and ignorance in regard to child care. A large number of infant deaths during the first month of life is caused, so physicians report, by the inability of infants to meet the demands of bare physical existence. This condition of physical immaturity of babies is due largely to the malnutrition and overwork of mothers in the poorer classes.

In the case of young mothers, widows and deserted women with infants and little children, whose employment in factories and other industries takes them away from home for nine hours or more, there is the heavy strain of double employment, as they have to bear the burden of household duties after their return home at sunset. When they come home after a heavy day's work, they have little energy or interest left to care for their children or attend to domestic affairs. During their absence from home children are left to play on the streets, or to be cared for by old relatives or indifferent neighbours. Is it any wonder if the delinquency rate among children of wage-earning mothers is found to be high? If children are too young it is not uncommon for working mothers to administer opium to make them inactive during the day. An investigation undertaken by the Government of Bombay not long ago revealed the fact that 98 per cent of the infants born to working women in

Bombay had opium given to them. In these and other ways, the employment of women outside the home does have serious effects on the welfare of children and the happiness of the family. Whatever the cause, we have in the wage-earning woman a dual responsibility whose social consequences are most undesirable and destructive.

The continuous grind of toil cannot but have its reaction upon wage-earning women themselves. These women work in order to provide part or whole support for the family. Unfortunately, they generally accept without much complaint whatever wages are offered, preferring to make what economies they can. Owing to the small income on which the family must be supported, most of them live continuously in a state of undernourishment, neglecting their health until they are really ill. Employment of mothers too near confinement or immediately after is also injurious to their health. Moreover, continuous pregnancies and confinements in the hopelessly insanitary conditions that prevail in many homes of the poor working class do much to sap their health and strength.

Further, the working conditions, hours of work, type of machines, speed of production and the like are all planned to meet the capacities of men workers. In most cases the woman, being a misfit in this mechanized industry, suffers from its effects. While much of the work women do in other occupations is not very harmful, the long hours in industrial occupations, much bending, heavy lifting, bad air, glaring light, high speed and other forms of physical strain are harmful to women. Rightly did the lady investigator of the Bombay Labour Office point out in her evidence before the Commission on Labour that the health of a woman was more affected than that of the male worker by the present factory conditions. It has been found that women in some lines of work are more susceptible than men to industrial diseases. Since their constitution is different from that of men, women break down in health, being unable to stand the strain to which they are subjected in modern industry in addition to their domestic responsibilities.

Why then do women work ? This question is easily answered by an enquiry made at Sholapur into the economic status of women workers. The investigation revealed that out of a total of 482 women employed in five cotton mills, 446 were married, and 388 worked only from necessity. In their reports these women stated that they would gladly have remained at home if they had not been driven to the mills by economic pressure. Whatever may be the extent of their earning capacity, whatever may be the irregularity of their employment, wage-earning women are in industry for one purpose and one purpose only—to keep the family above the level of starvation by the contribution of their earnings.

In the case of women, so far as their labour is made necessary by a low standard of wage for adult male workers, such labour is a menace economically and socially. The roots of this evil lie deep in economic and social conditions that force woman from the home to swell the ranks of the untrained wage-earners. Society provides neither her husband nor herself with a living wage; nor does it give either one the vocational training that would enable him or her to enter the better paid occupations. Through the entire period of their marriage, these couples are condemned to a life of severe struggle to keep the family together and to drive the wolf from the door.

The above discussion, we hope, has served to make plain that the extra-domestic work of women, who, at least in India, are mostly mothers, is a grave social problem. Society can ill-afford either to ignore the social consequences of such employment, or continue much longer unmindful of its own responsibility. How, one may ask, can we solve these problems? The evil effects of women's employment on wage standards can be corrected by the introduction of Minimum Wage laws. Such laws are based upon the principle that an industry should meet its own running costs without subsidy from the workers in the form of unpaid for service. A minimum wage law is designed "to set a standard of wages which is not to be broken down either by the necessities of the worker or the economic power of the employer." Since low wages are a menace to the health, welfare and morals of society, the State has the right to raise the wages within easy reach of an equality with men by legislation. In view of their low bargaining power, the law should do for women what labour organizations do for men in maintaining wage standards.

We cannot expect poverty-stricken women who are feeling the pinch of inadequate income to abstain from working for wages, however difficult it may be. What we must seek then is a remedy for the evils that attend the gainful employment of the woman whose earnings are small, whose family needs her care but whose husband's inadequate wage, or the lack of it, make her contribution necessary. If a woman becomes a wage-earner because of poverty, the social evils attendant upon her employment must be attributed not to her wage-earning activity but to poverty. And the solutions offered to remedy the situation must to some extent at least relieve the economic stress. Among such solutions are: Social Insurance, State Subsidies for Maternity, the Family Wage, Mothers' Aid, and the system of Family Allowances.

Most of these are ways out of the dilemma created by the substitution of the wages of an individual for the labour of the whole family. Prof. F. J. Bruno states the dilemma thus: "If the standard of wages is sufficiently high to enable a wage-earner to support himself and a family, say, consisting of a wife and three children, it is obviously too high for his fellow workman who

has only himself to support. If wages drop to a standard of minimum decency for a single man, then the standard is too low for the married workman. Either the income of a married man will have to be supplemented by the earnings of other members of the family, or his standard of living will fall below the minimum." The latter is what actually happens; wages among the unskilled and those unprotected by labour unions tend to sink to the level of the requirements of a single man for the support of himself alone. And naturally the adult male worker is unable to support his family without forcing any of the family members to earn a supplementary wage.

As a way out of this problem, New South Wales has introduced the Family Allowance System for the benefit of the workers' families with small income by passing the Family Endowment Act in 1927. According to the system now in operation, the family unit for basic wage consists of man, wife and one child. Allowances therefore are not paid for one dependent child in the family. For each child after the first, an allowance at the rate of 5s. a week is paid to the mother. However, if the total family income reaches or exceeds the basic wage plus five shillings a week, then no endowment is paid to the second child. Thus no allowance is paid if the family income is equal to the basic wage plus five shillings or more weekly for each dependent child. The Family Endowment Fund is provided by a tax on employers (which includes the State in connection with certain public industrial undertakings) of one per cent on the total amount of wages paid to their employees for each quarter, and the contributions are paid into the Fund quarterly.⁸

Among the European countries which have introduced family allowances, only France and Belgium have applied the scheme on a national scale. In France the method adopted by private agencies is that of making grants to married workers in proportion to the number of dependent children. In 1921 payments were made at the rate of 20 francs per month for the first child, 25 francs for the second and 30 francs for subsequent children. According to this scheme the expense of the grants is divided among the employers according to some agreed principle—either in proportion to (a) the total number of their employees, men or women, married or single; or (b) the total amount of their wages bill. By means of this device married workers are protected against discrimination.

Not only private enterprise, but the French State as well, is interested in schemes of family allowances. It grants allowances to all the staffs of public administration departments and services. But its connection with family allowances does not end here. It has moved gradually toward making such pay-

⁸ George Anderson, "Wage Rates and the Standard of Living," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1931, pp. 172-173,

ments compulsory throughout the nation. In 1922 a law was enacted requiring all contractors for public works and state buildings to pay family allowances to their workers and to affiliate with an approved equalization fund. In 1930 the total sum distributed to workers' families, through (1) equalization funds, (2) private undertakings paying family allowances on their own account and (3) the state, amounted to 1,650,000,000 francs, and the beneficiaries numbered 4,300,000 employed persons.⁹

The French Government passed an Act in 1932 providing for a national system of compulsory family allowances in France on behalf of all manual and non-manual workers of both sexes in industry, commerce, agriculture and the liberal professions. According to this Act, allowances are payable until the child reaches the age of sixteen. To meet the cost of this national system of allowances, every employer of manual or non-manual workers of any age or sex must make certain payments into a compensation fund out of which the allowances are paid. These steps taken by the French Government testify to its determined efforts to ease the pressure of the industrial system on the married worker with dependent children.

Though the United States does not have any system of family allowance for the wage-earner, it enacted in 1911 the Mothers' Pension or Mothers' Aid laws, which represent one of its first social insurance laws. It is based on the fact that the contribution of the mother to the care of her children and the welfare of the home is of far greater importance to national well-being than her paltry earnings from employment outside the home. Although these pensions are usually insufficient in amount, restricted in application and sometimes badly administered, they relieve acute distress and enable many mothers to give their children sufficient care after the death, disability or desertion of the father. In 1935 the Roosevelt administration passed the first Social Security Act, an important section of which provides for aid to mothers with dependent children by means of federal grants to the states of the Union with approved plans for aiding such mothers. Similarly, Denmark, New Zealand, Switzerland, Soviet Russia and Great Britain have laws to help the family of the wage-earner, or the mother with dependent children.

The above are but a few examples of the way in which progressive countries are meeting the family problem of the low paid wage-earner. In India, with the advance of industrialism, the armies of women workers have been steadily growing, mainly as a result of economic necessity. While the biological function of the woman is to bear children and her chief social functions are to provide a home for her husband and look after the physical and

⁹ *International Survey of Social Services*, International Labour Office, *Studies and Reports*, Series M, No. II pp. 267-269.

social development of her children; her employment as a wage-earner, as has already been pointed out, puts a strain upon her physical organism, endangering her health and her capacity to be a proper mother of children. It tends to lower the wage level of workers as a whole and interferes with the development and stability of sound social relationships.

In short, the employment of women of the disadvantaged economic class induces a pathological relationship which is a menace to the family in particular and to society in general.

We cannot therefore hang on much longer to the philosophy of *laissez faire*. The various movements in India for the promotion of national welfare such as the adult literacy movement, maternity and child welfare, the revival of cottage industries, education in child training and home hygiene, can only function, so far as the women of the working classes are concerned, if they have leisure for self-improvement. Only when women's special needs were recognized did it become possible to have laws regulating their working conditions. And now with the growing recognition of the importance of conserving the health and promoting the education of the actual and potential mothers of future generations to national well-being, it is necessary to take steps to make it unnecessary for them to work as wage-earners and set them free to function fully in caring for their children and providing a centre round which the social and spiritual values of family life may focus.

CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT LABOUR OFFICER, BOMBAY, AND A BRIEF STUDY OF HIS EARLY ACTIVITIES

S. NAGESWARAN

The appointment of the Government Labour Officer, Bombay, represents a direct attempt on the part of Government to prevent industrial strife by dealing with day-to-day matters, perhaps small in themselves, but which if disregarded might well grow to major proportions.

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THE BACKGROUND

PRIOR to 1917 trade disputes were rare phenomena in Bombay Mills. There were disorders during the plague epidemic of 1897 on the discontinuance of the daily system of wages granted to the workers earlier during the plague. In 1905 there was labour trouble owing to the introduction of electricity and subsequent longer hours of work. But it was not until the outbreak of the war in 1914 that the strike came to be recognised as an ordinary weapon of industrial warfare.

The following table shows the frequency of strikes in Bombay City and Island from 1916 until the establishment of the Government Labour Office in April, 1921:¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total number of disputes</i>
1916	1
1917	47
1918	61
1919	18
1920	63
1921 (3 months)	12

In interpreting the above table Mr. Burnett-Hurst states "that there have been four distinct 'waves' of industrial unrest. The first of these commenced at the end of August, 1917. . . . During the months of September and October, 1917, over thirty strikes were recorded, but they were nearly all of short duration and were, with one exception. . . . confined to textile mills. The workers in almost all cases demanded 10 per cent. increase of wages to meet the enhanced cost of living, and in nearly every instance the strike was successful. . . .

¹ Burnett-Hurst, *Labour and Housing in Bombay*, p. 147.

“The second wave—from April, 1918, to July, 1918,—was also confined to textile mills. The strikes, which were for increased bonus to meet the rise in the cost of living, were mostly successful.

“January, 1919, witnessed the first great mill strike, when 150,000 workers stopped work. The strike lasted for eleven days; the workers’ demands for increased wages were conceded. There followed a series of strikes (eight in January and seven in February) in the Railway workshops, mint, dockyards, engineering works, etc. . . .

“The fourth wave commenced with another great mill strike on January 2, 1920, which lasted a month. Approximately 150,000 workers struck for higher wages, shorter hours and other concessions. The industrial discontent spread to the railway workshops, oil installations, dockyards, engineering works, municipal employees, tramway workers and even tailors and cutters.”²

The Bombay Labour Office, which came into being in April, 1921, has maintained a trustworthy record of strikes in the Bombay Presidency ever since its inception. The following figures compiled from the *Labour Gazette* were kindly furnished to me by the Labour Office:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Disputes</i>	<i>Number of Work People Involved</i>	<i>Number of Working Days Lost</i>
1921	33 (a)	56,515	355,120
1922	54 (b)	111,887	256,408
1923	52	45,442	237,517
1924	17 (c)	169,639	7,538,752
1925	17	158,396	10,924,734
1926	20	13,823	39,177
1927	17	16,297	104,172
1928	78 (d)	289,977	22,983,066
1929	29 (e)	162,086	8,183,919
1930	27	36,407	154,640
1931	14	22,015	208,955
1932	11	6,745	167,348
1933	35	42,777	348,553
1934	26 (f)	113,592	3,204,322
1935	9	8,668	66,299
1936	6	10,515	172,203

References: (a) for 9 months only; (b) general strike; (c) general strike affecting 78 mills; (d) one dispute affected 71 mills and another 8 mills; (e) one dispute affected 64 cotton mills, another 7 cotton mills and a third 5 cotton mills; (f) one dispute affected 49 mills and another 5 mills.

A study of the above table shows that for all practical purposes we may

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

say that during the years 1921-1936 there were five distinct periods of unrest. The first of these commenced in January, 1924, due to the previous announcement by the employers that owing to fall in prices and consequent bad trade they would be unable to pay customary bonuses. A Committee of Enquiry appointed by Government came to the conclusion that the profits of the mill-owners were not such as to warrant the payment and hence in March the strike collapsed.

The second, from 15th September, 1925 to December, 1925, was again a protest on the part of the workers against a reduction in wages. The Government of India came to the rescue both of the cotton mill industry and the labour employed in it, by suspending the levy and collection of the Cotton Excise Duty, whereupon the Bombay Millowners' Association decided to restore wages to their old level from December 1st.

A most disastrous strike occurred in 1928 as a protest against the introduction of methods of rationalization on the part of the employers. The strike dragged on from the middle of April to the beginning of October, the original cause becoming obscured by the introduction of demands and counter-demands. Finally in October, a joint conference of workers and employers agreed to call off the strike if Government would appoint an impartial committee of enquiry to examine the whole matter. This committee, under the Chairmanship of Sir Charles Fawcett, deliberated for five months and published its report on 26th March, 1929.

The committee held that the proposals of the Mill Owners' Association for the standardization of wage rates and for the fixation of the numbers to be employed on different types of machines were in the main fair and reasonable and that while there was justification for the Association's proposal to effect a cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ % in weavers' wages, there were reasonable objections to be urged against its adoption. The committee recommended that the Association should drop the proposal if the labour leaders agreed to give their co-operation in working the scheme for the standardization of wages. The committee also held that part of the standardization scheme which was called the "rational" or "efficiency" system and which aimed at reducing the number of operatives employed in mills while raising their wages and providing conditions favourable for the extra efficiency expected from the operatives was fair and reasonable. The committee regarded the Association's proposals relative to standing orders for the operatives about the conditions of their employment, as in the main, fair and reasonable.

With regard to the seventeen demands formulated by the Joint Strike Committee some of the demands which were considered to be fair and reasonable were :

(a) The millowners should not vary any of the prevalent conditions to the disadvantage of the workers before securing the approval of the workers through their organization; and that the Association should not permit its individual members to vary the conditions of service to the disadvantage of the workers without the sanction of the Association.

(b) Rates of new varieties should be fixed by the Association in consultation with representatives of the workers' organizations; and that all piece rates should be posted departmentally in detail.

(c) That there should be no victimization of men who had taken part in the strike or any union activities.

But unfortunately the Fawcett Committee Report did not bring peace to the industry, for between the 26th April, 1929 and the 18th September, 1929, a general strike occurred involving 109,232 workers in 62 mills and responsible for a total time loss of nearly 7,000,000 working days.

Another widespread dispute in 1934 made it clear that unless definite constructive steps were taken, the industrial situation in Bombay was almost certain to deteriorate. The Royal Commission on Labour in India made a very pertinent comment when it said : ³

"It is a platitude that the prevention of industrial disputes is better than their cure, but there has been a tendency to overlook some of its implications. Public opinion naturally concentrates on the later stages of a dispute and especially on that final stage, the strike or lock-out. The prevalence of strikes affords an indication of the extent of unrest, but strikes are merely the symptom most evident to the public of underlying discontent. The attempt to deal with unrest must begin rather with the creation of an atmosphere unfavourable to disputes than with machinery for their settlement. It is precisely here, in our view, that Indian industrial organization is the weakest. We believe that an important factor at work in creating industrial unrest in India is the lack of contact which too often exists between employers and employed. . . . In the interests of all concerned, we urge that every effort should be made to bridge the gulf. An immense amount of thought and toil has been devoted to surmount the technical, financial and commercial difficulties in the way of industrial development in India. But it will fail to secure the results it deserves unless much more attention is given to the difficult sphere of human relationships. Weakness in this direction has already produced serious effects, and the outlook in some of the centres we visited was menacing. Unless a vigorous effort is made to effect an improvement, the development of large-scale industrial enterprise is likely to be difficult and precarious."

A comparison of the classification of the disputes by provinces and

³ *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, pp. 339-340.

industries during 1921-1933 shows that the largest number of disputes were in the cotton and woollen mills, and for that reason in the Bombay Presidency. During the seven years from April, 1921, to the end of June, 1928, 738 disputes occurred in Bombay City. Out of 1,309,511 workpeople directly affected by these strikes 1,077,927 or a little over 82 % were involved in Bombay City. The total number of working days lost amounted to 49,000,000.

In examining the causes for strikes between 1921 and 1933, we find that in 474 disputes the principal demand related to the question of pay; in 90 to the question of bonus and in 287 to the question of personnel. In the case of personnel the demand generally concerned the reinstatement or dismissal of one or two individuals. 34 disputes were concerned with the question of leave or hours of work and the remaining 206 were unclassified in respect of demands made. More than 2/3 of the strikes were unsuccessful.

The Report of the Departmental Enquiry into Wages and Unemployment (1934) revealed some interesting facts regarding the losses sustained in Bombay because of strikes. Between the years 1926 and 1933 there was a loss of 320 lakhs of working days in Bombay City, as compared with ten lakhs in Sholapur and a little more than 1 lakh in Ahmedabad. The loss in wages to the Bombay millhands during this period was Rs. 427 lakhs, as compared with Rs. 10 lakhs in Sholapur and Rs. 2 lakhs in Ahmedabad. In 1928 there were 78 mills working in Bombay, employing nearly 150,000 hands. By March, 1934, the number of mills had been reduced to 55 and the number of workmen to 96,000. These results were not by any means due to general causes. They were very largely due to special conditions in Bombay City. Thus, while the working mills in Bombay were reduced from 78 to 55, in Ahmedabad the number rose from 59 to 79. While the working hands in Bombay fell from 150,000 to 96,000, the number in Ahmedabad rose from 56,000 to 80,000.

The Report also emphasised the lack of genuine and representative trade union organizations for the workers.

It seemed clear to Government that some remedy must be found for the situation, which was unsatisfactory both from the standpoint of labour and employers. Accordingly in 1934, the Government of Bombay introduced a Bill in the Legislative Council, which passed through all the readings in the course of a few days and was placed on the Statute Book under the title: "Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act, 1934."

Under Section V of the Act a Labour Officer is appointed for the textile industry in Bombay City and suburbs. His duties are described as "to watch the interests of workmen with a view to promote harmonious relations between employers and workmen and to take steps to represent the grievances of

workmen to employers for the purpose of obtaining their redress." He may, after giving reasonable notice, enter any place used for the purpose of any trade or industry to which the Act applies and inspect and call for documents relevant to the grievances of workmen. He may also, after giving reasonable notice, enter any premises provided by an employer for the purpose of residence of his employees. The Act provides no penalty in case an employer or manager fails or refuses to allow inspection or to produce any document called for by the Labour Officer. The Labour Officer is simply given formal authority to enter certain premises and call for relevant documents if he desires to satisfy himself on certain matters. If he is prevented from so doing he has the power to place the case before the Chief Conciliator, who has full powers to do what the Labour Officer has only formal authority to do.

By the provisions of the Act the Commissioner of Labour is ex-Officio Chief Conciliator. The Governor in Council may appoint a Special Conciliator or an Assistant Conciliator for any area by notification in the *Bombay Government Gazette*. On an application by either party to a dispute, or on a report by the Labour Officer, or upon his own knowledge or information, the Conciliator shall give notice to the parties concerned to appoint delegates to appear before him for the conciliation proceedings. The number delegated by each party is not to exceed three and the Labour Officer may be appointed a delegate on behalf of labourers. A failure or refusal on the part of an employer to appoint a delegate makes him liable to prosecution and punishment by way of fine to the extent of Rs. 100/- per day. If the workers fail to appoint a delegate, the Labour Officer shall act as such on their behalf.

The duty of a Conciliator is to bring about a settlement of trade disputes and he has for this purpose been given powers of a civil court. After the completion of the conciliation proceedings, the Conciliator has to report the matter to Government and to mention whether a satisfactory settlement has been arrived at or not. In case of failure he has to state the reasons why a settlement could not be reached.

The idea of the appointment of the Labour Officer is to devise a machinery which will operate before the Trade Disputes Act machinery is set in motion. The Royal Commission on Labour in India dealt with the cumbersome of the Trade Disputes Act machinery—a Court of Enquiry or a Board of Conciliation has to deal with a vast mass of undigested material which a preliminary discussion has not sorted out. In the words of Mr. Gennings, the former Commissioner of Labour, Bombay, "The object of the Conciliation Act is not to smooth the way towards the Trade Disputes Act, but to avoid the necessity for its being put into operation, if possible, by preventing and settling disputes."

THE LABOUR OFFICER AT WORK

The Bombay Labour Officer receives complaints from workers during his night office hours—night time being most convenient for the workers to meet the Labour Officer. Interviews are held in three different mill areas—on Mondays and Thursdays at DeLisle Road; on Wednesdays at the Head Office at Jacob Circle, and on Tuesdays and Fridays at the Naigaum Chawls.

Every night the office is full of men and women with complaints of various descriptions. Here, is a young mother from X..... Mill who is having difficulty in securing her maternity benefit. There, is a worker from Y..... Mill who has lost his right eye and though he claims compensation amounting to Rs. 756/-, he has been given only Rs. 630/-. The balance, so he was told, was deducted to pay his medical bill. A third complainant has put in 25 years of service. But now his post of Rs. 35/- is to be abolished to make room for the Agent's favourite on Rs. 125/- a month. Yonder, is a woman from Z..... Mills, who got her right index finger injured, but was not paid any compensation. There, is a group of weavers, who complain that the rate of wages is being reduced in their own mill whereas it remains the same in the neighbouring mill.

Of the workers with grievances some will not have approached their Manager at all before going to the Labour Officer. In most such cases the Labour Officer gives the complainants memo slips and sends them back to the Manager. The idea is to interfere as little as possible. These memo slips are in standardised form and are supplied for the use of the Labour Officer by the Mill Owners' Association. In cases where the Labour Officer is satisfied that the complaint is justified and needs urgent attention, the workman is given a Demi-Official. In all cases the workman is given an office card which contains the gist of the Standing Orders and the night office attendance hours of the Labour Officer. In cases deserving follow-up, the Labour Officer fixes a time and a day when he will meet the worker concerned at the Mill gate and accompany him to the Manager. It was reported that during 1936, 76 % of the cases considered were settled in favour of the workers. That speaks much both for the need of the Labour Officer and his effectiveness.

TYPES OF COMPLAINTS

The types of complaints that come to the Labour Officer may be conveniently divided into eight groups, namely, wrongful dismissals; reinstatements; re-engagements; bribery and corruption; assaults; welfare; wages and miscellaneous.

Wrongful dismissals. In the year 1936, there were in all 269 cases of wrongful dismissals, out of which 205 or 76% were decided in favour of the

workmen. The majority of these cases were partly due to the failure of management to follow the rules under the Standing Orders, by which a mill-hand is entitled to 14 days' notice or 13 days' wages in lieu of notice. In many cases the head jobbers and line jobbers and departmental assistants had dismissed workers for no proper reason. Discharge passes were not usually supplied, but when supplied they were in English and were generally to the effect that the workman had left employment at his own request.

The Royal Commission on Labour in India had emphasised the importance of reducing the power of the jobbers. The same point was also being stressed monthly in the *Labour Gazette* by the Labour Officer. It was in the middle of 1936 that the Mill Owners' Association decided to take stringent and effective measures to root out this evil. Since then there has been a gradual improvement in the situation.

Reinstatement. Before the post of Labour Officer was created, it was very difficult for a workman to return to his job after leave, unless he bribed the jobber.

In view of this situation, the Mill Owners' Association revised its leave rules, on the recommendation of the Labour Officer. It is now arranged that leave passes may be given to every worker—there being different colours for dismissal, discharge, leave or suspension slips, so that the illiterate worker may know whether he has been given the right pass. A worker given leave, who returns by the specified date, is supposed to be reinstated in his original work. Authority has been given to the Manager to give a worker more than two months' leave at a time if he so desires. This is to facilitate the up-country workers, who usually want to go to their native places once in three or four years and spend a couple of months. It is gratifying to note that out of 186 cases involving reinstatement that came to the Labour Officer in 1936, 176, or 94·5%, ended in favour of the workers.

Re-engagement. Re-engagement relates to those cases in which it has been decided to terminate a workman's service by giving him notice, as well as those in which a workman has been out of employment for a long time either on account of sickness, a department closing down for an indefinite period owing to trade being slack, or any other cause beyond his control. In the year 1936, out of 352 such cases taken up, 277 or 78·7% resulted favourably to the labourers.

Bribery and Corruption. The classes of workers which have been notorious for bribery and corruption have been the jobbers and the naikins. Hence the Mill Owners' Association, on the recommendation of the Labour Officer, in the year 1935 had their own Labour Officer prepare the history sheets of all the head jobbers and naikins in the member mills of Bombay. In the first

instance the Mill Owners' Association Labour Officer recorded the history of 600 such workers. Each was given a record card, on which was written his previous service record and which mentioned clearly the cause of termination of his previous work. The member mills were requested not to engage a jobber or naikin without looking into his past record. This minimised the possibility of a jobber once dismissed for bribery being employed in another mill. After a year's trial of the system for head jobbers and women supervisors, it was extended to all weaving line jobbers. In all about 2,000 record cards were completed. A further advantage of this tabulation was that it helped in the proper promotion of line jobbers to higher posts on the basis of their record of work and conduct.

It must, however, be realised that it is most difficult to prove bribery cases. In the year 1936, out of 163 complaints investigated, only 64, or 39%, ended in favour of the complainants.

Assaults. Assaults are not uncommon in mills. There were 70 cases of assault reported in 1936. Some were serious and others trifling. 59 ended in favour of the complainants. The punishments to the assailants ranged from dismissal to warning, in accordance with the gravity of the offence. In 6 cases the victims were compensated with money.

Wage disputes. Wage disputes form one of the major groups of complaints by workers. The main cause of wage disputes seems to arise out of the different rates of payment for piece work in various mills. It may be that one mill is paying 12 pies per pound for a particular cloth and a neighbouring mill may be paying 13½ pies for the same kind and quantity of cloth. The men working in the mill paying 12 pies feel the situation to be unjust and request the Labour Officer to compel their mill also to pay 13½ pies. It is not always easy to adjust a situation like this. An attempt, therefore, has been made by the Bombay mills to standardise piece rates payment. But it is fraught with difficulties. "The present policy is to work up to a standard of Rs. 35/- per month average for two-loom weavers who form the vast majority of piece workers. With a very few exceptions that standard has been achieved and in a number of mills the average wage of two-loom weavers exceeds Rs. 40/- per month. The average monthly earnings of two-loom weavers in all member mills now average Rs. 36/- per month."⁴

It is worthy of note that owing to the efforts of the Labour Officer there has been a great improvement in the non-member mills also. The Mill Owners' Association are really anxious to maintain the wage level at Rs. 35/- and to improve it at every available opportunity.

⁴ Pryde, A. W., in Manshardt, Clifford, *Some Social Services of the Government of Bombay*, p. 87.

So far as the time workers are concerned the wage problem is not so complicated. The Mill Owners' Association have drawn up a scale of minimum wages and all members are expected to adhere to this rate. But yet there are cases where the schedule is not followed and some complaints do come to the Labour Officer.

It can by no means be contended that the improvement in the Bombay labour situation during the past few years can be attributed solely to the work of the Labour Officer. And yet he has been a factor in the situation and the spirit of his work has gradually been infiltrating into the Bombay labour world. The Millowners are increasingly realising the need of harmonious relationships between owners and workers. There has been a definite increase in the number of labour officers employed by individual mills or groups of mills. Both Government and private efforts for the welfare of the workers are expanding. The importance of the human element is more and more recognised. A history of labour relationships during the 1930's will reveal that the City owes much to the devotion and ability of its first Government Labour Officers. Until the development of trade unions, in the best sense of the word, the Labour Officer will continue to perform a most useful intermediate function.

WELFARE WORK AMONG THE TEXTILE WORKERS OF BOMBAY

SIKANDAR LAL SAHNI

"Welfare Work," says Mr. Sahni, "is usually fostered by humanitarian feelings, business interests or state requirements. . . . But the real ideals which should motivate welfare work are not found in any of these reasons. To appease labour temporarily and keep it contented is not enough."

Mr. Sahni (*Tata School 1938*) is the Labour Officer of the Svadeshi Mills, Kurla, Bombay.

THE history of welfare work in India is a relatively short one. This is due in part to the slow development of Indian industry and in part to the keen competition which the employers have had to face from well-organised and well-established Western manufacturers. The fight for existence on the part of Indian industry has been so absorbing that Indian industrialists have far too often looked upon welfare work, not as an aid to industry, but as another financial burden which industry is incapable of bearing.

In Bombay, the credit for pioneer work in this direction goes to the Social Service League, which long and persistently drew the attention of the employers to their responsibilities toward their workers. In 1918, Messrs. Tata Sons Ltd., and Messrs. Currimbhoy and Sons Ltd., started welfare work in their mills and entrusted its administration to the Social Service League. Since then a considerable advance has been made in this direction and today a number of mills in Bombay have very well organised programmes of welfare work. Among these may be mentioned the Sassoons, Century, Svadeshi, Khatau Makanjee, Kohinoor, Morarji Goculdas, Simplex, Spring and Hindustan. The Millowners' Association is taking a very keen interest in this matter and has officially requested every mill to provide some sort of welfare work for its employees.

The need of welfare work in India is greater than in the West because the labour population in India differs characteristically from the labour population of the West. The Western labourer is, to a considerable extent, city-born and has a family tradition of industrial work. The Indian labourer is pre-eminently an agriculturist and secondarily a factory labourer.

The environment of the village presents a marked contrast to the environment of the city. Life in the village is controlled by conformity on the one hand and mutual aid on the other. The city is characterised by anonymity, lack of social control and lack of opportunity for individual creative and productive enterprise. The struggle for existence beclouds the finer relationships of human beings. The sudden transfer from the simple plough to the complex power machine is disturbing, to say the least.

The exacting standards and the occupational risks in the mills, and temptations outside the mills, coupled with ignorance, illiteracy and superstition make the whole labour problem very difficult and complicated. The din and roar of machinery, the psychological effects on the nervous system, the strain and fatigue of continuous work, the disruption of family life (because of the necessity of almost every member of a poor family having to earn), coupled with unsatisfactory housing conditions create a legion of problems.

It is therefore necessary for those who are the owners of machinery to realize that if they want their workers to be loyal and efficient in their work, they must endeavour to improve their social and economic conditions. Money spent on welfare work is not just philanthropy, it is an investment in contented and more efficient labour.

The Philosophy of Welfare Work. Welfare work is usually fostered by humanitarian feelings, business interests or state requirements. One may rightly question why in this land of proverbial charity there is such a dearth of humanitarian employers. There are several reasons for this condition. Till recently, the owners of many industries in India were non-Indians. The abundance of labour, coupled with race prejudice and a superiority complex, made the foreign employers particularly callous to the needs of the labourers. Secondly, as pointed out above, the very existence of the Indian employers was menaced by foreign competition and by the competition in India of foreign-owned mills which enjoyed special privileges. Thus the struggle for existence alone made it difficult for the Indian employer to think of the welfare of his employees. Thirdly, the caste system so guided the working philosophy of the high caste Indian employer that he could not deign to think of or treat the low caste employees as men with feelings and desires like unto his own.

From the standpoint of business, it has long since been demonstrated in the West that welfare work actually pays the employer by increasing efficiency in production and the stability of labour.

From the standpoint of the State, the maintenance of a peaceful labour population is of definite advantage. It is well known in the industrial areas of India how easily dissatisfied labour is fanned into revolt and threatens the tranquillity of the State. Hence it is in its own interest that the State interferes and attempts to persuade, and even compels employers, to undertake at least a certain minimum of welfare work for their employees.

But the real ideals which should motivate welfare work are not found in any of these reasons stated above. To appease labour temporarily and keep it contented is not enough. The real philosophy behind welfare work is the desire to assist the individual workman to adjust himself to modern mechanical situations in a way that will bring happiness, contentment and efficiency into

his life. Both the employers and the State must realise that it is the right of labour to enjoy those facilities which make life worth living. The employer is vested with a trust to provide his workmen with adequate wages, better working and living conditions, adequate medical aid and such other amenities as will give them peace of mind. Only then does welfare work come to have its true significance.

Jobbers and Jobs. Though the institution of the jobber is such that it can be of great help to industry, it has the traditional reputation of being the seat of bribery and corruption. In the early stages of industrial development in India labour was not easily available. Therefore, individuals who had means of recruiting labour entered into contract with the mill owners for the supply of labour. These contractors were also employed in factories and were known as jobbers, sardars and mucedams. As time went on, labour began to be available at the factory gates. But the responsibility for engaging such labour still remained with the jobbers, who were no longer contractors but subordinate employees. Today a jobber is "primarily a chargeman, generally promoted from the ranks after full experience of the factory, and he is responsible for the supervision of labour, while at work."

The old jobber stood as a barrier between the mill owners and the workers and there was no direct relationship between the employers and the employees. The natural result of granting such great powers of appointment and dismissal to these uneducated and uncontrolled persons was the temptation on the part of the jobbers to misuse their privileges. They offered jobs to the highest bidders. Since they had the power to employ badli men they distributed the jobs to as large a number as possible, thus extending their influence over a wider range.

The Royal Commission on Labour in India recommended very strongly the curtailment of the jobbers' powers and the appointment of labour officers in each mill to look after the recruitment and dismissal of labour. Since then various efforts have been made to stop bribery and corruption. The enactment of the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act, 1934, and the consequent appointment of labour officers by the Government and the Millowners' Association—and at the instance of the Millowners' Association—the appointment of labour officers by a considerable number of mills, have greatly improved conditions and there is now greater efficiency and less corruption in the textile mills of Bombay.

Education and Industrial Efficiency. Industry in India at present is dependent upon an illiterate and ignorant mass of workers, which to a great extent is responsible for such bribery and corruption as there is in the mills, inefficiency, ill health, high mortality rate and general low standard of living.

Though the provision of general education in order to turn out men fit to take up the duties and responsibilities of citizenship is the duty of the State and cannot be taken up by a section of the community, yet the encouragement of literacy and education by the employers will bring its own reward, for the educated labourer is more efficient, more intelligent, more capable of adapting to situations and on the whole more desirable than the ignorant worker too commonly seen in the industrial areas.

Primary schools and adult education have been started by some of the mills. A good many mills also maintain a free reading room and a library. About 15 mills send their promising and deserving workers to the special technical classes conducted by the Social Service League or the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute. Some of the mills also employ the cinema, lantern lectures, the drama and lectures of educational value for the benefit of their work-people.

Leisure Time Activities. The most widespread leisure time activity is the provision of facilities for indoor and outdoor games. Some of the mills also encourage Bhajan Mandals. Others take their workers for picnics and educational excursions, show them cinemas and encourage them to stage dramas. Annual sports, baby shows and health exhibitions are also arranged. The principal difficulty in connection with these activities is that they seldom percolate to the level of the ordinary labourer. They are arrested in their downward flow by different strata of superior labour—the clerical staff of the mills in particular. Hence it is that recreation does not always meet the needs and desires of the labourers. It is useless, for example, to expect the labourers to play cricket or hockey according to the rules of the game, as most of the mills are now doing, when folk dancing would be much nearer to their own interests. Indigenous means of recreation have the admirable feature of incorporating in themselves not only the recreational value of activity, but also desirable socialising factors. The common games are so well grained in the thought and practices of the people that an elaborate system of supervision becomes unnecessary. Leadership is found among the participants themselves. Moreover, when the workers see that their own indigenous games are being encouraged, they are much more ready to participate in wholesome leisure time activity.

Health of the Industrial Worker. One of the prime factors in the progress of industry is the health of the workers, for ill-health means lower vitality, low creativeness, impaired efficiency and industrial waste. Furthermore illness causes the breakdown of many families in their struggle for existence, due to loss of wages and probable loss of employment because of prolonged absence from duty. Since such a large portion of working class

illness is preventable, employers must pay increasing attention to the prevention of disease and accidents which result in labour turnover, payment of compensation and loss of valuable working days to both the labourer and management.

In view of the deplorable habits of the workers, education in the elements of hygiene is long overdue. The most effective health education is perhaps visual—talks accompanied by magic lantern pictures or cinema films or practical demonstrations. Cleanliness is not something just to be talked about ; it must be practised within the mills.

The Indian Factories Act 1934, requires the mills to provide good drinking water ; separate latrine accommodation for male and female workers ; periodical whitewashing, painting and disinfecting and proper ventilation and light. Prevention of accidents by guarding and fencing of machinery is also enjoined. Many mills have taken active steps to provide for safety first instruction and to introduce safety first measures. First Aid assistance is also available in most of the mills.

In response to the Factory Act 1934, thirty-seven mills in Bombay have their own dispensaries which provide medical facilities for the workers and their families. Until 1939, the provision of creches in mills was on a voluntary basis and 27 mills provided creche facilities. Now it is obligatory for every mill to provide creche facilities for the babies of the woman workers.

It is essential, as a health safeguard, that adequate and healthy places be provided for taking the midday meal. Four Bombay mills provide rest rooms for the women workers. Twelve mills provide tiffin rooms, where separate arrangements are made for Hindus and Muslims. More than 40 mills have canteens, either run by the mills themselves, or given on contract. Three mills have boarding houses. Thanks to the co-operation of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, most of the mills which were previously letting out their canteens on contract are now running them under their own management.

Economic Welfare. Unstable economic conditions have a direct relationship to psychological depression, feelings of insecurity, ill health and indebtedness. Hence any move towards stabilising the economic life of the workers is of genuine importance to the textile industry as a whole.

One of the widespread evils in the industrial areas is indebtedness. It is estimated that 75% of the working class families in Bombay are in debt and that the Bombay worker's indebtedness is nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ times his monthly income. The Pathan and the Marwari, who charge an exorbitant rate of interest from 75% to 300%, are still flourishing in all industrial areas. There is a real need for increasing the number of co-operative credit societies—not simply because

of the economic advantages to be derived, but also because of their educative value in inculcating habits of thrift, honesty and promptness in meeting financial obligations.

In Bombay, 24 mills have established a total of 41 co-operative societies. These societies not only provide workers' credit, but also function as a safe and convenient medium for the investment of savings. The interest paid on savings ranges from 5 to 7 per cent. Some of the societies are also doing useful work in debt redemption.

Housing. The housing of the industrial worker is another important aspect of welfare work. The deplorable condition of the Bombay chawls is well-known, but very few employers have made provision for housing their workers. Only 18 mills provide partial housing accommodation for their employees. The total number of tenements provided by the cotton mill employers in Bombay City is 3,887, out of which 3,063 are one-room and 824 two-room tenements.

Social Security. Various schemes are in force in different mills looking toward ameliorating the hardships accompanying old age and insecurity of work. There are pensions, retirement gratuities and provident fund schemes for the benefit of those who have served long enough in any one mill. Ten mills grant some sort of bonus. In eleven mills, pension or gratuity is granted, at the discretion of the millowner's agents, to deserving cases who have put in 15 to 20 years of continuous service. Fifteen mills have provident fund schemes for the benefit of their employees. These measures, however inadequate they may be, are of definite help in alleviating the lot of the workers in Bombay mills.

Some Suggestions. The time has come when welfare work in the mills should cease to be managed by untrained persons. Although a number of the mills have appointed their own labour officers, who are also responsible for welfare work, there are many mills in which departmental heads are expected to carry out welfare work in addition to their other duties. The average department head has an acquaintanceship with the technical details essential to his position, but he does not have a sound understanding of the complex social implications of welfare work. It takes a specially trained person to see welfare work as a scientific attempt to adjust the individual to his changing environment in a way that will prove to be harmonious for the individual, profitable to the employer and useful to society at large.

The various mills in Bombay which are sponsoring or are interested in labour welfare activities should pool their resources and work co-operatively. As things stand at present, much work of permanent value cannot be attempted by any single mill for lack of funds. Housing schemes, extensive medical and

educational programmes, and economic measures, such as debt redemption, are difficult undertakings for any single mill. This is particularly so since labour shifts from mill to mill. Work of permanent benefit should be large scale co-operative effort, covering the mill area as a whole.

Welfare work can only achieve its objective when its motives are above suspicion. Grudging and half-hearted measures on the part of the employers do not carry us very far. In fact they serve to strengthen the already existing suspicion in the minds of the labourers that welfare work is a sort of snare. Loyalty and good will cannot be grown from the seeds of suspicion. Whatever measures are undertaken must be backed by sympathy and understanding. The welfare worker must himself establish friendly contacts with the labourers. One way of achieving this end is through the organization of social clubs.

A social club not only provides certain amenities for the labourers, but also enables the welfare officer to discover and bring to the attention of the authorities, the various needs of the labourers. The labour officer, who is alert, can through his club contacts feel the pulse of the workers and draw the attention of the management to grievances before these grievances have been formally drawn up and become magnified.

Wherever welfare work has been seriously and sincerely tried it has paid dividends in the shape of loyalty to the industry and the employers. The employee who feels that the employer has an active interest in his welfare develops sympathies and loyalties which serve to lift the human output above the purely mercenary level. And it is an established fact that the mercenary attitude alone has never helped the industry to better itself, but has kept the labourers in a state of tension and strife. Thus intelligent welfare work is one of the essential needs of industry today. As His Royal Highness the Duke of York so aptly stated it: "Today the question for the employers is not whether they can afford to adopt this or that form of welfare work, but rather whether they can possibly afford to do without it."

WOMEN WORKERS IN THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THE CITY OF BOMBAY

MRS. INDIRA MEHTA BHATT

The woman employed in industry is both a home-worker and a factory-worker, a condition which creates serious difficulties. Mrs. Bhatt (*Tata School 1938*) discusses the problem and makes suggestions for improving the lot of the woman worker.

THE average woman in the village has little leisure, for in addition to her multifarious domestic duties—which include cooking, rearing children, and grazing the cattle—she shares, almost equally with her husband, the burdens of agricultural labour. Yet this same woman finds it difficult to stand the strain of factory life in the city. The reasons are not far to seek. Whereas work in the village is characterised by long periods of comparative leisure and short periods of heavy work in the fields, factory work is monotonously regular and hard. Though the village woman accompanies her husband to the fields early in the morning and returns only at dusk, her health is not impaired, for she has fresh air, plenty of light and sun, and can alternate periods of rest and work. But it is not so in the factory, where the work must be synchronized to the speed of the machine; where the air is suffocating and depressing, and where far too often, the surroundings are dark and unhealthy. The woman who works in the fields tends to become sturdy; but the woman who works in the factory, far too often, loses her health.

Why then does the village woman come to the city for work? Is it ambition; the lure of the city; or is it cruel necessity? The Royal Commission on Labour in India pointed out three major causes for the migration of labour. Firstly, the insufficiency of agricultural produce during the greater part of the year causes an economic pressure which is difficult to meet without supplementing the family income from some other source. Secondly, the decay in rural cottage industries has reduced the average income of the villager to such an extent that he is compelled to take to factory work to earn his daily bread. The old village economy has well nigh become impossible, owing to competition with large scale industry and the poor villager feels lost in the present competitive economic order. Hence he transfers his allegiance to that very industry that has ruined him. Thirdly, the caste system which divides the population into different strata, causes the lower caste people to suffer from many social disabilities. The cosmopolitan city treats individuals more reasonably and such social stigma as is prevalent in the villages is reduced to its minimum. In the case of every woman who has come to the city, one or all of these three causes may be said to have influenced her migration.

According to an enquiry conducted by the Government Labour Office, Bombay,¹ the source of Bombay's labour supply is as follows :

<i>Region of origin</i>	<i>Percentage to the total</i>
Konkan, Ratnagiri	49.76
Other places in Konkan	12.25
Deccan	29.07
Gujarat	3.47
Karnatak	1.29
United Provinces	2.59
Elsewhere	1.57

The agricultural classes of the Konkan eke out a very precarious existence and so are compelled to come to Bombay in such large numbers. It is still more revealing that 90 % of the women workers are from the Konkan.

Since the supply of labour is greatly in excess of the demand, the unemployed worker is pretty much at the mercy of the employing agents. In times past, the jobber and the naikin were the sole agents for recruiting labour. The naikin not only employed, but also supervised the work of the woman workers. The enormous powers vested in the naikins led to the prevalence of bribery in objectionable proportions. When there was a vacancy, the job did not go to the best woman, but to the highest bidder. The usual rate of bribery, so I am told, was about Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/- to get a job, and about As. 8/- to Re. 1/- per month to retain it ! For even after employment, the naikin had the power to discharge a worker whenever she so desired. The workers regarded this charge as a part of their monthly budget and made no serious effort to get rid of the bondage.

It must be said to the credit of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, that due to their efforts to wipe out bribery, this evil has been checked to a great extent. But though checked officially, underground and more subtle forms of bribery still remain. I would venture to suggest that so long as there is such a large body of unemployed labour, complete abolition of bribery is impossible. Till every hand has enough to do and every mouth enough to eat, the problem of bribery will probably remain.

A casual perusal of the number of women working in mills for the last few years reveals that the number of women employees is steadily decreasing. Whereas in the year 1932 there were 29,916 women employed in the Bombay Textile Industry ; there were 24,319 in 1934; 23,990 in 1936 and 21,086 in 1937. One can think of three possible reasons for this decline. Firstly, until recent years the number of women employed in each mill was much larger than actually necessary. This practice was due to the desire of the employer

¹ *Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay City*, p. 4.

to safeguard himself against the agricultural busy season, when he might lose hands and not get them back. By employing more women, he actually did not spend more in wages, but divided one woman's wage between two, giving each part-time work. The desire of the women themselves to see their sisters in work also encouraged this practice. But with the cry for better wages, the employers began to reduce hands and pay those who were retained higher wages. Secondly, the Indian Factories Act forbids the employment of women during the night, and with the starting of night shifts, men had to be employed in place of women for night work. Thirdly, the introduction of the Rationalization System, led to the number of women being reduced in those departments where men were found to be more efficient for some of the jobs. For these main reasons the number of women in mill work is gradually declining.

At the present time 70 % of the women working in the textile mills are employed in the winding and reeling departments, for here they are said to excel men. It is gratifying to state that conditions in these two departments are relatively satisfactory. The machinery used is less bulky and so there is comparatively better air and light and working space. Since 1923 the Local Government has established humidity standards. Though these two departments do not strictly observe this regulation, still it may be asserted that the abuse of the rule is much less than in other departments of the mill. Fortunately the employers have realised that the more contented they keep the women the better work they can get out of them. If still greater attention is paid to humidification and ventilation, both the health of the workers and the quality of work will improve.

Sanitary facilities in most of the mills are inadequate. There are insufficient latrines and those provided are not always kept clean. Separate toilet facilities should be provided for men and women. The habits of our people require to be improved and personal hygiene has to be taught. The present condition is revolting to both health and self-respect.

Though the conditions under which women work are slightly better than what the men face, they too have their grievances. Their main complaint is against the naikin. Although she has been shorn of much of her power, she is still influential in matters relating to promotion, transfer from one department to another, employing and dismissing. In short, the naikin can pretty well make or mar the working-life of any woman under her. When there are men jobbers supervising women, the women are far too often subjected to the additional nuisance of the attentions of unwanted men.

The second type of complaints are against the management itself. The two main grievances concern maternity benefits and low wages. Although the law specifically provides for maternity benefits, there are ways of circumvent-

ing the law, if the management so desires. Secondly, in spite of the reduction of the number of women workers, the women feel their wages have not gone up to the extent that they should have.

To meet the first set of complaints, a considerable number of mills have reduced the powers of jobbers and naikins and employed Labour Officers who have general supervision over employment and dismissals. The number of Labour Officers, however, should be greatly increased. As for the second set of grievances, against the management itself, the Government Labour Officer is definitely exerting his influence in the direction of justice for the labourer and steady progress is being registered. The Labour Officer of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association has also done good work in bringing lagging member mills into line.

The Indian Factories Act limits the working day to 10 hours, and the week to 54 hours for factory workers. But unfortunately most Indian working-women must work, not only in the mill, but also at home—to say nothing of the time consumed in travelling long distances to and from work. Here is the witness of Mr Kanji Dwarkadas, a man who has had long and intimate contact with workers. Referring to the Indian woman in industry, he says: "She is one of the noblest creatures God ever made. She does not drink. In modesty, in bearing, in gentleness, in feeling for the miseries of others, in her devotion to her home and family, in her attitude towards religion, the Indian woman worker is able to hold her own against the woman of any other class or nationality. She is illiterate and ignorant but it is not her fault that she is illiterate and ignorant. She is living in conditions horrible to describe . . . I have been in chawls in Bombay, where it is pitch dark at midday and to see anything in their room it is necessary to have a light. Bad housing conditions affect women more than men, for women return home straight from work and stay there more than men. Further, the employed women before leaving their houses in the morning or on return in the evening after work, have to perform a multiplicity of household duties, not perhaps onerous in themselves but which, when added, deplete their energies." ²

Taking these facts into consideration, a 54 hour week, which means 9 hours of work every day in the mill, is beyond the physical capacity of most women. Shorter hours of work would be of value both to the women and the employer. Humanity, business interest and labour tranquillity all argue for a reduction in the hours of women's work. The demand for a 48 hour week and 8 hour day is both just and desirable. But this should be granted without any reduction in wages, for if experience teaches anything, it tells us that the productive power of the woman worker will not in any way decrease, with the reduction in hours.

² *Women in Industries*, p. 2.

The Factory Act permits a day's rest in every week. But if more leave than that is taken it is always without pay. As the Indian worker lives a hand-to-mouth existence, any absence from work means less food for the worker. Hence, however fatigued the woman-worker may be, she dare not take a holiday. Leave with pay is unknown to the Indian Textile Industry at present.

In most cases the governing factor in determining wages is the relative demand and supply of the particular type of labour required, though efforts are now being made in the direction of standardization. Formerly a few of the mills were paying some kind of bonuses, but the Payment of Wages Act, 1937, forbids any such payment. The same Act also requires that all earned wages shall be paid to workers by the 7th or the 10th of each month.

Taking advances on wages is a common practice among our workers. But the management, till recently, charged interest on such advances. The usual rate of interest ranged from two pies to six pies per rupee per month. The Payment of Wages Act, 1937, has made it illegal to charge any such interest on advances against earned wages.

Unauthorised absence from work is accompanied by loss of wages for the days a person is absent. In some mills if a person is absent for more than three days he is liable to be fined. If absenteeism becomes a habit with any person he is usually dismissed. Fines were very frequent till the passing of the Payment of Wages Act, 1937. Now the maximum a person can be fined is six pies in the rupee. Frequency of fining is small in departments where women work. The usual reasons for fines are late-attendance, bad work, negligence and for disobeying the orders of the nakins. Generally all amounts realized by fines go to the Welfare Work Fund and are ultimately used for the welfare of the workers.

Women workers are employed both on time-rate and on piece-rate. In the year 1934 it was found that 5,929 women worked on time-rate and 18,390 women worked on piece-rate wages. Thus 24·4 % of women workers were paid on piece-rate and 75·6 % were paid on time-rate.

The wage received influences both the standard of living and the efficiency of the worker. For the worker the wage is a means of livelihood. For the employer the wage bill is an item in the cost of production. Thus the employer is concerned with reducing the cost of production, whereas the worker is interested in getting more wages to enable him to have a better standard of living. Though apparently the two interests are in conflict with each other, in the long run it must be recognised that higher wages allow a healthier standard of living, and better health increases industrial efficiency.

The average income of the industrial worker is decidedly inadequate, even for the bare necessities of life. The *Report of the Textile Labour Enquiry*

Committee of 1937-38,³ points out that the average daily income of the worker in July 1937 was Re. 0-15-5, whereas in October 1934 it was Re. 0-15-9. It was estimated that in October 1934, the average daily earning of workers in all occupations in Bombay City was : Men Re. 1/- on time-rate and Re. 1-7-11 on piece-rate ; and women Re. 0-10-4 on time-rate and Re. 0-10-10 on piece rate.⁴

The average monthly family income of the industrial worker, according to an investigation made in 1932, stands at Rs. 50-1-7.⁵ Looking at the real condition of workers one is hesitant to rely entirely on this figure. In actual fact the income seems to be much less.

The same Report gives the following figures as being the monthly items of expenditure per family in 1932-33 :⁶

<i>Items of expenditure</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Percentage of expenditure</i>
	Rs. as. ps.	
Food	21 6 10	46'60
Fuel and Lighting	3 4 4	7'11
Clothing, foot-wear and umbrellas	3 9 0	7'75
Bedding and Household necessities	0 1 0	0'13
House rent	5 14 3	12'81
Miscellaneous	11 12 4	25'60
Total expenditure	45 15 9	100'00

Practically every mill worker is in debt—the indebtedness often being several times the amount of the worker's monthly income. The following figures show some of the causes of indebtedness :⁷

<i>Causes of indebtedness</i>	<i>Percentage to total</i>
Unemployment	26'67
Marriages	22'75
Sickness	12'46
Ordinary wants	9'71
Arrears to shop keepers	8'04
House-building and Repairs	4'57
Funerals	3'19
Old outstanding debts	2'25
Strikes	2'10
Other causes	8'26
	100'00

³ P. 24.

⁴ *General Wage Census Report*, p. 132.

⁵ *Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay City*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

The above table reveals the economic effects of unemployment and of certain social customs. In both cases the State can come to the aid of the workers. It should be the responsibility of the State to endeavour to stabilize employment and to introduce such social legislation as will make it unnecessary to spend unreasonable amounts on marriages and funerals. The employer should be required to contribute for sickness insurance. The evil effects of indebtedness are not only the financial hardships involved; but the tyranny of indebtedness breaks the morale of the worker, impairs his efficiency, and destroys the incentive to greater effort.

There is a direct relationship between the living conditions of the worker and the worker's health. It has already been pointed out that the woman mill-worker comes from a village where she is accustomed to space, air and light. The mill area of Bombay being very congested, the housing problem is most acute. In the City of Bombay housing of the industrial workers is provided by private owners, the Municipality, Government, and in some cases, the employers.

The rents in the chawls vary according to locality and ownership. Generally speaking the Development Department charges anywhere between Rs. 5/- and Rs. 8/- per room per month. The Improvement Trust charge ranges from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 12/- per room per month, for single room tenements. The rents charged by the employers vary from Rs. 4/- to Rs. 7/- per room per month. The private owners sometimes charge up to Rs. 16/-.

In most cases one family cannot afford to have a room for itself and so boarders are taken in—sometimes relatives, sometimes co-villagers, and sometimes strangers. The obvious result is overcrowding. Whereas, according to all calculation, not more than 2·5 persons should stay in each of these rooms, investigation shows that actually the average number of persons per room is over four. In fact 75 % of the city's population live in one-room tenements with at least five persons in each room. The result is dirt and squalor, smoke, lack of privacy, darkness, ill-health and high mortality rates. It is not that the Bombay public do not know the miserable conditions under which our workers live. It is a matter of indifference on their part.

The existence of excessive sickness and mortality rates in the slums and other over-crowded areas is an accepted fact. Thus, the average number of deaths in Chaupati (where conditions of living are fairly good and middle class people stay) was, in 1938, 22·1 for every 1,000 living persons, while the comparative figure for Umarchadi (a recognised slum area) was 32. The situation is further revealed by the following comparative figures of the number and cause of deaths in 1938 as reported by the Municipal Health Officer :

<i>Disease</i>	<i>Deaths in Umarkhadi</i>	<i>Deaths in Chaupati</i>
Diarrhoeal diseases	41	13
Fevers	68	20
Respiratory diseases	430	96
Tuberculosis	118	38

The high death-rate from respiratory diseases is the direct result of breathing foul air in ill-ventilated homes and working places. Judging from whatever angle one wishes, it is impossible to disprove the miserable living conditions of our workers. The burden of such unsatisfactory conditions falls more heavily on the women workers, for their household duties compel them to remain indoors while the men are enjoying the freedom of the streets.

Bad housing affects not only the physical health of the inmates; it causes moral degeneracy also. In one single room, adults and children live day in and day out, performing all the functions of life without any privacy, and more often than not there are more families than one in each room. Children witness all the adult sex behaviour and are stimulated into sexual curiosity at much too early an age. With the lack of privacy, modesty and decency become a luxury for the women folk and their sense of moral values is necessarily lowered.

Insufficient food, an ill-ventilated, congested house to live in and a miserable moral and social life are the haunting ghosts of the workman's daily life. As Professor Charles Henderson pointed out years ago, "It is well known that the finer nervous organization of women, the delicacy and tenderness of wife and mother, the intuition of moral discernment, the deep racial instincts which preserve the national vigour, are qualities which go with the peculiar constitution of women. These precious qualities cannot be suppressed for economic reasons without permanent and irreparable loss to the character of the nation. In protecting girls and women against exploitation and coarseness of fibre we are fighting for all humanity in ages yet to come."⁸

The need for shorter hours is much more urgent for women than men. It is common practice for women to work in spite of minor ailments. Knowing as we do the depressing working conditions in our factories, it is easy to visualize the disastrous effects of long hours of work upon the woman who is already ailing. Figures show that women lose more working days than men due to ill health. The only possible remedy seems to be the reduction of working hours and the improvement of working and living conditions for the woman worker.

A certain amount of welfare work has been undertaken by the employers. The motive and drive for this welfare work has in some instances been humanitarian considerations; in others, business and selfish considerations, and in still others, legislative necessity.

⁸ *Citizens in Industry.*

About 37 Bombay mills are provided with dispensaries, where the workers and their dependents get free medical aid. Too often, however, the dispensaries are staffed with doctors of minimum qualifications. The equipment ranges from "absolutely inadequate" to "fairly good."

It is generally complained that though medical aid is provided, the workers do not take advantage of it. The dispensaries are situated in the mill compounds. The workers stay home only when they are too sick to walk to work. Hence it becomes impossible for them to attend the dispensaries. The only way to give effective medical aid is to have dispensaries in the chawl areas. As this is not possible for individual mill owners, the public and the Mill Owners' Association should take up this matter and provide medical aid where it can be easily made use of. Dispensaries ought to be for the use and convenience of the workers and not for show in mills.

With the powers vested in Local Governments by the Indian Factories Act, 1934, the Local Government now requires every mill to have an adequate supply of First Aid materials, which are to be given free of charge to all those that are injured in the mill.

Until 1939, 27 mills provided creches within the mills for babies of working mothers. Now the provision of creches is obligatory for all mills. In the creche, food, clothing, baths, and medical aid are supplied and the general welfare of the child is attended to by Indian nurses employed by the mill. The creches are the best antidote for the evil habit of women doping their babies with opium. They keep the children safe and healthy and allow the mothers to work with freer minds.

A laudable experiment was initiated by the Sassoon Mills, in starting a hostel for women workers. The conditions of food and lodging were quite good. But as there was not sufficient response on the part of the women it could not be run very long. Yet it would be worth making an enquiry into the best way of providing such hostel facilities, on the basis of the experiment carried out by the Sassoon Mills.

It is satisfying to note that almost every mill in Bombay has some arrangement for the mid-day meal of the workers. Sheds are provided for eating, and canteens from where the workers can buy food at a comparatively cheap cost. There is much room for improvement in these canteens. They should be able to provide fairly good hot meals for one and a half annas per meal, as the restaurants are able to provide such food for As. 2/- per plate. The canteens should be carefully inspected and the profit-making motive completely eliminated.

The importance of Co-operative Credit Societies cannot be too strongly emphasised. There are 41 Co-operative Credit Societies in 24 mills and all are

controlled by the workers themselves through their managing committees. The face value of each share is usually Rs. 10/- and a worker cannot borrow from the Society until he pays his share or shares. The rate of interest is generally $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum, which amounts to about $\frac{1}{12}$ of the rate of interest charged by the money-lender. For the present most of these Societies are not serving any greater purpose than lending money for the social needs of the workers.

The Maternity Benefit Act would be a boon to married working women, if only all the parties concerned co-operated conscientiously. The Act provides that a woman is entitled to receive As. 8/- per day for four weeks before and four weeks after confinement, if she has worked for 9 months in the mill. In 1936 it is reported that only 9.75 women out of every 100 women working in the industry took advantage of the Act, and received on an average Rs. 25-14-9, whereas the Act permits a maximum sum of Rs. 28/-. It must be admitted that both the maximum provided for and the number of women that take advantage of even this meagre provision is too low. Wrongful dismissals, ignorance of the women about the provisions of the Act, preference of the employers to employ only unmarried women and widows, militate against the spirit of the Act.

Other legislation forbids women being employed during the night and at dangerous, unhealthy and heavy work. It is not difficult to appreciate the importance and necessity of such regulation, knowing as we do the evil effects of night-work for women and the dangers involved to health by being employed on dangerous and heavy jobs.

The history of Trade Unionism in India is a relatively short one. The story of women joining the Trade Unions is still shorter. The first time women struck on any widespread scale was in 1928. It is difficult to get women to take an active part in unions, owing to the social disabilities, which tend to prevent them from participating freely in activities with men, their ignorance and illiteracy, and above all the fact that they have to work both in the mill and at home. Yet women do realise the need for such organization and have been slowly entering the more active life of trade unions. In those instances where they have gone on strike they have been determined and very effective, both in their solidarity and picketing. Much can be done by women for the welfare of labour as a whole, if only proper leadership is forthcoming. The general improvement of labour conditions, essential changes in the living conditions of workers and the future of the labour movement in this country will depend to no small extent on the part played by women, who themselves employed in industry, are most aware of labour's needs.

HOUSING FOR THE WORKING CLASSES IN BOMBAY

BEHRAM H. MEHTA

Housing for the industrial workers of Bombay has for many years presented a difficult problem, which is still a long way from solution. Even when it can be demonstrated numerically that there is a roof provided for every worker in the city, the social aspects of housing are still unsolved. An industrial housing policy must view the situation in its social entirety.

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THE modern housing problem is a product of the Industrial Revolution. With the introduction of large-scale machine production, great masses of workers congregated in the new industrial centres, but unfortunately the problems of production and the desire for profits were so absorbing that matters so commonplace as workers' housing received little attention. As hundreds of thousands of human beings began to concentrate in areas of a few square miles, makeshifts were resorted to to provide them with shelter, but in no instance was the expanding industrial city the result of careful planning.

India is a relatively new-comer among the industrial nations and Bombay is the pioneer city to take kindly to the machine. Bombay is essentially a product of trade and commerce and its first inhabitants were engaged in non-industrial commercial pursuits. The early inhabitants consisting of soldiers, business men and their servants occupied the Fort, and the Old City sprang up at the place known to-day as Jakaria Masjid. As could be expected, Bombay like other cities, was unplanned and houses and lanes sprang up according to the whims of landlords. The early city was small, but grew surprisingly rapidly after the Share Mania, when the rich occupied the Western part of the Island.

Till 1675 the poor lived in thatched huts. By 1908, large "chawls," a word coined in Bombay, came into existence. The one-room tenements, the Bombay Gazetteers tell us, were 8 by 8 and 12 feet high. Two or three families lived in one room. There were common basket-latrines and "nahnis" for washing.

The city of Bombay has had a distinct trend of growth in spite of the fact that it was never planned or zoned. The military occupy the extreme south and a little northwards we find an upper-middle-class, mainly non-Indian population. Still further north we find the business area in the Fort, together with the seats of administration. As the city becomes broader, it shows distinct trends of horizontal business growth, fed by the docks on the east coast, and vertical growth of houses inhabited on communal lines,

The earliest concentration of the working classes was at Umarkhadi, round about the Umarkhadi Jail. In Mazagaon, there still linger the last relics of aristocracy inhabiting the island. The progress of dock construction right up to the extreme north of the Island has resulted in large areas occupied by godowns, warehouses, railway lines and goods yards which link the commercial city to the continent. West of this "warehouse-line," and commencing from Parel, is the city which sprang up with the Textile Industry—Bombay's chief industry. Other factories have also grouped themselves in the same area. This is industrial Bombay proper, and it has expanded mainly from East to West, until the push has almost come to an end with the building of some factories at Worli, West of the Bombay Development Department Chawls. It is almost certain that there can be little further industrial expansion within the City proper. The area north of the Industrial Zone is occupied by a slowly-growing middle class, which has prospered with the prosperity of the City. Here too, almost right up to Mahim, large groups and localities have grown on communal lines, often calling themselves "colonies."

Surveying this growth of the city, one notices two main desires on the part of the population : (1) The desire of the workman to stay near his workplace. (2) The desire of the individual to stay near his narrow social group, or caste, or community.

The first factor arises out of the poor economic condition of the workman and the absence of proper roads and cheap and adequate transport. Conditions have been modified by the appearance of the bus service and the Harbour Line Railway, but these are not sufficiently cheap to entice the labourer to move away from the locality of his work.

The second factor springs from the desire for security and for maintaining a continuity of social life and traditions. A detailed investigation reveals that families tend to group themselves according to the regions they inhabited before their migration to Bombay. There is a distinct desire to avoid any special alterations in the practice of mores, manners and customs even though economic conditions have compelled them to move from a comparatively simple life in the country to the more complex life of the city.

Beyond these two factors, we also note an economic stratification of the population in terms of the houses they occupy. It is not merely the rich, the middle class and the poor who live in distinct areas. But there are stratas within each of these classes. At the very bottom we find families occupying apologies for huts, constructed by themselves, usually from flattening out kerosine tins. These ought to have gone long, long ago, but they persist because of abject poverty. Then, there are huts built by landlords with the poorest—often second hand material—with rents from As. 8/- to Re. 1/- per

month. These only provide a place of shelter. Above these are the meanest houses of private landlords, often existing in spite of the building laws of the city. These are piles of rooms, dingy, dark and unplanned, with narrow, high staircases and provided with a few "nahnis" and latrines. Water supply is hardly adequate. The rents may vary from Re. 1-8-0 to Rs. 4-0-0 per month. Then come the vast majority of buildings called chawls, in which the majority of the working population is living.

The types of chawls and their size vary indefinitely. The important features are absence of any courtyard, in most places; series of tenements on each floor, and common taps, "nahnis" and lavatories for the use of a group of tenants. Most of the tenements consist of one room only, or a room with a partitioned kitchen and small "nahni." The Bombay Municipality, the Improvement Trust, the Bombay Development Department, the Bombay Port Trust, the Railways and several private employers have built chawls for the use of their employees, charging rent which is often lower than the prevailing rents in private chawls. For example the Bombay Municipality charges annas ten per male employee, annas five per female employee, and Rs. 2/- per grown up head who is not an employee of the Municipality. Rents in the Improvement Trust and B. D. D. Chawls go up to Rs. 7/- per tenement. The better class of working men, jobbers and skilled workers, live in small private flats, which are mostly two-room tenements, paying a rent up to Rs. 12/-, out of an average monthly income of about Rs. 50/-. Recently there has been an increase in the number of somewhat better tenements for this class of people.

The Basis of Good Housing. Good housing is not merely a problem of construction for the architects and engineers. The term "good housing" ought to imply a healthy and well-planned neighbourhood; houses built to supply at least minimum comfort and convenience; aesthetic appearance of houses; proper sanitation and management, and absence of congestion of houses in one area and of persons in one house.

The Neighbourhood. The neighbourhood is a social unit of a city, containing a number of houses inhabited by families. It must cater to all requirements of families which cannot be supplied by the family itself and to procure which it would be necessary to travel long distances. It should provide for a healthy social life. It should be so provided with roads and transport as to connect the neighbourhood with other areas with minimum cost and with maximum speed. It is thus that a neighbourhood requires planning. It must cater to the religious, economic, educational, recreational and social life of the people. It requires public amenities for utility, safety and security alike. It requires temples and churches, bazaars, shops, primary schools, libraries, parks and play grounds and public halls. Needless to say, a planned industrial

city has not yet been born in India. On the other hand, it is worth while to have a glimpse of the chaos and social anarchy prevailing in an area inhabited by the working classes—a picture quite typical of other working class areas.

The area selected covers about half a mile between the J. J. Hospital, Mazagaon, and the Umarkhadi Children's Home. Let us have a bird's eye view of this region. In this locality there is a police station, a fire brigade station, the J. J. group of hospitals, five Hindu temples, one mosque, two Christian churches, two schools, the old Umarkhadi Jail, 26 eating houses, 23 tobaccoconists, 8 milk shops, 7 liquor or toddy shops (pre-prohibition statistics), 3 licensed opium shops, 61 shops selling other necessities of life—including groceries, grain-dealers and cloth merchants, an open market happily occupying half the width of a public main road, the Wallace Flour Mills, a stone quarry, two small factories, six work-shops, several motor garages, ten merchants dealing in house-building materials, scrap-iron, scrap-glass, paper and rags, 21 tailors and goldsmiths, blacksmiths, millers, dyers, oilpressers, shoemakers, stone-masons and plumbers. Further there are 49 shops of money-lenders and pawn-brokers, four dispensaries, three washing companies, four hair cutting saloons and two public latrines.

In the midst of this medley of men, homes and shops runs the Number 10 Tram Line, through a stone-paved street over which move heavy trucks, bullock carts and the usual vehicular traffic. The din of noise cannot be described on paper as the heavy iron wheels clang on stone and railway engines scream perpetually. Across and below the tram-line run the two G. I. P. Highways with a train or two thundering past hundreds of houses every five minutes and less from 4 a.m. to midnight. Engines and bogeys shunt day and night in the goods yards.

A proper idea of the congestion of houses in this area cannot be obtained from the fact that there were 2'26 houses per acre at Mazagaon, 4'05 at Tadvadi and 10'18 at Umarkhadi, compared to the 3'28 houses per acre in Bombay City in 1931. This is because the total area includes vast open spaces occupied by the goods-yards and dock-yards of the neighbourhood. The houses are mostly three-storeyed houses owned by private landlords, generally containing one-room tenements and standing cheek by jowl, with a forty-foot road between the rows of houses. For example, within this neighbourhood, on a single plot occupying two acres of land, there are over three hundred tenements with a population density of 824 per acre.

It is in such ill-conceived, unplanned, sporadically grown neighbourhoods that most of the industrial population lives. But though these congested slum areas must be cleared, this cannot be attempted unless wages rise or transport becomes very cheap, or is provided by the companies. If a labourer walks two

miles to his workplace, it is rarely realized that this adds an hour and quarter to his eight or nine hours of work.

Ill-supervised bazaars exist in the working areas. Miserable food shops play havoc with the health of the people. Decaying vegetables and rotting meat are sold to the poor at low prices, despite municipal regulations. Bombay's working areas need to be supplied with properly stocked and adequately supervised bazaars.

Whilst almost the entire length of the western side of the Island of Bombay, where the better classes live, has been beautified to set off the attractive coast line, the working classes have nothing to boast of except neglected green spots called parks, which are infested with evil characters, gambling and other vices. Bombay still follows the adage "amenities according to taxation" and thus the working classes working eight to ten hours a day, are left without proper facilities for recreation and relaxation. There are no decent clubs and hardly any libraries for the workers.

House-construction. Bombay's Housing Laws are obsolete and out of date, and even these are hardly enforced with the rigidity and severity that is required to deal with harsh and rapacious landlords who shoot up ghastly piles for 4 to 10 per cent interest. Eighty per cent of the city's population still lives in one-room tenements. The 12 by 12, even 12 by 10 room with 10 foot walls and a door and window, without a kitchen, without a water-tap, without a latrine and without any privacy is yet the abode of thousands of families—destroying the family and wrecking life even in childhood. In innumerable cases the window area is inadequate, no sky-line is visible and there is darkness even in broad day-light. Compared to the height of buildings, the roads are still narrow (though there is a change for the better nowadays in this direction), and because of the absence of adequate open-spaces, movement of air is difficult and often absent.

Effects of bad housing are rendered worse by the habits of the people. Every one does not get a chance for a daily bath in the early hours, due to inadequate bath rooms and water-taps, and hence non-bathing becomes a habit. The habits of the adult are imitated by the child. The labourer, doing manual work in sweaty surroundings, has an inadequate supply of clothes. The inevitable result is insanitary conditions in the one-room tenements.

Defective and inadequate sanitary arrangements within and without the house are accompanied by neglect and bad management. Houses suffer from want of repairs for long periods. Even ordinary white-wash and colouring are neglected, sometimes for years. The ceiling leaks in a heavy monsoon, the floorings remain broken, the wood work becomes riddled within by white ants.

Bombay working-class housing is completely devoid of aesthetic princi-

ples. The buildings are mere piles, the streets lack form, shape and colour. Trees are visible only along the highways, unless some green leaves appear in neglected crevices of walls of buildings.

Building construction should follow a fundamental biological principle. The structure of houses, like the structure of living organisms, should conform to the functions the inhabitants have to perform. The one-room tenement cannot possibly satisfy the most elementary needs of a human being. The one-room tenement serves as a living-room, bed-room, kitchen, dining-room and parlour. It is often used as a work-room. In it children study and play, the inhabitants dress without privacy, guests are received and gods are worshipped. The one-room tenement is a mere box in which the drama of life is staged. Absence of privacy for sexual life is a problem faced by young married persons and too often sexual life decays. The addition of a small half-room to be used as a kitchen hardly solves the problem. The problem requires a most radical change in the conception of human housing. This brings us to the most difficult side of the housing problem—the problem of finance.

Housing Finance. In a city like Bombay there is adequate private finance for house-construction of a better type. But even if capital is to receive a minimum rent, the economic rent becomes prohibitive for the working class. The conclusion must be faced that the working class receives something short of a living wage, even if we accept the principle that as much as 20% of the family income can go as rent for decent housing. A two-room tenement with kitchen, water-tap, light and bath-room should be considered minimum housing for a human family. The economic rent can never be less than Rs. 15/- for such a tenement. Private capital generally provides housing for the middle and upper classes. As a comparative percentage, it deals less with working-class housing, and in those cases, the rents are considerably higher than in buildings constructed by public bodies. Heavy mortgaging of property is also noticed with respect to private buildings inhabited by the working class. The rent of a two-room tenement in a recent Charity Housing Scheme in Bombay was fixed at Rs. 12/-, not only charging no returns on capital, but considering the capital as a gift to charity. It is impossible for private enterprise to meet the problem of workers' housing under present conditions.

Three major public agencies have concerned themselves with low cost housing in Bombay :

(1) The Bombay Development Department is conducted by the Government of Bombay. The industrial housing scheme of the Bombay Development Department was the result of an enquiry instituted by the Municipal Commissioner in 1919 which revealed that 893,000 persons were living in one-room tenements—the total shortage of one-room tenements in Bombay being 64,000.

Government then planned the erection of about 50,000 one-room tenements, so designed as to be later converted into two-room tenements. This project, however, was not fully carried through. At present, the scheme is spread over four localities, containing in all 207 chawls (buildings), built at a cost of Rs. 349,00,000/-. The 207 chawls contain 16,196 living rooms and 363 shops. In March, 1939, 194 chawls were occupied. Many reasons have contributed to the fact that a considerable number of the tenements still remain unoccupied. Some of these are—(a) economic depression and failure of some of the textile mills; (b) unsuitability of site from the point of view of distance and sanitation; (c) improper planning and construction of the chawls, and (d) the caste system.

The Development Department Chawls are constructed from funds obtained by Development Loans raised by Government.

(2) The Bombay Improvement Trust, which constructed its first building in 1900, was handed over to the Bombay Municipality in 1936. There are at present 25 main estates in Bombay under its care. The first of these, as we have said, came into existence in 1900. The estates cover a total area of 2,08,003 sq. yds., of which 80,159 sq. yds. are occupied by buildings. The total value of land (Rs. 30,20,205), plus constructional cost (Rs. 1,18,06,890) and 7½% as cost of management and establishment, comes to Rs. 1,48,28,000/-.

The total interest and sinking fund charges on capital outlay at 4·61 per cent up to 1919, and 6·35 per cent thereafter, comes to Rs. 8,66,882/-. The total number of rooms on all the estates is 9,755 with a total letting value of Rs. 9,64,481/-. The annual loss on rent is Rs. 3,80,206/-. Most of the tenements are either one, or at the most, two-room tenements.

The Trust obtains its capital from Improvement Loans raised mostly in the open market. By the new constitution of the Bombay Improvement Trust, 1936, the Trust is empowered to grant loans for the construction of buildings for residential purposes.

(3) The third important housing agency in Bombay is the Bombay Municipality, which provides dwellings for its own menial and servant staff. These are scattered all over Bombay, in 21 localities containing 2,690 tenements, excluding 300 tenements which are hired from the Improvement Trust, and 34 temporary dwellings.

The chawls belonging to the Bombay Municipality have of late been constructed from the funds and income of the Municipality and from the Fines Fund (income obtained by way of fines imposed by the Municipality on its servants), without any other assistance. To my knowledge no special loans have been floated for this purpose.

Beyond the above public bodies, private and public charity and co-opera-

tive housing schemes have done their bit to ease the housing problem. Almost without exception Charity Housing Schemes are on communal lines. The Parsis have invested several crores of rupees in constructing about 20 Parsi colonies for poor and middle class families. Likewise Hindu Trusts have provided housing facilities for members of particular castes and social groups. Muslim sects have also provided housing for a large number of families.

Co-operative housing schemes have done more for the lower middle and middle classes than for the working poor.

Though all the above efforts have been of value in meeting the problem of "Housing," they can by no means be said to have solved the problem. It appears to me that the final solution can be found only in two directions: (1) A more adequate economic return for labour, and (2) State capitalization and subsidization of housing schemes, together with the floating of State Loans. The shortage of good housing should be treated as Public Distress and should be met as man is accustomed to meet famine, flood and war, by co-operation and concerted co-ordinated effort without the desire to gain.

The housing problem in Bombay has reached a critical stage. Public conscience is awakened and the seriousness of the problem is realized on all sides. But together with this there is a feeling of helplessness and an unwillingness to take bold and radical measures which alone can deal with the situation. As in the case of other imperative measures, finance holds the key to this problem. The State must shake off its lethargy and subsidize public bodies, which must also be empowered to raise heavy loans if necessary. Further, there is the need of a definite housing policy, and a radical alteration in building laws. With the establishment of co-operatives, and co-ordination of effort—all sections bearing a part of the burden—the housing problem is not too difficult of solution and should be tackled as soon as the War is over.

HOUSING IN THE SECOND NAGPADA SECTION OF BOMBAY

VASANT P. SHIKHARE

This article is a description of housing conditions as they actually exist in one of the older slum areas in the heart of Bombay City. Conditions such as these have a direct bearing on industrial efficiency.

Mr. Shikhare (*Tata School 1940*) is a probationary worker in the Social Service League, Bombay.

THE city of Bombay is divided into seven different sections, or wards. These wards are again subdivided into several other sections. Second Nagpada, the area with which this study specifically deals, is a subsection of "E" Ward, which is in the heart of the city.

The Second Nagpada area is bounded by four main roads—Dimtimkar Road on the North, Grant Road on the South, Duncan Road on the West, and Parel Road on the East. The area comprises 33·05 acres and is something like a quadrilateral in shape. There are six main streets in the locality, parallel to each other, and to Duncan and Parel Roads. The names of these streets are Tank Street, Khandia Street, Undria Street, Huzria Street, Temkar Street and Sheik Buran Canodin Street. They join Grant Road on one end and Dimtimkar Road on the other. These parallel streets are joined by a number of small cross lanes, e. g., the Mustan Tank Road Cross Lane, the Undria Street Cross Lane, and others. These streets are called the "Mohallas" in the locality, such as the Khandia Mohalla, the Undria Mohalla and the Surti Mohalla.

Since the problem of housing is closely connected with the problem of population, it is necessary to take account of the density and composition of the population in the locality.

The total population of Second Nagpada according to the Census of 1931 was 21,031, while the population density was 637 to the acre, as opposed to a population density of 246 per acre in First Nagpada and of 75 for the entire city and island of Bombay.

The majority of the population is Muslim by religion, the percentages according to religion being as follows : Muslims 67·3 per cent ; Hindus 25·8 per cent; Jews 3 per cent; Christians 1 per cent; Jains 0·5 per cent; Zoroastrians 0·2 per cent.

By sex, there are in Second Nagpada, 13,338 males and 7,693 females, or 58 females to every 100 males. The proportion for the entire city is 55 to 100.

The problem of overcrowding has two aspects, the congestion of buildings and the congestion of human beings. The average density of houses in

Second Nagpada, according to the Census of 1931, is 15'58 to the acre, as against 5'68 to the acre for First Nagpada and 3'23 to the acre for the city as a whole. Second Nagpada is not only one of the most congested areas of the city from the standpoint of population but also from the standpoint of congestion of houses.

The houses in Second Nagpada are of various types, but for convenience we may divide them into two general classes : dwelling houses converted into tenements and chawls. The majority of the houses in the locality are of the first type, but in the sub-section known as Kazipura there is a row of private chawls extending almost the length of the section. These chawls are occupied by people engaging in small industries, the majority of whom are Mochis, or leather workers.

The converted dwelling houses are houses which were originally built for one family but which have been extended and converted into tenements to meet the increasing demand for accommodation. By frequent extension the owners of the properties have occupied every available inch of ground space and have then competed with one another in erecting additional floors until the buildings have reached a height of five or six stories. This procedure is known as "sweating" building sites. The results of this policy are twofold. The houses have tall, narrow frontages and excessive depths, with the result that many of the rooms—particularly those in the centre and on the ground floor—lack sunshine and air.

Between the buildings are narrow passages or gullies from one to five feet in width. These passages give the sweepers access to the refuse baskets and along these gullies open drains are laid for carrying away the sewage. In many instances the sweeper passages are the only spaces which separate the row of houses in one street from that in another, or adjoining buildings from one another. In those buildings in which the system of basket privies still prevails, the baskets frequently overflow into the open drains, fouling the passages and filling the air with stench. Many times the drains also become choked and the overflow finds its way into the streets. The gullies are made still worse by the practice of the tenants throwing all kinds of household refuse from the windows overlooking the gullies. Much of the refuse accumulates, with the result that the windows of rooms which overlook the gullies have to be kept closed to shut out the stench. Since the only sources of light and ventilation are the windows opening on to the gullies and the doors entering the rooms, the conditions under which the occupants have to cook, eat and sleep can well be imagined.

The converted dwellings may again be divided into three different groups according to their nature and structure. There are (1) dwellings of the ordinary

type. These are houses built seemingly according to no pre-arranged plan, but to meet the opportunities of the moment. The only common feature between the different buildings is that the majority of the tenements consist of one room only. A common latrine and a common washing place is provided for all the rooms on each floor.

The second group is made up of (2) dwellings of the corridor type. These buildings are more or less alike in structure. There is one common central passage or corridor running the length of the building. On both sides of this passage are rooms facing each other. Access to the rooms on the upper floors is gained by a central or side stair case. Here also the tenements are generally of a single room, with a common latrine and common washing place for each floor.

The third group consists of (3) blocks of rooms which are let to single tenants. In this type of house the blocks are generally situated on the upper floors. The usual arrangement of the block is that there is one drawing room—or what is generally called a Diwankhana—in front, the windows and galleries of which open on to the street. Adjoining this, towards the rear, is a sitting room, generally used by the ladies of the family, while at the extreme rear there is the kitchen. The rooms in these blocks are very narrow in breadth and longer in length, because the buildings generally have narrow frontages and excessive depths. A separate bath room and a separate latrine are provided in each block.

The second major type of houses in Second Nagpada consists of those buildings erected as *private chawls*. These differ from the converted dwellings in that they were planned from the beginning to house large numbers of people. When situated on a main thoroughfare the ground floor rooms overlooking the road are invariably occupied by shopkeepers, e.g., restaurants, panwallas, bidi shops and shops dealing in oil, vegetables or petty merchandise. Sometimes the room at the rear of the shop is occupied as the living room, the two rooms thus forming a “galla.” Access to the rooms on the upper floors is gained by a central or side staircase leading to verandahs or central corridors running the length of the building. In the verandah type of building the rooms are back to back and through ventilation cannot be secured. But even so rooms in the verandah type of building generally have more light and air than those which open on to a central corridor which is almost always dark.

When the chawls are situated parallel to one another and are in close proximity, the rooms on the ground floor receive insufficient light and air. There is as a rule only one window, two feet by three feet, to each room, though in some cases the rooms at the ends of a block possess two windows. A “chula”—fireplace for cooking purposes—and a “nahani”—washing place—

are provided in each room. The rooms vary in size, some being very small and others being somewhat in the nature of halls, occupied by several families. It is the exception rather than the rule to find these buildings in a good state of repair. The floors and stairways are often in such condition that they are actually a source of danger to the occupants. Many of the chawls have little or no plinth, so that the ground floor is almost on the level of the street. In such cases rooms are often flooded during the monsoon and are generally damp.

The chawls have common bathing places, used by both sexes. The bathing places are not only used for baths, but also for washing clothing and utensils and the taps provide water for drinking and cooking purposes as well. Shortage of water and an insufficiency of taps is a constant source of complaint because it leads to great inconvenience and frequent quarrels during the early morning hours when there is a great rush. The privies in a building of several stories are placed one above the other and connected by a common shaft.

Within the last few years, Second Nagpada, in common with other sections of Bombay has witnessed the construction of tenements built on modern lines, but the number of such buildings is still very small.

Three-fourths of the population of Bombay City live in one-roomed tenements. The overcrowding in Bombay is so great that according to the census of 1931, eighty-six per cent of Bombay's population must be regarded as housed so inadequately that the streets have to be used universally to supplement the sleeping accommodation which the houses cannot provide. The census of tenements by rooms and population shows that single-roomed tenements form 81 per cent of the total tenements in the city of Bombay and that they are occupied by 74 per cent of the population of the city (791,762 persons).

Second Nagpada is no exception to this rule. The number of rentals on the block system, described above, is relatively few when compared with the great number of single-roomed tenements. The occupants of these rooms have to manage all of their affairs within the confines of four walls. They have to select one of the four corners of the room for purposes of cooking. They eat, sleep, dress and pass their leisure time in a room about ten feet square.

According to the rules of the Bombay Municipality every tenement in a building must be at least 100 square feet in measurement. It is supposed that every adult person will have 25 square feet of space and each child 12½ square feet of space. In Second Nagpada I found no fixed standard of measurement for rooms. The smallest room that I observed measured 8 feet by 8 feet, and the largest room measured 20 feet by 15½ feet. The other rooms varied in measurement between these two sizes. In no tenement, however small the

room, did I find less than four persons, while as many as 7 persons were discovered—not only living, but performing their daily occupation of shoe-making—in a room 10 feet by 12 feet. In another chawl I found 25 persons of both sexes occupying a room 10 feet by 9 feet.

There is a widespread practice in Bombay of men from up-country coming to the city and leaving their wives and families in their native place. These men club together with other men in a similar condition, sacrificing comfort to cheapness. In one chawl I discovered 20 coolies occupying one single room 12 feet by 10 feet. The Mustan Tank Cross Lane is occupied almost entirely by male Pathans, the number of occupants of each room being revealed by the number of trunks in the room. Ten to twenty persons per room is not uncommon, though of course the occupants make no pretence of sleeping within the room, using the streets for this purpose.

It is simply stating a truism to declare that good health requires sufficient ventilation and sufficient light in the house. As I have already indicated, the majority of the older houses in Second Nagpada are structurally defective. It is a rule of the Bombay Municipality that for every house there must be a "squared space" in the centre of the building, opening up to the sky in order to admit light into those rooms situated in the middle of the building. Where such "squared spaces" or "chowks" are found, they are the most insanitary places in the buildings because the inmates of the upper floors throw their rubbish and accumulated filth into them, utilising them as gutters rather than light and air shafts.

The only source of ventilation in all of these houses is from the windows and doors of the separate rooms. Almost without exception there is but one window and one door to a room. When the window is kept shut, as it so often is, the condition of the air within the room can well be imagined.

The Bombay Municipality has a further rule that in every building one latrine and one washing place with one or more taps must be provided for every five rooms. In very few cases did I find this rule observed. The more common practice is one latrine and one common tap for each floor—this accommodation serving a minimum of from ten to fifteen rooms. When one also considers that because of hard usage the facilities provided are often in a bad state of repair one senses the utter inadequacy of the sanitary arrangements.

The majority of the houses provide a dustbin on each floor in which tenants are expected to throw their rubbish. These dustbins are supposed to be cleaned every day by the municipal sweepers. But due both to the careless habits of the tenants and the laxness of the sweepers, the arrangement is far from satisfactory. In many houses I found the refuse of days accumulated in the central passage or common corridor. In Kazipura there is no pretence of

providing dustbins and the refuse simply accumulates where it is thrown. By some strange perversity the place surrounding the common washing places and latrines seems to be the most popular rubbish dump.

I have pointed out above that many of the older buildings in Second Nagpada have grown without plan—extensions and added height being added to meet the demands of the moment. This has produced a most unsatisfactory situation regarding staircases. The most of the staircases are wooden, with from fourteen to twenty steps in a flight. The angle of ascent is generally very steep, presenting a difficult problem for aged or ailing persons. Many of the staircases which I inspected were rotten and in a state bordering upon collapse. Since no lights are provided, the accident danger on the stairs is a very real one.

Rents in Second Nagpada are not uniform, the rent of a single room varying from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 11/- per month. Blocks in the older buildings rent from Rs. 25/- to Rs. 30/-. When one considers that the average wage earner in this locality receives about Rs. 25/- per month, it becomes apparent why more than one family crowd into one room. It is not a matter of choice, but of economic necessity.

In concluding this study I should like to make certain recommendations for the immediate improvement of the existing situation.

1. Existing sanitary rules and regulations should be rigidly enforced.
2. For efficient supervision there should be one sanitary inspector for every three or four lanes in the section. The inspector should have sufficient assistants to perform his duties in a satisfactory manner and should present suitable written reports to the proper authorities.
3. By meetings and other propaganda the tenants should be instructed in the principles of sanitation.
4. The conversion of basket privies into water closets should proceed as rapidly as possible.
5. The water supply in each building should be adequate.
6. The number of water taps should be increased.
7. Separate bath rooms should be provided for women.
8. Latrines, bathing and washing places should be cleaned thoroughly at least twice a day.
9. There should be at least four dustbins on each floor.
10. Corridor and stairway lights should be provided.
11. Landlords should be compelled to pay increased attention to ventilation and lighting, and tenants instructed to make the best use of facilities provided.
12. The number of occupants per room should be limited to four adults

(two children under 12 to be counted as one adult). The landlord through his bhayya should be responsible for the enforcement of this bye-law, both the landlord and tenant being liable to fines in cases of breach.

13. Inspectors should have the power to compel landlords to effect essential repairs without delay.

In addition there are certain recommendations made by the Rent Enquiry Committee, appointed by Government in 1938, which are of value.¹

1. Construction of one room tenements should be discouraged, but wherever they are necessary they should not be less than 180 square feet in size and should not accommodate more than 4 persons. The existing one-roomed tenement of 100 square feet in size should not provide for more than 2½ persons, i.e., floor-space for a person should not be less than 40 square feet.

2. Minimum amenities should be fixed by law—(a) There should be no back-to-back houses; and in a house no back-to-back tenements with one room. Each such tenement should have only one entrance with provision for through ventilation. (b) A one-roomed tenement with a minimum size of 180 square feet should have a small partition wall, not more than six feet in height, to divide the kitchen from the front portion of the room. It should have a “mori” or “nahani” and a loft. The flooring should be of cement concrete or of shahabad stone to prevent damp. The height from floor to ceiling should not be less than 10 feet.

3. Regarding chawl construction—(a) The length of a chawl should not be more than 125 feet in any single direction, exclusive of the area required for latrines, bath-rooms, etc. (b) On every floor, for every four rooms there should be one latrine and one washing place, at least 16 square feet in size. On every floor also there should be two separate closed bathrooms (one for men and the other for women), a direct water connection and a metal dust-bin with a cover for depositing refuse for every five rooms.

While the public authorities are dealing with the problem of improving existing housing and constructing new houses for the mill workers residing in the north of the City, they must also concern themselves with the housing problems of congested areas such as Second Nagpada and Kamatipura. They must draw up some scheme for rehousing the population of these slums in better types of dwellings. The actual drawing up of such schemes is a matter for the experts. My mission is simply to place some of the existing facts before the public in the hope that a better knowledge of conditions as they are may result in a programme looking toward their improvement.

¹ *Report of the Rent Enquiry Committee*, Vol. I, p. 59.

GOVERNMENT'S LABOUR WELFARE PROGRAMME FOR BOMBAY CITY FROM APRIL 1939 TO JANUARY 1940

RAMCHANDRA RAO PANDAYKAR

The interest of the Congress Ministries in Labour is reflected in the formation of the Bombay Labour Welfare Department. Mr. Pandaykar (*Tata School 1940*), who is employed as a supervisor in the Department, discusses the reasons leading to its formation and its programme of work.

NO progressive Government can afford to be indifferent to the needs and demands of labour. Such a policy would not only be undemocratic, but also politically unwise, when one considers the potential political strength of organized labour. A restive, discontented labour population is a danger to the peace of the city and the safety of Government. Time was when the provision of social amenities and welfare programmes was regarded as the responsibility of the employer alone. But with the growth of labour organizations and the realization of the importance of labour, Municipalities and Governments are becoming aware of their duty and responsibility towards labour.

In discussing the "Scope of Welfare Work," the Royal Commission on Labour in India say : "Some of those who have considered the question of raising the standard of living have been impressed by the possibilities which are offered by welfare activities, with their indirect effect on that standard. We believe that there are great opportunities for the extension of welfare work in India, and that in few directions is expenditure of money and thought so certain to give valuable results. There are benefits of great importance which the worker is unable to secure for himself, such as decent housing, adequate sanitation, efficient medical attention and the education of his children, and an advance of state activity should be looked for in these directions."¹

Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, an experienced Labour Officer, in a broadcast talk from the Bombay station, on "The Emancipation of the Indian Labourer," recently said : "What makes the condition of work satisfactory and suitable ? First, a healthy body, refreshed by rest, relaxation and recreation and a healthy mental and emotional atmosphere both outside and inside the place of work. The main cause of trouble in India in regard to the working conditions of the labouring classes is that not much attention is paid to the human factor, by which is meant all the influences, mental and physical, which make for the happiness and efficiency of men and women at their work. This is where the

¹ *Report of Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 259.

Governments in India and the employers should assume their joint and several responsibility.”

When the Congress ministry took office in Bombay it declared its policy towards labour in no uncertain terms. In fact the Congress went to the polls armed with a manifesto which promised great things for labour. In a *Public Information Bulletin*, released on the 17th August, 1937, Government declared their policy in respect of the industrial worker in the following words: “Government are aware that they are in a special sense responsible for the welfare of the industrial worker. The process of industrialisation, which has gone furthest in this Presidency as far as India is concerned, takes away the independence of the worker, places him in a difficult environment and creates political and social problems of a peculiar and complicated character. Keeping these circumstances in view, the Indian National Congress has envisaged in its election manifesto a policy and a programme in respect of industrial workers, which constitute an undertaking ‘to secure to them a decent standard of living; hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as the economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards; suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen; protection against the economic consequences of old-age, sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests.’

“The Government has therefore accepted it as its duty to endeavour to work out this programme, using all the means at its disposal. Government will try to adjust the social and economic mechanism in such a way as to assure to the worker the satisfaction of at least his minimum human needs, security of service, provision of alternative occupations in periods of inevitable unemployment and maintenance during periods of unavoidable incapacity for work. It is also an acknowledged obligation of Government to secure working and living conditions which are favourable to the worker’s physical and moral health and to ensure for him opportunities for the advancement of his status and a full measure of freedom of action consistent with his obligations to industry and society. . . . For the protection of the industrial population, Government visualize the development of a comprehensive system of social insurance . . . Government have under consideration the feasibility of legislation for leave with pay during periods of sickness. It is hoped that the action taken in this direction will pave the way for a scheme of sickness insurance.

“In the matter of unemployment relief, Government propose to explore the possibilities of alternative employment in home industries and with that end in view are considering a scheme for extensive training of both the employed and the unemployed for the pursuit of secondary occupations. Collec-

tion of statistics of the 'unemployed and registration of the employed as well as the unemployed will soon be undertaken, and it is expected that the arrangement will facilitate the setting up of Employment Exchanges in important industrial centres . . .

"In the sphere of education, Government realise that the working class has its special needs and that illiteracy in this case constitutes a very serious handicap to itself and a grave danger to society. The educational policy of the Government will therefore be designed to meet this special requirement. Government's policy of Prohibition has also a special bearing on the well-being of the industrial community and it is Government's intention to select important industrial towns for the early application of the policy."

One of the ways in which Government implemented their policy in respect of labour was by creating a Labour Welfare Department. The main function of this Department is to provide such ameliorative measures as will meet the social and recreational requirements of the workers. The Department is also interested in research, education and public health. The object is not to displace the welfare work of individual employers, but to supplement it.

A general outline of the proposed programme of the Labour Welfare Department will enable us to appreciate its usefulness. Much of it has already been put into operation. New activities are being perfected on the basis of experience. The scheme in its entirety is most comprehensive.

PROPOSED PROGRAMME OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT LABOUR WELFARE DEPARTMENT

1. There will be intensive activities in games, sports and recreation. The outdoor games and sports will include foot-ball, volley ball, basket ball, hockey, teni-koi, badminton, boxing and wrestling. The indoor games will include playing cards, chess, draughts, ping-pong and carrom. In addition, there will be *akhada* (gymnasium) activities and games with equipment like Indian clubs, wooden dumb-bells, malkhamb, tipri, lathi, swords, spears, lazims, parallel and horizontal bars, pulley, weights, chest expanders, dumb-bells and horse with spring board.

2. Each centre will have a free library, consisting of books worth about Rs. 2,000/-, in the four principal vernaculars of the city. In addition there will be a reference library in English for the staff, dealing with such subjects as health, hygiene, play centres and play activities, industrial welfare work and such other topics as will be of use to the staff. It is also hoped that it will be possible to secure reference books through the courtesy of various institutions. Attempt will further be made to have a travelling library in the labour area.

3. There will be a free reading room in each centre, consisting of several

dailies, weeklies and monthlies in the four principal vernaculars of the province, namely, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati and Marathi.

4. It is proposed to conduct night adult education classes in each centre.

5. There will be Nursery Schools for children.

6. Regular visual instruction will be given at each centre, both within the auditorium and out-of-doors. Necessary equipment as cameras, epidioscope, cinema projectors and magic-lanterns will be purchased. It is Government's intention to purchase and have on hire a number of educational films. There will also be films and still pictures prepared and manufactured by experts, through the Department.

7. Research will be carried on by the Department into social and economic problems of the working classes, with particular reference to textile labour.

8. The staff will consist of both full-time and part-time workers.

9. In Bombay City there will be three grades of centres. In the more important labour areas, where chawls are in great number, such as Worli, DeLisle Road and Naigaum, there will be 'A' type centres. The 'A' type centres will carry on comprehensive programmes, both during the day-time and at night. Nursery Schools will be attached to these centres only. The 'B' and 'C' type centres will offer fewer facilities. The majority of the centres will be limited-activity centres of the 'C' type, organized with minimum equipment and scattered liberally throughout the industrial areas.

It is not an easy matter to initiate work of this character in any city. In Bombay, with the conflicting interests of political parties in the labour areas, the task was doubly difficult. Though Government had no party motive in starting welfare centres, the other parties tried to supply a political motive. Thus it was said that they were but a sop to labour and an antidote to communist activities and influence. The welfare programme is still regarded by some as an attempt on the part of those who profess the Gandhian philosophy to wean Bombay labour from its strong communist leanings. Hence it was that the organizers had to do a good bit of educative propaganda regarding the non-political nature of the welfare centres. There were also the prejudices of the people themselves—some religious, some social and some due to ignorance and superstition. These had to be overcome before fruitful co-operation was forthcoming from the workers in any locality. The present successful running of the centres is a true witness of the enthusiasm, patience and tact of the workers who guided them in their initial stages.

Part of the work of the Department is in connection with prohibition. With the introduction of prohibition it became clear that adequate facilities must be provided for the proper use of the labourer's leisure time, for

hitherto the toddy shop had served as a club for the poor man, where he could spend his time in drink and social contacts. It was realized that the success of prohibition would depend to no small extent on the provision of substitute leisure-time activities, which might take the form of recreation, entertainment or education of a general nature. Today the Department is furthering prohibition, not only by providing leisure-time activities, but also by carrying on effective propaganda against drink. The social conscience of the workers is so aroused that they themselves now report prohibition violations to the authorities concerned.

Another important phase of the work of this Department is the valuable social surveys it has conducted and plans to conduct. The authorities have realised that no social work is possible without a proper understanding of the needs of the people whom it is intended to serve. The nature and conduct of the people, their habits and customs, all are determining factors in the type of scheme which will be adopted for any particular group of persons. The following are illustrative of some of the studies undertaken by the Government Labour Welfare Department.

1. For the purpose of ascertaining the number, nature and character of welfare activities carried on by the different social welfare agencies in the City of Bombay, and with a view to securing their co-operation for carrying on the Government Labour Welfare Centres, an elaborate survey of the Social Welfare Institutions and Charitable Trusts in Bombay was carried out.

2. A survey was made of all the open spaces in Bombay which might be available for recreational purposes.

3. As Government are attempting to combat unemployment in the Province, a survey of handicrafts and alternative industries was conducted. Handicraft instruction is already being given in Ahmedabad. As soon as the 'A' type centre is ready in Worli, workshops will be started there.

4. A survey was made of all medical facilities provided by the Bombay Municipality and by private efforts.

5. A survey was made of the welfare work being carried on in the various mills.

6. A general survey of the DeLisle Road area was undertaken. The purpose was to get first hand information about existing community resources and the present social condition of the people. Such information will no doubt be of great help in devising the best means of serving the needs of the residents there.

Further enquiries will deal with health conditions, unemployment and other subjects related to the welfare of the labourer. The value of such surveys is so great that it would be well for Government to found an Industrial Welfare Research Bureau, which can work in co-operation with the Welfare Department.

A few pen pictures of the people whom the Department is trying to serve may be of interest. Since I have had opportunity to make a close observation of the life of workers at the DeLisle Road chawls, where one of the 'A' type centres is at work, I shall attempt to chronicle some impressions gathered in this locality.

The first thing that struck me was the number of idle men and women who simply sat around and talked away their time. A casual conversation with any group revealed that unemployment was very widespread amongst unskilled labourers. The uneducated unemployed have never learned a constructive use of leisure. The unemployed woman sits and wonders what to cook for the next meal. She has no money to buy food and has no credit to borrow money. She already owes the bania more than she can afford to repay and so cannot ask for more credit. The children sit around her and complain of hunger, while the husband goes away to pine in seclusion. The unemployed young man sits at the corner, or on the chawl verandah, or haunts a *panpatti* shop ; or if he has sufficient spirit left, takes his chance at a game of cards.

But all of the unemployed, young and old, eagerly await the evening, for then they have a common means of releasing their repressed emotions. They wend their way to the Kamgar Maidan and there listen to the stirring speeches of the labour leaders, who tell them of the power of organized labour and the inevitable fall of the capitalist, and then of the rosy days that await them—the "have-nots" of today. Fresh hopes roused in their sinking hearts, these half-starved workers return to their crowded single-room tenements and sleep, only to awaken to another dreary day of idleness and depression.

The condition of the educated unemployed is little, if any better. Consider the case of a young Harijan of 25 who had failed in the matriculation examination. He was boarding with one of his poor relations who already had a large family of his own. The family fed him, in the hopes that this educated man would help them when he found work. Months passed and he fed them on promises—each day with a fresh one, till at last they could trust him no more and he was asked to leave. One morning he came to me and begged me to act as a mediator with his relatives. I did so and promised them that he would soon get work. Having gotten a little to eat he started off hunting for a job. In tattered clothes, emaciated by constant worry and walking, he visited all the possible places where employment might be secured. But it was all in vain, and he acquired the conviction that jobs are not secured in that way, but by wire-pulling on the part of the rich. Having neither influence, nor a wealthy patron, he gave up the task of job hunting. He discussed starting a business with me, but when I reminded him of the demand for credit purchases at the chawls and the difficulty in recovering dues, he departed, only to appear

again after a month, stating that he had been to his village, where he had helped his father, a wood-cutter. Finding no opportunity for employment in the city he again returned to his village, where he hoped to get at least one meal a day. After some time his uncle came and reported to me that the young man had gone mad in his native place.

Here is another young man, a Maratha, who has studied up to the sixth standard. He had work in a mill for some time. He later drifted from mill to mill and today has been unemployed for some months.

There are others, who have passed their matriculation examination, and yet have been jobless for years together.

With such examples from among the educated young men of the locality, it is rather an uphill task for the welfare worker to talk to the illiterate labourer of the fruits and the benefits of education. So far as he is concerned they are not very apparent.

The children of the labourers, who are playing around in the locality, are the very picture of dirt and the product of squalor. They are neglected because both parents have to go to work and there is no one to care for them. Mothers are not educated enough to give the children any sense of cleanliness and the children themselves say they do not bathe because there is no water in which to bathe. It is true that there is scarcity of water in the chawls. Nurtured in such an environment, is it any wonder that truants, gamblers and sex perverts are bred in numbers in these areas?

Thanks to Government, who have decided to start nursery schools in the 'A' type centres, the smaller children will have a busy day under competent supervision. There is a great future for nursery schools in all labour areas, and Government will do well to start as many such schools as possible, regardless of centre classification.

The whole work of the Department is still in its infancy. A good beginning has been made. Those responsible for the work are learning daily by experience. Their methods of approach are being adapted to different needs and different temperaments. Such welfare work has very great possibilities. But care should be taken not to mix welfare work and politics. Much will depend upon the leadership available to run the centres. It will have to be a trained leadership, with plenty of tact and devotion, and above all with a sincere and sympathetic interest in the welfare of the worker. Given such a leadership, there is no reason why the Bombay welfare work should not develop into a model for other Provinces to follow. Both its infancy and the evolutionary character of the work forbid the registering of any further judgment or comment at this stage.

LABOUR IN THE KOLAR GOLD FIELDS

G. K. GOPALA RAO

Mr. Gopala Rao (*Tata School 1940*) is a native of Mysore. This article is a summary of a study made in the Kolar Gold Fields in 1939.

THE Kolar Gold Field is the chief gold mining centre in India at present. 1'9% of the total output of the world's gold comes from this centre.

Gold prospecting in the region began in 1876 and over 80 million sterling worth of gold has been mined since 1882. The State of Mysore has recovered from these mines over 7 crores of rupees in royalties and the income of the State from the mines in 1938-'39 alone amounted to Rs. 24,00,000/-. The mines are worked by four different companies : the Oorgam, Champion Reef, Mysore, and the Nandidurg, which together employ a total of 24,031 workers. Out of these, 345 are Europeans, 541 Anglo-Indians and 23,145 are Indians.

Though accurate data are not available, it may be safely asserted that in all about 60,000 persons, living in and outside the mining area, depend upon gold mining for their living. Out of this number 2,000 are Europeans and Anglo-Indians and about 58,000 Indians. There are approximately 32,000 males and 26,000 females among the Indian inhabitants. The following figures will be of interest in showing the sources of supply, the language and the religion of labourers in the Kolar Gold Fields.

<i>Sources of Labour Supply</i>		<i>Percentage</i>
Madras Presidency	...	53'3
Mysore State	...	43'4
Other places	...	3'3

		100'0
<i>Language</i>		<i>Percentage</i>
Tamil	...	58'0
Telugu	...	19'0
Kannada (the State language)		8'5
Urdu	...	7'2
Malayalam	...	2'3
Other languages	...	5'0

		100'0

<i>Religion</i>		<i>Percentage</i>
Adidravida	...	40'0
Other Hindus	...	36'3
Indian Christians	...	11'2
Muslims	...	8'0
Buddhists	...	1'3
Other religions	...	3'2
		<hr/> 100'0

It is interesting to note from these figures that the main supply of labour comes from outside the State and that but a very small percentage of the labourers speaks the language of the State.

Labour. There are two types of labourers in the Kolar Fields. One group is employed directly by the different companies and the other is recruited by contractors. The terms of employment and the living conditions are not always identical. There are in all about 15,031 company employees and 9,000 employed by the contractors. Of the total of 24,031 persons employed, 15,528 work underground and 8,503 work on the surface. Women, and children under 12, are not allowed to work underground. Of the surface workers, 984 are women and 192 children under the age of 12.

Women usually work from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., with an hour off in the noon for lunch. The underground workers work for 8 hours a day, in three shifts—7 a.m. to 3 p.m.; 3 p.m. to 11 p.m.; and 11 p.m. to 7 a.m.

The company employees work on time-rate, whereas the contractors' workers work on piece-rate. Hence the latter are tempted to work for longer hours to increase their income. It is not unusual for a contractor's man to work for a day or two at a stretch and then take a day or two off. Consequently there is greater absenteeism among contract labour than in company labour. The daily percentage of absentees among company labourers is: Underground 10'9 and Surface 4'7; while among contract labour the corresponding figures are 20 and 7'9.

Wages. The total wage bill of all the mining companies amounts to about Rs. 89 lakhs per year. For 77 per cent of the total labour force the wage bill amounts to Rs. 73 lakhs. Indian labour receives about Rs. 50 lakhs, or 68% of the total. Out of this amount company labour gets 56% and contract labour 44%.

The average income of the company labourer working regularly throughout the month comes to about Rs. 23/- per month, whereas that of the contract labourer works up to Rs. 25/-. Yet it is not true to say that the latter earns more than the former. In actual fact, owing to the great amount of

absenteeism among contract labour, the real earnings come to Rs. 18/- for the contract labourer, as against Rs. 22/- for the company labourer.

Family budgets. An attempt was made to work up the family budgets of 50 families at the Kolar Gold Fields. A careful study of these budgets reveals that the expenditure of families which have a monthly income below Rs. 40/- is more than the income—thus causing a recurring deficit budget. Since more than 50% of the workers have a monthly income of less than Rs. 30/-, their financial situation is very precarious.

The following data show the percentage of expenditure of the working class families on various items :

<i>Items of expenditure</i>		<i>Percentage</i>
Food	...	55'0
Fuel and Lighting	...	5'5
House rent	...	2'0
Clothing	...	5'1
Liquor and pansupari	...	4.0
Interest on debts	...	15'0
Friends and Railway fare	...	3'1
Marriages and other ceremonies	...	1'9
Barber, Dhobi, etc.	...	1'4
Education	...	7'0
		100'0

The average monthly expenditure on food per adult male comes to Rs. 4-13-7 or 2 as. 7 pies per day.

Indebtedness. More than 96% of the total number of families studied are debt-ridden—the average indebtedness per family being roughly equal to nine months' income. Since the individuals cannot extricate themselves, the only hope seems to be for the State to step in and pass legislation scaling down debts and writing off those debts where the interest paid has exceeded the original sum.

In addition to the big Marwaris who lend money, there are various types of petty money-lenders in the locality. Even shop keepers charge up to 75% interest on overdues. Thrifty maistries and mechanics, widows with compensation money, concubines with savings, lend money at the rate of 2 annas in the rupee per month, or 150%, and recover their dues on pay days by using local influence. But the chief money-lender is the Marwari, who charges interest ranging from 75 to 150% and employs all the wiles and circumventions known to his class.

• Some Marwaris have pawn shops and lend money on old clothes, jewelry

and other belongings at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. Articles are pawned even to get a loan of one anna. Dirty and tattered old clothes of men, women and children, old bamboo hats of miners, carbide lamps, ancient jewelry, vessels, shoes, umbrellas and even the 'thalis' (the wedding necklets of women) form the stock in the pawn shop. The metal discs issued by the Chief Inspector of Mines to qualified blasters and maistries have a pawn value. If the articles are not redeemed in time they are sold away at a clearance value.

The Government have appointed Debt Conciliation Committees to save the labourers from the clutches of the local money lenders. The Munsiff too is permitted to scale down debts in certain cases. Further relief might come from changing the present system of fortnightly payment to weekly payment—a step which would minimize the necessity of the labourers going to the indigenous bankers again and again. It would also be helpful if the service now rendered by the mining companies to the miners of systematic loans to liquidate their debts could be extended. Though at one time there were ten co-operative societies, with a total membership of more than 1,000, working in the field, all of them are now extinct because of defalcations and mismanagement. There is one modest and well-run society in Robertsonpet, having about 150 miners as members. The Mysore Government and the mining companies are both at work on this problem.

To provide as much relief as possible, the Mysore Government have introduced the system of licensed money lending in the Kolar Gold Field Sanitary Board area. All money lenders are required to obtain a license. It is required that (a) interest in no case shall exceed 30 %; (b) money shall be given only on a bond which is bi-lingual in form, i. e., English and vernacular; (c) accounts shall be maintained in a known vernacular of the area or in English. It will be still better if all bonds and promissory notes are made compulsorily registerable, to avoid double bonds and similar malpractices.

Attachment of wages, in the case of skilled labourers, is at present permitted. The companies maintain a list of skilled and unskilled labourers. One third of the monthly wages is liable for attachment. The situation of the lower-paid skilled workmen would be improved if attachments were not allowed in the case of miners drawing less than Rs. 50/- per month.

Housing and Sanitation. Nearly 50,000 of the population live in the mining area in huts constructed and maintained by the companies. The rest stay in huts, privately owned or rented, in the neighbourhood of the mining area.

In all there are about 11,000 huts in the mining area. 1,000 of these are masonry huts with tile or sheet roofs for the clerical and the supervisory

staff. The Mysore Mines have about 200 huts built entirely of corrugated sheets. The remaining 10,000 huts are made of stiff bamboo matting and corrugated roofing. These accommodate about 90 % of the miners.

The rent varies from 8 annas a month for a single room 'thatti' hut to Rs. 2/- for a masonry house with two or more rooms. Anglo-Indian and Indian supervisory staff are provided with some of the larger masonry houses as rent free quarters.

Each company maintains its own lines or blocks of huts with latrines and water taps. Some lines are better than others, but as a rule cleanliness and sanitation are a characteristic of the lines. The mining companies have a large staff of inspectors, maistries, conservancy cart-drivers, sweepers and scavengers to keep the whole unit healthy and clean. The annual expenditure on this item comes to about a lakh of rupees. The companies also spend a good deal on disinfectants and white-washing and on carts and incinerators. About 50,000 rats are destroyed every year by digging the floors of the huts. There are no diseases of a communicable nature in the mines.

The average number of occupants in each dwelling place comes to 4.59. The usual standard size of the huts is 6' by 9', except in Mysore Mines where it is 12' by 9'. There are a few cases of three families residing in one hut and about 350 cases of two families living in one hut. In about 80 cases, families of more than 10 persons live in one hut and nearly 1,050 huts are occupied by six or more persons per hut. Some occupants have extended their huts by means of old gunny bag bits, old kerosine tins or pieces of matting.

In view of the present conditions of housing, a few suggestions may be ventured :

(1) Many lines are without adequate electric lights. It would be worth paying immediate attention to this need, as proper lighting will add both to the safety and attractiveness of the place.

(2) Planting of more trees ought to be encouraged near the lines, as they provide shade and add to the general attractiveness of the area. Fruit trees and flowering plants may also be grown for the benefit of the residents.

(3) More parks should be developed near the lines. *

(4) Some of the mines have provided bathing and washing facilities for the workers coming out of the mines. Such facilities should be extended.

In addition to the company housing available at the mines there are also privately owned cooly colonies situated within the Kolar Gold Fields Sanitary Board area. These are usually groups of houses, many with mud walls, some with tiled roofs and some roofed with corrugated sheets. Still others have thatched roofs. Most walls are in a state of disrepair. The

surroundings are extremely dirty and the sanitation bad. In spite of all this many coolies prefer to stay in the private colonies because :

- (a) the huts are double in size to the ones at the mines ;
- (b) there is security of tenure, whereas in the lines a man has to vacate his house on the loss of his job ;
- (c) there is more freedom in these huts than at the lines.

Health. The health of the community of workers at the mining area is relatively good. In the K. G. F. mining area the birth rate is 32·75 per 1,000 population ; death rate 19·77 and infant mortality 182·5 for every 1,000 registered births. The corresponding figures for the K. G. F. city are 38·4, 23·1 and 188·07. The mining area is remarkably free from plague and other epidemics.

Good care is being taken of infants and expectant mothers. The mining companies have employed three health visitors and about a dozen midwives. The health visitors hold baby welfare clinics in suitable centres. Mothers and expectant mothers are given advice. The babies are examined, bathed and treated for minor ailments. The health visitors visit the homes of expectant mothers and full advantage is being taken by the women of a maternity centre in the Mysore Mine area. About 80 % of the confinements in the lines take place under the supervision of the company midwives. Free milk is distributed to ill-nourished and needy infants at the expense of the companies. The total approximate annual expenditure on child welfare in the mining area comes to about Rs. 5,000/-, out of which the mining companies bear about Rs. 3,500/-, and Rs. 1,500/- is paid by the Indian Red Cross Society.

It is a great pity that in such an advanced area as this there are no creches for babies of working mothers. Immediate attention should be paid both to this all-important unit and the starting of nursery schools. Maternity benefit should also be introduced for the assistance of working mothers.

Accidents and Industrial Safety. The accident rate in the field happens to be about 10 per 1,000 employees and on an average there are about 200 fatal and serious accidents every year. The death rate from mining accidents varies from 3·05 to 3·67 per 1,000 employees. About 36·7 % of the total fatalities are due to rock bursts. Ceaseless efforts are being made by the authorities to educate the workers in Safety First methods and to tell them the right and the wrong way of doing things. Adequate first aid, ambulance and surgical facilities are provided for all concerned.

When a worker falls sick the company pays him wages according to a graded system based on his daily wages. It is a system which is of great benefit to the workers and is worthy of emulation by other employers.

Education. The number of children of school-going age, i. e., between

the ages of 7 and 12, is about 15 % of the total population. Out of these 10,000 or so children, about 5,000 children are attending various schools in and outside the mining area. There are about 50 schools accessible to the working class population in the field. The ratio of boys to girls in these schools is 3: 1. 75 % of the total number of children are Tamilians and 40 % of them are Harijans.

The Liquor Problem. There are 5 arrack shops and 12 toddy shops in the mining area. There are also two shops for the sale of "ganja" and opium and one country-beer tavern. The Kolar Gold Fields consume about 3/4 of the total country-brewed beer in the State. The incidence of consumption per capita of toddy in the Kolar Gold Fields is about 27 seers as against 9 seers in Bangalore City and 8·2 in Mysore City.

A Temperance Association is doing useful work, but in my opinion it would be in the interest of workers and the State to introduce total prohibition in the area. If complete prohibition is not possible at present, provision should be made to close the liquor shops and ganja shops at least on pay days. Better housing and more adequate recreational and adult education facilities will help solve the problem.

Welfare Work Among the Miners. It is to the credit of the companies that there is a well organized scheme of welfare work in the area. There is a Central Welfare Committee and a Labour Welfare Officer, with a number of assistants, to look after the general welfare of the workers. A glance at the following points of instruction issued by the Central Welfare Committee for the guidance of committee members and other assistants, reveals the scope of the welfare programme :

- “(1) A list of all welfare activities will be published from time to time and it is hoped that you will familiarise yourself with these activities by personal visits and inspections.
- (2) Suggest improvements of sanitary improvements, water supply, shaft head baths, maternity homes, sports, clubs, games, cattle sheds, etc., after personal visits to the same.
- (3) Night schools should be visited as often as possible to ascertain if attendance is satisfactory and if the school is meeting the requirements of the locality.
- (4) Your suggestions regarding dramas, cinemas and other entertainments provided through the lines will assist in making these functions more popular.
- (5) Report all cases of discontent, however trivial they may seem, so that the matter can be thoroughly investigated.
- (6) The Company is at all times anxious to consider any reasonable

suggestions for the improvement of living conditions, recreation facilities and other factors that affect the welfare of the lines. You are expected to keep in continuous touch with the views of the line communities in these matters, and report on improvements which you think desirable.

- (7) Meetings of the committee will be held as required. In the meantime the Superintendent is always glad to discuss with individual members any points on which they desire information."

The welfare activities of the mining companies come under the following heads :—

- (1) Housing and sanitation.
- (2) Temples, schools and maternity homes.
- (3) Cattle sheds.
- (4) Drama halls and other entertainments as cinemas, lectures, Bhajans, and "Harikathas."
- (5) Sports clubs.
- (6) Play grounds.
- (7) Scouts and girl guides.
- (8) Panchayat activities.

In addition to the activities that are so well carried on now the following items may be considered in the interest of those concerned :—

- (1) There is an immediate need of creches for children of working mothers.
- (2) Nursery schools, for the benefit of pre-school children, should be started and run by the companies for the workers' children.
- (3) Canteens, where nourishing food is supplied at cheap prices should be run at every mine.
- (4) Welfare centres on the lines of those conducted by the Bombay Government and the Bombay Municipality should be established, where indoor games, cinemas, music, drama, radio and similar activities would be provided for. These centres should be run under the supervision of specially qualified welfare superintendents. Special attention should be paid to women workers' needs.
- (5) The present fee for membership in the sports club and library is a bit high for low-salaried workers.
- (6) Periodical medical examination should be given to all workers and cases of ill-health should be treated at the cost of the company.
- (7) There is no effective Trade Union organization. The mine panchayat system is working quite efficiently, but it is doubtful if it can permanently take the place of organized trade unions.

Conclusion. The mutual relationship between the workers and their employers is on the whole a satisfactory one. Yet there is scope for improvement. With the increase in the depth of the mines, the work is becoming more difficult and more dangerous. Some of the mines have neared a depth of 10,000 feet. Rock temperatures are as high as 137°F. Accidents due to rock-bursts are becoming more frequent. Although the mining companies argue that their costs are increasing and that the margin of profit is becoming narrower, the situation calls for the introduction of more efficient and up-to-date methods and appliances. It calls for a continuous improvement of the standard of life of the workers, if the workers are to be fit to meet the demands which are placed upon them.

There is a tendency among employers to regard welfare activities as a substitute for increasing wages. But the enlightened employers of the Kolar Gold Field, will not, we hope, regard welfare in this manner. The absence of disputes and the happy and contented condition of the workers is the best guarantee of industrial prosperity. Peace in the mining area can be secured if both management and miners will it and work together in a spirit of mutual understanding and good will.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

The opening assembly of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work for the year 1940, was held on June 20th, with Mr. S. D. Saklatvala, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, in the chair. Dr. Manshardt's address on that occasion is printed below.

IF there is any one thing we can be certain about in the modern world, it is the certainty of change. We live in a time, to cite but one example, when the map of Europe is changing so rapidly that it is impossible for the companies which publish maps for use in the schools to supply us with maps which give us a true picture of things as they really are. A couple of months ago I received from the National Geographic Society of America a new map of Europe, bearing the proud legend: "Europe, as of August 28, 1939." But before the map arrived in India a new European War had broken out. A few days later Germany and Russia marched into Poland, Russia invaded Finland and the map was obsolete. It will take a hardy soul to venture to prophesy what the world map will look like by the end of 1940.

But geographic and political change are not all. A few weeks ago in a Bombay cinema a topical picture was shown depicting the life of the old South in the United States. The early settlers planted cotton—imported from India—and soon the acreage of cotton became so great that there was insufficient man power to handle the crop. Slaves were imported from the West Coast of Africa but the problem still was not solved, for though cotton could be picked in large quantities, the work of removing the seeds was so slow that the whole process of cotton manufacture was slowed down. Then came a new invention—simple but effective—a machine for separating the cotton fibre from the seeds, and the cotton industry expanded by leaps and bounds. But in cotton, as in other forms of industry, the invention of new and efficient machines meant the demand for less man power, and in the last few years the perfection of a cotton-picking machine has threatened to drive the handworkers even from the fields.

One has but to enter any modern industrial establishment to stand in awe before the perfection of the 20th Century machine, and one does not have to be a profound thinker to realize the implications of modern machine industry for our social life. Men displaced? Yes—technological unemployment. And men who remain, themselves mechanized—cogs in the wheel of industry.

I need not catalogue here the profound changes introduced into the life of the world by the Industrial Revolution. Take the weaving of cloth for example. The introduction of new machines for weaving threw thousands of

people out of work and lowered the standard of living for other thousands. Today, with the experience of Russia and Spain still fresh in our memories, we know the loss of life and suffering accompanying widespread political revolution. But it is no exaggeration to state that the industrial revolution has taken as ruthless a toll in human life and occasioned as much suffering as any political revolution has ever taken.

The philosophical principles dominating 19th Century industrialism unfortunately did not die with the close of the century, but have lingered on into our present age. The pioneers of modern industrialism believed firmly that self-interest was a sufficient guide for economic activity. It was accepted as axiomatic that the man who served his own interests best, was best advancing the interests of society. A man might exploit his workers most cruelly. He might profit at the expense of the labour of women and children, but as long as he provided workmen jobs—even at a pittance—that man was a public benefactor. Unrestrained competition was the order of the day. The role of Government in relation to industry was to stand on the side lines as a sort of referee, taking no active part in the game of business. It was but a step from self-interest to national interest and to imperialistic wars. The twin doctrines of individualism and nationalism received the blessing of both religion and education, changing the old biblical saying that “Righteousness exalteth a nation,” into the more popular doctrine that “Selfishness exalteth a nation,” and that the path of self-interest is the path to God.

19th Century Liberalism stood whole-heartedly for governmental non-interference in industry. John Stuart Mill’s famous essay *On Liberty* (1859) emphasized that it was not the function of the state to promote the public welfare or to attempt to further the good of individual citizens. The function of the State was to clear the field for individual expression, to provide protection for its citizens, and to guarantee the sacredness of contracts.

The American magazine *Fortune* (June, 1938) described the situation quite aptly when it characterized the long existing relationship between industry and Government as a wedding between Government and Capitalism, with the principle of *laissez faire* serving as the marriage bond. By the marriage contract Capitalism was to provide the people with abundance, while Government was not to interfere with the free operation of the capitalistic processes. But the marriage has broken up because Government has interfered with business and Capitalism has not supplied the people with plenty. The result is confusion.

The biggest problem facing our generation is to discover some means of bridging the gap between technical efficiency and the lag in social and political institutions. What a tragedy it is that inventions designed to ease men’s

burdens, to provide plenty for all and to bring an increase in health and happiness have been followed by unemployment, industrial diseases and a shortage of the very necessities of life. Material progress has advanced much more rapidly than social control, until we have reached the point where the machine is no longer man's servant, but where man—its creator—is trying to find some way to adjust *himself* to his creation.

It is a strange phenomenon that the Western mind, which has been so ready to adopt the scientific method in matters relating to production, has failed so signally in introducing the same method into the social sphere. The scientific method, as pioneered by Roger Bacon, Galileo, Copernicus and others, succeeded in substituting experienced truth for dogmatism and authoritarianism in the natural sciences. But in the political and social fields men still continued to be guided by tradition and ruled by their emotions. In an agricultural state of society this disparity is not so marked, but in a highly industrialized society the result is tragic. The life of the 20th Century is still shadowed by struggles between employers and workmen which could have been prevented had human values been made central.

The scientific method brought the question mark into education, as it subjected long accepted dogmas to rigid scrutiny. Whereas in prescientific days, truth was regarded as revealed and eternal, today we regard truth as the most satisfactory working arrangement we have as yet been able to arrive at, but we do not regard it as fixed and final. With new knowledge we expect to gain new insights.

To say then that industrial and political patterns inherited from the 19th Century are true and immutable is palpably absurd. We as educators, are today faced with two choices. We can look to the past—supporting the interests of a small class of privileged people maintaining themselves at the expense of the masses, or we can look to the future, where all the resources of society are intelligently harnessed for the benefit of all. There is no more reason to regard the business man as the last word in the social process than the priest, the soldier, or the gentleman in ages which have gone before.

Few among us seem to realize that the 20th century is destined to be one of the great transition periods of human history, comparable to the disintegration of the Roman Empire or the transition from medievalism to modernism. On every hand we see challenges to nationalism, imperialism, democracy and capitalism which cannot be ignored. We *are* living in a time of change.

Let me cite but a few tendencies which call upon us to make new adjustments in our thinking. With the rapid increase of knowledge in all fields we have lost the ability to see life as a whole. There are many eminent specialists, but few who can correlate this specialization to our larger life. Long

established habits and customs are disintegrating. The ethical codes of the past generation seem to be under considerable stress and show many signs of weakening. The established family economy is breaking up, for better or for worse. Individual ownership of industry is giving way before the power of the great corporations. Industrial control is becoming more and more centralized in the hands of the few. Even the individual owner of land is being driven by necessity into becoming a tenant and agriculture is itself becoming a larger industry. Instead of taking a long-range view of things and planning for future happiness, the tendency of modern industry is to concentrate on immediate profits and to organize itself toward that end. The functions of government are multiplying and more and more, governments are taking over the powers, which, in times past, were delegated to individual enterprise. There is no certainty about the stability of governments. The world outlook is clouded and the international situation is in flux.

"An age of transition," we say—the implication being that before too long we shall settle down into a period of stability. But unless I am very much mistaken, the future will bring still more changes and even a more radical disruption of society than at present. It is my belief that we shall have to adjust ourselves to the thought that the old comfortable days are gone and to prepare ourselves mentally for an era of change.

The question which we as educators must face is, "What is the function of education in day of change?" There are two schools of thought on this subject. One group holds that it is the duty of education to transmit the wisdom of the past and to mirror those social changes which have already occurred. The other group holds that it is the duty of the schools to lead the procession, to criticize the past and to take an active part in directing social change. Thus from one point of view the schools are to be the supporters of the status quo. From the other point of view, the schools are to be the heralds of a new society.

Perhaps the issue is not quite as clear-cut as I have stated it, for even those who regard the schools as the defenders of the status quo will have to recognize that the so-called existing society is not static, but is, as I have already pointed out, in a state of flux. And even conservative schools do change their text books and employ teachers who have had some kind of training.

In taking the position that education should take an active part in directing social change one is not saying that the schools should actively participate in politics and ally themselves with any particular political party. Neither is one saying that the schools should propagate any particular "ism."

In the totalitarian states the whole force of the educational system is enlisted behind party or nationalistic propaganda. The party in power has,

in some mysterious way, 'access to "truth." It knows what is "good" for all the people and seeks to propagate that knowledge through all the means at its disposal. It is the enemy of any group in society which seeks to subject problems to scientific analysis or to further that full and free discussion which a democratic state regards as essential if the wheat is to be separated from the chaff and decisions arrived at in the light of the best knowledge available at any given time.

Unfortunately, however, it is not the totalitarian states alone who resort to propaganda. There is an old saying that "The voice of the people is the voice of God." But it is a pretty difficult matter to determine what is the voice of the people. Save in the totalitarian states, where the voices of the opposition are silenced, one hears many voices, preaching many conflicting philosophies. And the voices which are the loudest are by no means always the "voice of the people," but rather the voice of the group which is best organized—which may in fact be a very small minority—a special interest group, or a group which wields large economic power. Education therefore has the task of disentangling these conflicting voices and helping people to make discriminatory judgments. It has the responsibility of helping men to survey all existing social institutions, both critically and continuously, in order to determine their function and utility in present-day society.

The most of us who came up through conventional systems of education studied reading, writing, arithmetic and certain related facts of history and geography. We perhaps were introduced to the rudiments of science. But few, if any of us, were given any acquaintance with current social problems. We never discussed such vital issues as unemployment, wages, income, standard of living, costs of production and distribution, population problems, current social trends, or the forces leading to social integration and disintegration. In other words we received from the schools certain tools with which to live in society, without any understanding of the society in which we were placed. We hear it said that it is the duty of education to promote the common welfare, but I am afraid few educators have any clear idea of what the common welfare really is.

Certainly in its higher ranges education must give due regard to the issues of current society. Our teachers must be capable of presenting problems from various angles, of pointing out the assumptions on which theories are based and the means by which conclusions are arrived at. Students must be trained in the art of forming critical judgments and led to acquire a taste for exact knowledge as opposed to half-truths. The processes and ends of our democratic society must be placed above the exigencies of partisan politics and temporary expedients. At the same time education cannot be entirely

divorced from immediate ends and objectives. But education can examine the absolute claims made by this party or that party and help to an understanding of the attitudes and ideologies which influence their policies.

In India at the present time there is a very vocal minority which would accelerate social change by the introduction of Communism. They see the inequalities in the present order. They see the dangers in the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few. They deplore the growing impersonalization of industry. And they see no remedy for the situation but to overthrow the capitalistic system.

The Marxist divides society into distinct and opposing classes. The capitalist class will not surrender its privileges voluntarily and will therefore have to be unseated by force. Since economics is the basic area of conflict, the Marxist believes that prevailing economic conceptions should be changed and is ready to marshal all the resources of the state to bring about this change. Education becomes definitely propaganda to further the attempt to bring the masses into line. The function of the schools is to indoctrinate in communist principles. There is no freedom of choice. Civil liberties are suppressed and the appeal to intelligence denied. Violence is regarded as an inevitable accompaniment of the new order. Minority rule and dictatorship are essential in the beginning. Democracy, if it comes at all, will only be introduced after the new regime is well established. The democratic method is not regarded as suitable for bringing about change.

The liberal educator, on the other hand, refuses to divide society into water-tight compartments. A man may be a capitalist, but that does not in itself make him an object of hatred. The motives of men are varied and the economic motive is by no means always the predominant one. It is very difficult therefore to divide society into classes on purely economic lines. Instead of regarding the schools as centres of propaganda, the liberal educator regards the schools as centres where citizens are trained to be critical of propaganda. He believes that changes forced upon the people by regimentation will in all probability have to be made secure at some future time by education and that the method of force for achieving change is therefore wasteful. He believes that the promotion of class hatred is futile, for hatred breeds hatred and is in the end destructive. If institutions need to be changed let us change them, but our dislike of unjust institutions should not carry over to a hatred of the men connected with them. The liberal educator is unwilling to accept the position that democratic education can function only after the seizure of power. He believes that education must play its part in bringing about change and that change should come by agreement rather than by the use of force and coercion. He refuses to concede that the

concern of the Marxist for humanity is any more genuine than his own and his hatred of exploitation any more real. But he believes the end can be achieved in other ways. Of what value are rights unless those who claim them have the moral power to sustain them. The liberal educator therefore accepts the challenge both of changing institutions and of changing men. He is willing to accept the criticism that his method is slow, but he sees no other way to ensure permanence and to direct change into socially useful channels. The task which he accepts for himself is the extremely difficult one of attempting to see society as a whole and trying to interpret politics, economics and the other phases of life in their relationship to the whole. The direction of social change is thus dependent on the acquisition of knowledge which enables one to discriminate and see things in their proper perspective.

The only practical alternative to the challenge of Fascism and Communism, as the Liberal Educator sees it, appears to be state ownership and state control of certain basic industries. The future will also see an increase in planned economy, with the State having an important voice in the planning. Capitalism will make its adjustment within the system, shorn of its power by the State, but having sufficient freedom still to exercise individual initiative and to make an equitable return upon its investment. There will be a shift in emphasis from property rights to human rights.

Under the present democratic-capitalistic system all citizens are guaranteed equal rights by the State. Any citizen has the legal right to organize a corporation, employ men, occupy a position of honour, be influential in politics and express himself through creative channels. But given such *legal* rights, how few citizens really possess them. The abundant life is the property of the few rather than the many.

In my opinion this situation is due in large measure to the fact that we have hitherto parcelled life out into separate compartments. We have assigned certain functions to religion, certain functions to economics, certain functions to politics, and so on. The industrialists have taken their function seriously, while we who have been charged with the creation of human values have far too often turned our eyes away from men and lost ourselves in philosophical and theological abstractions. Today we are beginning to see that the good life can only be achieved through a synthesis of all the sciences. Biology, physiology, chemistry and psychology are essential to a proper understanding of the nature of man and his mind. The social sciences must explain man's environment, and his behaviour be interpreted in terms of interaction between the organism and the environment. This means that if we expect a man to live an abundant life, we must provide him an environment which will be conducive to such a life.

We no longer regard poverty, unemployment and social inequalities as inherent in the divine order of things. Every social problem has its cause or causes. If the cause can be discovered, the problem in most cases can be solved. It is the function of a School such as this to seek to explain the causes of social problems and to suggest methods of approach to their solution. As social workers we want to do all in our power to alleviate human misery, but that is not all. Our larger problem is the problem of prevention. And if, as we have reason to believe, our current economic system is the cause of much social maladjustment, it then becomes necessary for us to be realistic and to face our problem. It is for this reason that I have felt it worthwhile to talk at some length regarding the relationship between education and social change.

The tragedy in the whole situation is that though we know our knowledge in the social sciences has not kept pace with the advance in technology, the efforts of society seem to be directed toward widening the gap rather than narrowing it. The man who invents a new machine or simplifies a technical process is feted and honoured, but the man who ventures to question existing social and political institutions and to suggest possible remedies, not only faces social disapproval, but far too often lands in jail. Industrially we live in the 20th Century, but we endeavour to control our industrial society by ideas dating back to the 18th or 19th Century at best.

I am not urging you to rush out from this hall and immediately attempt to bring in a new social order. I am urging you to utilize your time in this institution to make a deep study of the problems of society; to develop a social philosophy; and to acquire the ability to discriminate and make judgments based upon facts rather than sentimentalism and hearsay.

We must be social servants—that is our profession. But over and above serving society let us be social engineers.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES FOR THE BEHAVIOUR OF CHILDREN

K. R. MASANI

In the June issue of the *Journal* Dr. Masani discussed "The Roots of Behaviour." In this article he examines the relationship between the attitudes and demands of the environmental or social forces concentrated in the parents and other adults with whom the child comes in intimate contact and the child's behaviour.

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IN the preceding issue of the *Journal*, after reviewing the various factors which enter into the causation of behaviour in children, it was mentioned that these various factors acted on an individual having certain basic needs, these being predominantly of a physical nature in early infancy but gradually as the child grows older being replaced in importance by certain fundamental emotional needs. Naturally as such needs depend for their satisfaction very largely if not entirely upon the child's social circle, it was suggested that in the early years of childhood the child's parents play by far the largest part in bringing about either the satisfaction or non-satisfaction of the fundamental needs of the child. Before, however, turning to a consideration of the role of individual parental attitudes in bringing about the satisfaction or non-satisfaction of the different needs of the child, it would be more convenient to consider the effects or consequences in general of the satisfaction or the non-satisfaction of these needs in the light of experience gained in child psychology and child psychiatry during recent years.

It is now accepted as axiomatic that a child who feels constantly thwarted in the satisfaction of his needs is liable to become maladjusted, in different ways and different degrees according to a large number of individual circumstances of the case. Equally, a child whose needs are greatly over-indulged tends to show deviations in behaviour, using the term deviation in behaviour in a wide sense. Hence great stress is laid in psychiatric work with children in inducing parents and other adults so to regulate their own attitudes and behaviour that the child is able to satisfy in a healthy manner his emotional needs and thereby exhibit a minimum amount of essentially anti-social behaviour. Expressed another way, a child's behaviour is regarded as a reaction on his part to the behaviour and attitudes of those around him. These are, and represent to him, his world of reality. If this world of reality is such that he can find in it healthy satisfaction of his urges and needs, he is likely to

be well adjusted to meet the demands of this world of reality and to show a minimum of anti-social behaviour. Where this world of reality causes him constant frustration and tension, due to non-satisfaction of his basic needs, the demands of this reality are evaded and anti-social behaviour results. Behaviour deviations then are looked upon as individual responses in the nature of evasions of the demands of reality—the number of different kinds of such evasions being legion.

In thus viewing behaviour problems it can be seen that the traditional views of regarding them purely in terms of the offending individual, are replaced by an approach that takes cognizance of the interactions between the child and the social forces that operate in the production of the behaviour deviation. It will be readily conceded by all that the social forces, that is the adult requirements and attitudes, tend to control personal behaviour, while the behaviour deviations are efforts on the part of the child to evade these forces and to assert his individual needs. Ordinarily a child cannot entirely evade the social requirements, nor does he submit to them completely.

It will be readily realized too that there is great scope for the development of conflict between the individual needs or desires and the social forces. From birth the child has to learn to accept modifications and restrictions of his needs, desires and individual strivings, in the process of adjusting to the demands and requirements imposed by the world of individuals around him.

In his early life the infant is mainly concerned with eating, sleeping and playing. But soon he finds that he has to eat, sleep and play not as he likes to, but when, and how his mother or nurse wants him to. Frequently when the young child wants to play he is stopped from playing and has to go to sleep.

Gradually as the child grows older, the outer world or world of reality imposes an ever-widening set of requirements and controls, specially in the direction of a regulation of his manners and social conduct. It is a matter of common every-day observation that such regulatory demands of parents and other adults come in direct conflict with the wishes or impulses of the child. Soon in addition to adjusting to the demands made by his parents in the home, the child has to learn to adapt to the demands made by other groups. In his play with other children, playmates often block his own personal wishes. When he goes to school he has further to modify the assertion of his own individual tendencies and desires, and to regulate his behaviour and activities according to the requirements and procedures of the school. It is not possible for him to have his own way or to do things as he wants to and when he wants to. In the class room the attitudes of his teacher require modifications in his manners, behaviour and activity, to conform to pattern. In the intellectual

sphere too his individual personal bents and likings have to be given up for the sake of doing lessons as prescribed for him by the school curriculum. At school, in addition to adjusting to the demands of the teacher and the curriculum, the child has to adjust more and more to the demands of his school mates. He cannot choose his own games, nor is he in a position to be the leader of the games and play them as he might wish to do. As the years roll on, individual competition becomes progressively keener and social adjustment to others demands greater modifications of personal wishes.

Later on in adult life, in adjusting to the social group, the process of modification of personal wishes has to keep pace with the ever-growing demands made by social laws and requirements, entailing very commonly a conflict between the individual's personal wishes and the social and moral codes of his group.

It may be observed then that from infancy on to adult life the individual's growth is accompanied by a certain amount of renunciation of his own individual desires and wishes and by an adaptation to the demands and attitudes of the individuals forming the world around him. As Freud describes it, the pleasure-principle has gradually to give way to the reality-principle. But if such adaptation is the lot of every individual and takes place apparently smoothly in the majority of individuals, it is also true that in a fair proportion of individuals the process does not take place without complications. Very few human beings are like to accept entirely the taboos of the social group and the consequent deprivations, frustrations and loss of pleasure entailed thereby. The human being is attracted to pleasure-giving situations, and has a strong urge to behave in ways which promote his own individual comfort and welfare and which give expression to the assertion of his own individual desires, wishes and strivings. Equally he tends to recoil from danger or unpleasant situations. If the social requirements are not too severe, the mentally healthy individual is able to retain his mental health and at the same time satisfy his needs and strivings modified in such a way as renders them socially acceptable. But where the restrictions, requirements and attitudes of the social group are too severe, or of a nature which cause excessive deprivation and frustration, the individual, finding them too painful, will tend to evade the requirements—exhibiting anti-social manifestations in the process of evasion.

Now there are two main types of such evasions of the requirements of reality: evasions characterized by attack directed against the attitudes and demands causing pain or deprivation on the one hand, and those characterized by withdrawal from such attitudes and demands on the other. Wickman describes these very clearly.¹

¹ *Children's Behaviour and Teachers' Attitudes*, p. 137.

There are two characteristic ways whereby an individual may evade or circumvent the necessity for adjusting to, or accepting, any imposed requirement of existence. One way is by attacking the forces that frustrate his desires and by refusing to conform to their impositions, in which case either the forces must yield and the requirements become altered, or the individual grinds his head against a stone wall. This method of evasion by attack may be constructive when it seeks to modify or control existing situations in order to produce some real benefit either to individual welfare or to social progress. Without such constructive attacks against natural forces and social regulations, civilization would be stagnant, progress and evolution impossible. On the other hand attacks upon requirements may be destructive when they result in individual or social damage. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between constructive and destructive attacks inasmuch as the ultimate good is not always manifest.

The other characteristic method of circumventing requirements is by withdrawing from them. In this case the individual may secure compensations by escaping from imposed difficulties into situations that are more agreeable to him. Such escapes sometimes lead to productive results when by venturing into new fields of activity the individual through creative work advances human knowledge or culture. Often, however, these escapes and withdrawals result in individual regression.

Now applying these concepts to children's behaviour in particular, it follows that the attitudes and demands of the environmental or social forces are concentrated in the parents and other adults with whom the child comes in intimate contact. If in the subsequent pages the word parents is employed exclusively it is because parents form by far the most important part of the social environment in early childhood and because of convenience of description.

Where therefore the parental behaviour and attitudes are such as to cause excessive pain, deprivation and frustration to the child, through the non-satisfaction of the child's fundamental needs, whether through excessively severe requirements or demands imposed on him, or through lack of response or neglect, the child tends to exhibit behaviour deviations in the nature of attacking types of behaviour or responses of withdrawal into himself. The one and the same child may show of course deviations, some of which belong to the attacking types and others to the withdrawing types, but as a rule either the attacking kind or the withdrawing kind of response is the dominant one.

Among the attacking kind of behaviour deviations in children may be listed such disorders as temper outbursts, aggressiveness, bullying, fighting, destructiveness, disobedience and defiance to authority, stealing, sex offences and various other forms of delinquency. Over-activity and interrupting behaviour are other manifestations of the attacking type of response. Such children during childhood and later on in life, in contrast to those of the opposite group, are inclined to reject routine, break convention, pursue their own methods of work and want to direct and dominate. They have a rebellious attitude to life, are against all external authority, are eager to exploit their own authority and tend to be contentious and egotistic. Children with such

problems may later in life adopt a philosophy in which they are selfish, in the way of taking all they can, or turn to manifest criminality. Of course all such children showing reactions of the attacking type will not, however, turn in the direction of serious delinquency or criminality. A large number develop constructive attacks such as excellence in sports, and later on in life in exploration, industrial exploits or social and political reforms.

Among the withdrawing kind of deviations one finds such reactions as excessive day dreaming, fears, nervousness, shyness, unsocialness, cowardliness, over-dependence on adults and various neurotic complaints. Undue dependency on adults and on routine are other manifestations frequently exhibited by children with the withdrawing type of response. Later on in life this kind of evasion by withdrawal is frequently expressed in addition in aloofness, suspiciousness, inability to carry responsibility, and inadequacy of social relationships. The socially inadequate group may have individuals who are attempting to evade life by regressive escapes such as neurotic complaints, insanity, economic dependency, alcoholism or drug addiction and finally in an extreme form by the escape or evasion of life by suicide. It would be wrong to inter though, that all children showing evasions by withdrawal will end up in the extremes just mentioned; quite a large number of such children will later stay aloof no doubt from the every-day demands of life but will plunge into retreats of productive activity such as invention, research, science, literature and art.

In regard to these various problems, parents and teachers are much more interested in and troubled by the attacking kind of behaviour problems. In a comparison of problems rated as most serious and least serious by a large number of teachers in an American School it was found that the problems rated as most serious were stealing, hetero-sexual activity, obscene notes or talk, masturbation, profanity, smoking, disobedience, untruthfulness, cheating, unreliableness, temper tantrums, truancy, cruelty, bullying, impertinence, defiance, impudence, rudeness, destruction of school material, quarrelsomeness and disorderliness in the class. The problems rated as least serious included shyness, fearfulness, sensitiveness, imaginativeness, lying, unsociableness and suspiciousness.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the fundamental needs of the child and of the parental attitudes which tend to bring about a non-satisfaction of these needs and consequent deviations in behaviour. In this connection it has to be noted that the nature of behaviour deviation resulting from faulty parental attitudes is dependent in a complicated manner on the several individual circumstances and interacting factors in the given situation; caution must therefore be exercised in avoiding generalizations regarding the cause-and-effect

relationship between certain parental attitudes and the presence of deviations. All the same there is a growing body of evidence pointing to the close relationship between faulty parental attitudes and the occurrence of behaviour deviations, irrespective of the particular kind of deviations; and even in regard to particular types of deviations recent studies tend to demonstrate the relationship between certain attitudes and particular kinds of broad groups of deviations.

Let us now turn in greater detail to a consideration of some of the basic or fundamental needs of the child and to a discussion of how certain parental attitudes cause excessive deprivation leading to behaviour deviations, whether of the attacking or withdrawing types. The discussion will only be suggestive of the problems which exist in this field and does not aim at attempting to describe in a systematic way all the aspects of each fundamental need and of all the parental attitudes playing a part in the production of anti-social behaviour.

It was stated earlier that a need for security is one of the most fundamental needs of the child. Weak and helpless to begin with, the infant needs security in order to develop in a healthy way. One of the outstanding results of modern research in the field of child psychiatry and social case work is the emphasis placed on the importance of whether a child is loved and accepted by his parents, in bringing about in him a satisfaction of his need for security. In regard to this question it is of importance to note that it is necessary for the child's security that he feels that he has the love of both his parents; that he feels accepted by both of them. Clinical workers have long been emphasizing the importance of secure affection during childhood in shaping his future behaviour in the direction of a healthy personality development, and in minimizing occurrence of personality and behaviour deviations. Valuable and suggestive as this emphasis on parental acceptance or rejection has been, it has been felt that the method of isolated case studies had inadequacies from the point of view of scientific study. More recently, however, statistical studies have been made which show the important aetiological role of parental rejection in the production of behaviour deviations. In his book *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships*, Symonds reports an interesting study.² From clinical observations of children referred for behaviour and personality problems he made a list of a number of items of behaviour which are "bad" or socially unacceptable. As against this he selected a second list of behaviour items which are called "good." He then selected 31 children in whom it was known that there was satisfactory parental acceptance and 31 children in whom it was known that there was parental rejection.

. ² Pp. 72-76.

Checks were made then against each item for the 31 accepted children and the 31 rejected children. The following figures were obtained :

	+	0	-	Total
Socially acceptable Behaviour	81	4	7	92
Socially unacceptable Behaviour	12	18	61	91
	93	22	68	183

The figures indicate that out of 92 socially acceptable items of behaviour, 81 of these desirable bits of behaviour were checked more frequently for accepted children than rejected children, four were equally checked in the 2 groups, whereas 7 were checked more frequently among the rejected children. In regard to the socially unacceptable forms of behaviour, 12 were more frequently checked for the accepted group, 18 were checked equally, whereas 61 were checked more frequently among the rejected group.

The differences between the rate of checking among accepted and rejected children were very considerable in regard to some of the items. For example "loyalty to family" was checked in 14 more children in the accepted group of 31 than in the rejected group of 31. The items of "good natured," "sleeps soundly," "works well with others," "keeps clothing neat and clean," and "courteous" were checked in 12 more children in the accepted group, and "does not get angry easily," "lives up to promises" in 11 more children. The difference between the groups in regard to "does not use profanity," "causes no trouble to teacher," "loyal to school," "thoughtful of the needs of those about him," "meets another person straight-forwardly," "attentive in class rooms," showed that the number of children, in the socially accepted group showing this behaviour was 10 greater than among the rejected group. Conversely when it comes to undesirable bits of behaviour, these are checked more frequently among the rejected group of children. 12 more of the rejected group than of the accepted group showed "lack of sustained application or concentration"; 9 more showed "attention-getting behaviour;" 8 more of the rejected children exhibited "running away from home" and "smoking (when young)." Seven more of the rejected group than an equal number of the accepted group showed "bragging," or "boasting," "classroom nuisance," "troublesome in school." While these figures do not prove that behaviour which is socially disapproved is caused by parental rejection, they do suggest that parental rejection is a primary factor in influencing a child's life and hence in personality formation, and it is reasonable to suppose that the figures presented do indicate a causal relationship to a considerable degree. Working similarly with personality traits, rather than overt or observable behaviour, the same author found that in regard to two groups of children—one accepted, the other rejected—"aggressive," "domineering," "extrovert," "talkative,"

"hyperactive," were characteristics distinctly more commonly checked among the rejected group. Yet another study was carried out in regard to the more subtle qualities of inner mental life. One or two examples will suffice to show the positive correlation between parental acceptance or rejection on the one hand and certain qualities of mental life.

Out of 31 accepted children, to the question "Does he resent parental authority?" the answer was "No," in every case. For the rejected group, however, the answer was "Yes," for 13 and "No," for 10.

Again, "Is he rebellious?" was answered "Yes," only 2 times by the accepted group and "No," 21 times. For the rejected group the answers were "Yes"—12 and "No"—12. To the question "Does he have feelings that he is persecuted or is not fairly treated at school or home?" the answers were most significant. The answers for the accepted group were "Yes"—0 and "No"—23. For the rejected group, however, the answers were "Yes"—17 and "No"—6. This shows clearly how children whose need for security is thwarted or not satisfied, feel persecuted or unfairly treated.

It may be seen then how important it is for the child to have his need for being loved, wanted or accepted satisfied in order to avoid the anti-social characteristics of behaviour, personality and mentality just mentioned. But if, on the one hand, the desired amount of love is a condition for the security of the child; the demonstration of too much love, on the other hand, by which the child feels his personality smothered, is almost, though not quite as bad, as deprivation of love. Such attitudes severely frustrate the need for growth and development and at the same time produce insecurity in the child through lack of confidence in himself. The "over-protective" attitude in mothers is fostered in part by marital maladjustment and disappointment in love for the partner, the mother tending thus to shower an excessive amount of attention on the child. Other factors in the experience of over-protecting mothers have been found to be social maladjustment, sexual maladjustment, over-discipline, disagreement over desire for children, interfering relatives, and economic dissatisfaction.

A factor of great importance for the security of the child is the factor of marital relationships. The child should have the security that comes from feeling that his parents love each other and exhibit towards each other loyalty, genuine consideration, unselfishness and courtesy. The important thing, as Rickman stresses in his introduction to that excellent book, *On the Bringing up of Children*, is the triangular relationship between the child, his father and mother.

The really important factor in upbringing is the general attitude of the parents, and the way in which the ordinary details of life are conducted . . . The child always pictures himself as a vis-a-vis both his father and mother . . . Children need to see the interplay of the personality

of father and mother, male and female, for their social imagination is far more active than is generally realized, and they are helped by observing the friendliness of one sex to the other. If the father and mother are at loggerheads it will be hard for the child to envisage with satisfaction the founding of a home of his own, whereas the experience of a congenial home fosters the desire to produce a similar one for oneself. He needs to see the considerate behaviour of his parents to one another, their good humour in the face of vexation, their camaraderie, and a mutual loyalty, for by these observations the child is strengthened in a belief that he can overcome his own jealousies and aggression, his inconsiderateness, ill humour and perfidiousness.

Appreciation of the importance of parental disharmony and discord in bringing about unhappiness and difficulties of adjustment, has long been felt in clinical work with such conditions as the psychoses, psycho-neuroses, character deviations and personality and behaviour problems of childhood and delinquency. To quote but one case: P, a boy of 10, who was brought to the clinic for stealing, was noticed to indulge in stealing each time his parents had a violent quarrel, in which his father attacked his mother. He would feel very resentful towards the father and it would appear that his stealing was mainly in the nature of a retaliatory measure.

Of late years objective data, of a direct and indirect nature, reveal the importance of marital friction in perpetuating behaviour and personality deviations. Miss Helen Witmer³ and various graduate students at Smith College investigated a group of 197 children's cases from the Institute for Child Guidance, New York City, in order to ascertain the factors associated with the success or failure of the child's adjustment at the time of closure of the case. Several years later further studies were made to ascertain the later degree of success or failure and the factors associated with each. Whilst most of the factors such as ordinal position in the family, sex, school placement, intelligence, nationality and economic status of the family showed no relationship or only a very small one to the question of the success of clinic treatment, the factor of marital adjustment appeared to contribute very materially to the outcome of clinic treatment. Miss Witmer found that distinctly better results were obtained in working with children whose parents lived a harmonious and satisfying marital life than with those whose parents were dissatisfied with their marital life. Indirect as such evidence is, and while it does not prove definitely that the marital disharmony is the cause of the antisocial reactions or maladjustment of the child, it would seem to bear out the clinical impression of the importance and significance of parental disharmony.

More direct evidence of the role of parental disharmony in the production of deviation comes from studies conducted by Hall.⁴ Out of 1,000 pre-school

³ *The Outcome of Treatment in a Child Guidance Clinic*, Smith College Studies in Social Work, V. 3, p. 399.

⁴ *Domestic Conflict and its Effect on Children*, Smith College Studies in Social Work, V. 1, pp. 403-4.

children whose records were available, he selected 50 in whose homes there was the most serious domestic discord, and 50 cases in whose homes there was the greatest parental harmony. He found that more problems per child were formed in the homes with friction. Not only was there this quantitative relationship, but there were qualitative findings as well. 98 % of the 50 children from homes of friction were referred for personality (and behaviour) deviations, whereas 48 % only out of the 50 from the other group—were referred for such problems. On the other hand 76 % of the friction group and 94 % of the non-friction group were referred for problems of habit formation.

We have been dealing so far with the question of parental rejection and parental disharmony in bringing about insecurity in the child and no mention has been made of more obvious conditions causing feelings of insecurity.

Care and protection of the child's health, guarding him from outside dangers—both impersonal dangers such as traffic, and personal ones such as attacks from older or bullying children—, providing him with shelter, food and clothing, are of course fundamental necessities for bringing about a sense of security in the child. Similarly, irregular and inadequate income, frequent changes in residence or school—involving new adaptations to different friends and comrades—bring about insecurity in children. At the present time, the thousands of children taken away from their homes and parents on account of the war, or those who find themselves starving and homeless, bombed and wounded, do of course suffer from a great deal of insecurity, but in regard to these diverse forms of external insecurity it would be true to say that where the inner harmonies of the home are well preserved, the harmful effects of the insecurity-producing conditions would be greatly diminished.

Let us now turn to another fundamental need of the child, the need to grow and to be independent. Every child wants to grow—to become strong and independent. It will be readily conceded in regard to the satisfaction of this need for healthy growth, that it presupposes a fair measure of security and protection for the child. But too much protection on the other hand is not a desirable thing, as in a state of absolute security the child would find little incentive or opportunity for the exercise of his own powers and ability in meeting the increasingly difficult demands of life. On emerging from the shelter of his home he would then find himself in severe difficulties.

The child needs then, an environment in which his growth and development is encouraged, an environment where his parents so regulate their attitudes towards him that they encourage him in meeting new difficulties in his own ways, giving only such guidance as is desirable. The child needs freedom to experiment, to find things out for himself, to do things the way he wants to. Parents, however, as a rule are not so aware of this very funda-

mental and indeed healthy need of the child as they are of his need for protection. A great many parents just want to see the child safe; they over-protect him; they do everything for him and unwittingly smother him and his ability to develop one day into an individual who will be able to stand on his own legs. Clinical experience suggests that such children develop either into adults lacking in initiative and dependent always on others, or that they break away from the parents for not granting them freedom and opportunity to grow, and try to be completely free and independent of them. Many an adolescent who has thus rebelled against parental authority and has grasped freedom and independence for himself, however, shows that his personality is marked by blemishes and immaturities of which he is often quite unconscious or which he cannot shake off easily. Developing into maturity is a gradual process, and the child needs freedom in making choices or decisions in increasingly difficult situations, during a period of many years. Where the child has not been permitted to develop his resources, and through rebellion seeks to be independent in a single bound, he lacks the experience and practice which he would have acquired little by little to prepare him to face ever-increasingly difficult problems and situations. Real security and freedom to grow are by no means antagonistic. It is the attitude of over-protection which hinders the growth of the child.

As Mary Sayles quotes in her excellent book¹: "The child who is encouraged, as he emerges from infancy, to mingle with other children and to find a great part of his satisfaction in relations with them; who is given ample opportunity to handle and learn about things, to orient himself in the physical world and the world of ideas; who is taught to fight his own battles and encouraged to make his own plans; such a child will not be likely to suffer from over-security in his home life; the sympathy, counsel, and fellowship he received there will rather be sources of strength. It is only when such parental attentions are exaggerated and made to overshadow every other interest in his life that his growth is hampered by them."

The child's development, then, is a stage to stage process and all would agree that parental attitudes are of paramount importance in so far as parents may either help the child at each stage by granting freedom, offering incentives and by presenting opportunities for meeting increasingly difficult situations and experiences, or may over-protect the child in a way leading to undesirable deviations of personality and behaviour.

I have already pointed out that too lavish a display of love and an over-protective attitude, tending to smother the child, cause conflicts of insecurity in him and frustrate the need for growth and development. Of late years

¹ *The Problem Child at Home.*

objective studies have been made to ascertain the effects of "over-protection" on the child's personality and development.

Kasanin, Knight and Sage⁶ studied 45 cases of schizophrenia and found a high percentage of over-protection in these cases. They state: "The biological inferiority of the schizophrenic child is easily detected by the parents and serves as one of the principal causes of over-protection . . . Over-protection establishes a vicious circle in the life of the schizophrenic child because, on the one hand, the child needs the extra care for his development, but on the other hand, receiving of this extra care hinders his final development, his emancipation from his parents, and his psychosexual development."

Fitz-Simons⁷ conducted systematic studies on parent-child relationships. Basing a questionnaire on a scale of parental attitudes and applying it to 94 cases she found 64 in which the data were complete enough to permit a rating of the attitudes of both the father and mother. Tentative conclusions she drew from this study were: "The greatest number of withdrawing problems per child is recorded for the group that is over-protected by the mother and rejected by the father . . . The smallest number of withdrawing problems per child is reported for the group in which the mother's attitude is negative and the father's positive . . . The group of children who are judged to be rejected by both parents have the greatest number of aggressive behaviour problems listed for both."

Hattwick⁸ in carrying out observations on nursery school, kindergarten, and elementary grades children shows clearly what oversolicitude on the part of parents does to the child's personality.

The study has suggested that children whose homes reflect overattentiveness are liable to display infantile, withdrawing types of reaction. The study finds positive relationships between inadequate attention in the home and aggressive types of behaviour. Children can be helped in their development of self-reliance and in their consequent loss of infantile habits by having definite responsibilities in the home . . . Opportunity to share play experiences with the parents is of real value in developing feelings of emotional security. Asking for unnecessary help (in school) was, in the case of children with an overattentive parent, associated with staying near the adult and with various infantile reactions. In this case the behaviour seems largely the result of lack of experience or of opportunities to 'grow up'. Asking unnecessary help is, in the case of children from homes which reflected inadequate attention, associated with seeking attention by showing off, seeking praise, and other forms of poor emotional adjustment. In this case the same behaviour would not seem to be motivated by the actual need for physical assistance but to serve rather as an attention-getting device. The study has indicated that children who are babied or pushed by their parents have many more social difficulties than children from well-adjusted homes.

⁶ "The Parent-Child Relationship in Schizophrenia: 1, Overprotection—Rejection," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 79: 249-263, March 1934.

⁷ *Guide for the Estimation of Parental Attitudes.*

⁸ "Inter-relations between the Pre-School Child's Behaviour and Certain Factors in the Home," *Child Development*, September, 1936, pp. 201 ff.

These social difficulties were mainly of the withdrawing type—dependent behaviour as contrasted with aggressive reactions. According to the study 'Such children also have greater difficulty in work habits and consequently in matters of purely academic progress.'

One of the commonest problems was the type of behaviour which demands the time and attention of the teacher. Failure to meet the proper work standards, carelessness, dawdling, lack of system, lack of interest and distractibility are the more outstanding of these traits.

In regard to the need for growth and development, we have been dealing so far with the effects of over-protection in arresting the development of the individual and causing him to grow into an immature and dependent type of person. Over-protection is most frequently in the nature of an excessive demonstration of love, an excessive concern over the child's health and an excessive eagerness to do things the child ought to be doing for himself. Frustration of the need for development also occurs, where quite apart from having over-protective attitudes, one or both parents check and disallow the child to indulge in his natural desire or need for experimenting, discovering things for himself, and doing them the way he wants to. The deprivation here is felt more in the nature of a tendency on the part of the parents to frustrate, oppose and dominate the child. Where such frustration is severe, a child subjected to it, might on the one hand, finding that his efforts and impulses are blocked, submit outwardly, with much inner resentment; or again, refusing to give in, he might find himself constantly rebuked and punished by the parents. In either case there is interference with the smooth development and growth of the child and much likelihood of behaviour and personality deviations.

So many parents have the notion that a child should spend all of his time on his lessons and that any time that he wants to spend on any other activity should be spent at perfecting his school studies. Recently I came across a case where such an attitude was encountered in an exaggerated degree. P., a boy aged 14, was referred mainly on account of extreme obstinacy, refusal to talk, outbursts of temper and scholastic backwardness. The history was that he was well and of normal intelligence till he left home to go and live with his uncle. At the time of departure he was quite happy and eager to go to the uncle's house. To the uncle was entrusted the task of supervising the boy's studies as he had to appear a year later for an entrance examination to a school. In his overanxiety to see that the boy would not fail and that no blame would be attached to him by the boy's father, the uncle used to make the boy work from early morning till lunch time; then again after lunch till about 6 o'clock, when he was allowed out for

half an hour's walk; and then again for a couple of hours at night making a total of about 10 to 12 hours per day. The boy naturally often wanted to do other things which he was hardly ever allowed to. Some months after the commencement of this kind of routine, he began to get uncooperative, until gradually he manifested the symptoms mentioned above. Whilst it is difficult to be absolutely certain that the restriction of his free activities and the insistence on studies were instrumental in bringing about the reaction of extreme obstinacy, non-co-operation, temper outbursts and scholastic backwardness, in the absence of other evidences for such a reaction and in view of the fact that he had happily and willingly gone to the uncle, it appears quite legitimate to assume that compelling the boy to study and preventing him from doing the things he wanted to played a very large share in bringing about the deviation in the child's personality and behaviour.

It is accepted as a fundamental truth in psychiatry that a child should be allowed to indulge in activities other than school studies, and that he should be allowed to experiment and do the things that he wants to without let or hindrance from parents and other adults, provided of course that the activities do not harm the child or others in any real way. Deprivations are bound to be necessary at times but these should be only necessary deprivations of activities which are essentially anti-social. In regard to all other activities even if they appear meaningless to the adults, there should be no deprivations; these are quite unnecessary deprivations. Clinical experience indicates that the fewer the unnecessary deprivations are, the more does the child tend to accept the really necessary deprivations and regulations of the parents, and conversely the greater the number of unnecessary deprivations, the more the child tends to kick against even the necessary ones.

But in regard to the child's need to develop and grow up it is not sufficient merely to avoid checking the child from indulging in the activities that he likes; if the maximum of healthy growth is desired in addition to the cultivation of an attitude which regards all fresh types of action as stages in the adventure of growing, which are not to be checked, the adult should actually arrange to provide an environment rich in opportunity for growth and experimentation where the child might experiment to his heart's content. He should then be provided with the right kind of material to experiment with. In this connection it is important to bear in mind that with such a provision of material the child should be allowed freedom to deal with it as he likes, and only guided when he so desires. What has been written in connection with the attitudes towards the material deliberately provided would apply, no doubt in a slightly modified way, to the attitudes parents should have regarding the natural day-to-day activities of the child. It is inevitable that

one day the child has to become completely independent. Where the parental attitudes have been characterized by active suppression of natural tendencies and desires, together with dictation of imposed standards, the break from the parent is very frequently in the nature of a rebellion on the part of the child, with much ill-feeling and painful emotion for both the parents and the child. Where, however, the parents have shown a readiness to guide and advise in a friendly manner, letting the child learn from his own mistakes, the separation will be accompanied usually with much mutual love and respect and result in the production of a healthy individual able to stand on his own legs in facing the complexities and realities of life.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

WELFARE WORK AMONGST THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

AT present the Bombay Municipality is conducting ten Welfare Centres for Municipal employees in various Municipal Chawls. By a resolution of the Corporation these centres were taken over from a number of private agencies that were in receipt of grants from the Municipality for running them and were placed under the charge of the Public Health Department from 1st July 1938.

The centres are organized with a staff of two full-time trained social workers and thirty-eight part-time workers. Two male and two female workers are posted at each centre and the centres are run daily from 5-30 to 9 P.M., with some of women's classes in the afternoon. The employees are mostly Harijans and come from various parts of the Presidency: the Dheds from Kathiawar, the Mahars and Chamars from the Konkan and Maharashtra and the Bhangis from Gujarat. They are housed in Municipal Chawls, which are one room tenements.

The programme of welfare work includes:

- (i) Recreational Activities.
- (ii) Educational Activities.
- (iii) Health Work.
- (iv) Labour Officer's Work.
- (v) Social Investigation.

(i) *Recreational activities.* The recreational activities provide ample opportunities for the use of leisure time to the employees and their children. The indoor games rooms and the outdoor playgrounds at the ten centres are used daily by two thousand adults and children.

The games played include carrom, draughts, ludo, "chaupat", snakes and ladders, hu-tu-tu, kho-kho, atyapatya, langadi, volley ball, foot-ball, deck tennis and several other English and Indian group games. Akhada activities include wrestling, malkhamb, lathi, lezim and pole-drill. Gymnastic exercises like free hand drill, wand drill, pole drill, dumb bells, pyramids and boxing are also conducted regularly.

A cheerful feature of the life of the centres is the arrangement of inter-centre matches and tournaments. These matches provide an extraordinary incentive to regular attendance and have most definitely raised the standard of

play. The ideal of clean sportsmanship is always held before the participants by impressing on their minds that the game is more than victory.

No people need contact with country areas and Nature's beauty more than these people who live in congested, uninspiring one room tenements. Every month men, women and children from each centre are taken out of Bombay for picnics. They are also taken to places of interest in Bombay and to see educational and social films.

The Bhajan Mandalis are social gatherings for adults, who take a very keen interest in them, and these occasions are also utilized for giving religious and social discourses. Music and dramatic clubs are organized, where people are allowed to give free expression to their artistic talents and cultivate their inborn capacity for aesthetic enjoyment. Music is taught on harmonium and tablas; gramophone records are played in the chawls and short dialogues and dramas are also taught and performed. Folk songs and folk dances like Garba, Ras-dandya, Kathiawadi Doha and Tipris are regular features of these clubs. Social gatherings are held to celebrate feasts and festivals.

(ii) *Adult Education.* Adult education in a working class community requires distinct methods, for it is difficult for people who have been allowed to remain undeveloped, and whose faculties are inert and sterile, to take their learning seriously.

At every centre literacy classes are conducted for both men and women. Literacy is not regarded as an end in itself but only as a means to an end, in that it opens up the key to knowledge. Therefore lessons are accompanied by and alternated with cultural instruction in the form of lectures with the help of lantern-slides, maps, charts and pictures, story telling and reading of interesting passages from books and magazines.

Classes are run for those who wish to learn English. Coaching is given to those school-going children who are in need of it and facilities for study in the centre-rooms are given to high-school pupils, as they have so little privacy in their own homes.

Talks and lantern slide lectures are arranged on current topics and social subjects of immediate interest to the employees, i.e., on elementary history, geography, cleanliness and sanitary living, domestic economy, maternity and child welfare, balanced diets, first aid and safety first. Debates are organised once a week at all centres. The adults show a keen interest in the subjects discussed and participate in the discussions in great numbers. Every centre runs its own magazine to which articles, stories and plays are contributed by educated boys and men.

Classes in sewing, embroidery, literacy and elementary home-nursing are conducted for women; training is also given in the art of homemaking and

in the various duties of wives and mothers. All possible efforts are made to make the women better wives, better mothers and better citizens.

The centres enrol five hundred boy scouts and two hundred girl scouts, affiliated to the Hindusthan Scout Association. Boys are occasionally sent out for camping. Eighteen scouts from the centres were sent to the Amritsar Mela and they had an opportunity of visiting Delhi, Agra and other historical places.

Children and adults are taken to exhibitions whenever they are held in the City.

(iii) *Health.* Home visitation is an important item in the welfare programme. Chawls are visited regularly by the part-time workers, who discuss family problems with the occupants in a friendly manner and endeavour to persuade them to change their unhygienic habits and to realize the importance of cleanliness and sanitary living.

Lectures are delivered on personal hygiene, the care of the eyes, nose, lungs and other organs. These lectures are illustrated by slides, posters, bulletins and films on housing conditions, flies, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, etc.

Children are required to wash their hands, faces and feet and comb their hair in the centres. Competitions are held for the cleanest and best-kept rooms and prizes are given to encourage cleanliness.

Every month a cleanliness campaign is held, when the boys sweep the chawls and clean up their surroundings and homes. In times of illness, people are directed to dispensaries and hospitals. During the last malaria epidemic, statistics of illness amongst the chawl inmates were collected and submitted to the Health Officer who arranged for a medical officer to visit the sick in their homes and provide free medicines.

Every centre is equipped with medical appliances such as hot water bags, ice bags, thermometers, bedpans, quinine pills and iodine, which are supplied to the people whenever needed.

Women are taught how to prepare balanced diets very cheaply. They are persuaded to take advantage of the maternity hospitals and women with large families are also taken to birth control clinics.

(iv) *Labour-Officer's work.* Legitimate grievances of the employees regarding their housing, recruitment, leave, conditions of work and co-operative societies are looked into, brought to the notice of the proper officers, and whenever possible redressed.

Efforts are made to procure scholarships for deserving students from the Harijan Sevak Sangh and other associations. People requiring legal advice are directed to the Legal Aid Society.

(v) *Investigations.* Investigations were recently made regarding the

number of school going children not attending schools and the causes of their non-attendance. Statistics about their health and the prevalence of diseases are also being collected.

NATIONAL PLANNING IN INDIA

IN August, 1937 the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress recommended to the Congress Ministries "the appointment of a Committee of Experts to consider urgent and vital problems the solution of which is necessary to any scheme of national reconstruction and social planning."

A second resolution of the Working Committee in July, 1938 resolved that as a preliminary step to planning "the President be authorised to convene a conference of the Ministers of Industries . . . and call for a report of the existing industries operating in different provinces and the needs and possibilities of new ones."

This Conference was held in Delhi in October 1938 and expressed the view "that the problem of poverty and unemployment, of National defence and of the economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialization. As a step towards such industrialization, a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated."

Pursuant to this Resolution a National Planning Committee of 11 original members—subsequently added to—was constituted and the first meeting held in Bombay in December 1938.

A questionnaire issued on behalf of the Committee stated the object of National Planning to be "to improve the well being of the community, principally by intensifying the economic development of the community concerned on an all-round basis, in an ordered, systematic manner, so as to observe a due proportion between the various forms of producing new wealth, its equitable distribution amongst the members of the community, and to secure such adjustment between the interests of producers and consumers, individuals and the community collectively, the present and succeeding generations, as to maintain a proper balance between these several interests."

Twenty-nine sub-committees were appointed to report in eight major fields : agriculture ; industries ; demographic relations ; commerce and finance ; transport ; public welfare ; education and the role of women in planned economy.

Although the Congress Ministries resigned office at the outbreak of the War, the work of the National Planning Committee has continued.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Chairman of the Committee, in addressing the third meeting of the committee in Bombay, May 1940, stated that while under the changed political conditions, planning might appear to be building

castles in the air, yet "thinking and planning for the future was essential if that future was not to end in misdirected energy and chaos. . . Planning aimed at the raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the people as a whole. In India standards were so terribly low and poverty so appalling that the question of raising standards was of the most vital importance."

In view of the particular emphasis of this issue of the *Journal*, a summary of the recommendations of the Labour Sub-Committee is of interest :

1. The scope of regulations relating to the living and working conditions of labour should be expanded to include industries and occupations to which such regulation has so far not been applied.

2. If it is in the interest of the community to do so, the State should protect, subsidize or take over such industries as are not of themselves able to maintain essential human standards.

3. Working hours should be limited to 48 hours per week and 9 hours per day.

4. The provision relating to hours of work should apply to factories and workshops employing five or more persons and using mechanical power, or to factories and workshops employing ten or more persons even though not using mechanical power ; to mines and quarries and public transport services using mechanical power.

5. The principle should be extended to other industrial and commercial occupations, with due regard to the nature and varying conditions of the occupation.

6. The minimum age of employment of children should be progressively raised to 15, in correlation with the educational system.

7. A special committee should be appointed to study and make recommendations for improving provisions for the health, safety, and conditions governing night work in all regulated undertakings.

8. A wage fixing machinery should be set up at an early date in all provinces, in order to secure for the workers a living wage and consider other questions relating to wages. A central board should co-ordinate the activities of provincial boards.

9. The question of housing should be considered as a national obligation. During the transition period, employers should be required to erect suitable houses for workers, provided that full provision is made for freedom of movement and association and against victimization by way of ejection during industrial disputes.

10. All industrial employees should be given at least 10 continuous working days (exclusive of public holidays) as paid holidays after 12 months' service.

11. The present rates of workmen's compensation should be examined.
12. Maternity benefit legislation should be undertaken on the general lines laid down by the Geneva Convention of 1919.
13. Legislation should be passed for the full collection of all necessary labour and other statistics.
14. The inspectorate should be strengthened in the various provinces and should include women. There should be co-operation between inspectorates of various provinces.
15. It is desirable to have uniformity and co-ordination in labour legislation throughout the whole of India.
16. Special attention should be paid to those engaged in domestic service and appropriate legislation passed.
17. Women workers should receive equal pay for equal work.
18. A system of compulsory and contributory social insurance for industrial workers should be established directly under the control of the State to cover the risks of sickness and invalidity other than those covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act. Schemes for providing alternative employment to those involuntarily unemployed, Old Age Pensions and Survivors' Pensions, and also Social Insurance to cover risks of sickness and invalidity for all, should be established directly under the State.
19. A nation wide literacy campaign should be undertaken.
20. Provision should be made for technical education of the workers by establishing day and night schools for the purpose.
21. Legislation should be passed to recognize trade unionism as an essential and integral part of the economic system.

At the conclusion of the fourth meeting of the Planning Committee, held in Bombay in June, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated that over 20 of the 29 reports have now been considered and that the remaining 7 or 8 will be taken up at a meeting of the full committee in the last week of August. The next step will be to lay down the general principles which should govern the Report and to prepare a draft. "The public will form some idea of how we are proceeding from the resolutions we have published. But these separate resolutions will give little idea of the full nature of the problem, which is not one of advance in one section or another, but of a full co-ordinated activity and advance in all sectors of national life . . . The task of the National Planning Committee is, in effect, never completed, for it goes on with the life and progress of the nation. But we shall complete drawing up this initial and inadequate picture of a Planned Society in India and we have no doubt that whatever changes may be made in it in the future, this edifice will serve as a secure foundation to build upon."

NATIONAL PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES ¹

THE economic situation in the United States was such in 1930 that there was a widespread belief that the time had come for conscious planning instead of following a policy of drift.

The first efforts at planning were directed towards a policy of public works in order to relieve unemployment and to stimulate purchasing power. In 1931, Congress passed an Act establishing a Federal Employment Stabilization Board, composed of the Secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture and Labour. All the construction agencies of government were instructed to prepare a six-year plan for building, together with an estimate of probable private enterprise, in order to enable the President to increase or diminish public building as the employment situation seemed to demand.

But before the scheme had gotten well under way the economic situation became so serious that Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933. Under this Act the President was authorized to set up a Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, one of whose functions was to prepare a comprehensive programme. A National Planning Board was created and the old Federal Employment Stabilization Board abolished and its records transferred to the new department. But though the new board carried the ambitious title "National Planning Board", its activity was in reality limited to one sphere : public works.

In 1934 the Board was again reorganized, re-christened the National Resources Board, and charged with long-term physical planning. When the N R A , which provided the legal authority under which the Board was first established, was invalidated by the Supreme Court, the National Resources Board was reconstituted by Executive Order as the National Resources Committee (June, 1935).

In the general governmental reorganization of 1939, the name was again changed to the National Resources Planning Board, and the new Board attached directly to the White House. This meant that the Board was able to deal with a wider range of public problems from the aspect of planning. The Board is now charged with the study of "problems pertaining to national resources both natural and human" and is instructed to report on "the general trend of economic conditions and to recommend measures leading to their improvement or stabilization."

The technical committees in 1939 were eight in number, dealing with Land, Water, Energy Resources, Public Works, Industrial, Science, Population and Local Planning. A number of valuable reports have been issued.

¹ This section is based on an article entitled, "The National Resources Planning Board," by George Soule, in the March 15, 1940 issue of *Frontiers of Democracy*.

The move for planning in the United States has met with considerable opposition, for business naturally feels that planning under auspices other than its own will endanger its power. The man in the street has an innate distrust of anything that savours of regimentation and is particularly suspicious of so-called "brain trusts." But despite opposition and misunderstanding, progress has been registered. The concept of planning has taken root and bids fair to play an increasing part in the national life.

BOMBAY ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL SURVEY COMMITTEE

THE Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee, appointed two years ago with Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas as a chairman, has recently made its report to Government. The Report discusses the general economic condition of the province with particular reference to cottage industries.

The committee feels that the plight of the peasant is so desperate that something must be done to promote and provide subsidiary occupations in order to solve the problem of rural poverty. It is proposed that Government should start a Provincial Cottage Research Institute; that an all India conference should be convened for the discussion of the place of subsidiary industries in rural economy; that Government should organise district associations, which should supply raw materials to artisans and sell their products; that Government itself should purchase products of cottage industries; that Government should examine the question of removing the duties and taxes levied on raw materials required for cottage industries by the local authorities; that Government should promote a small industries bank with a capital of Rs. 25,00,000 in order to provide financial help to such industries; that the Bombay Government should establish a system of licensing for the erection of new factories or the extension of old ones so as to secure proper regional distribution of industries in the province.

The committee further recommends that fundamental problems of transport, health and literacy be attacked immediately, for without the solution of these problems, exclusively industrial measures will not achieve their purpose.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

A STEADY increase in the number of factories and of industrial employees is revealed in the Statistics of Factories for British India, recently published.

The number of registered factories rose from 9,863 in 1937, to 10,782 in 1938—this being the highest number yet recorded. The number of factories

actually working was 9,743, or 813 more than in the previous year; of these 6,086 were perennial and 3,657 seasonal.

Appreciable progress was made in cotton ginning and weaving, coach building and motor car repairing, engineering, printing, book-binding and rice industries. There was expansion also in the hosiery, bakeries, oil, glass, cement, bricks and tiles, tea and tanning industries.

Side by side with the increase in the number of factories was the increase in the number of workers. The average number of operatives rose from nearly 16,76,000 in 1937 to 17,38,000 in 1938—again the highest figure so far recorded. The most marked increases were in Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, Bihar, Assam, Sind and the United Provinces.

In the cotton industry the number of operatives increased from 4,74,000 to 5,12,000, but in the jute mills, because of the restrictions imposed under the Bengal Jute Ordinance on concerns having double shifts, the number declined from 3,06,000 to 2,95,000.

There was a slight decline in the number of children employed, the figure being 10,742, or 91 less than in 1937. The number of women employed increased by about 9,000 to 2,41,000. Bombay was the only province where there was an appreciable increase in the number of children employed. Penal action was taken in Bombay, Bengal and Sind against irregular employment of women and children.

The safeguarding of machinery and plant received close attention in all the provinces. Steps were taken for better provision of fencing and guarding. The importance of tight-fitting clothing was brought home to factory managers.

There was steady progress with housing schemes. In the United Provinces 454 quarters have been constructed—sugar factories being responsible for the bulk of them. In Madras, housing accommodation is provided on nominal rent in many of the rice, oil and textile mills and tea factories. In Bombay, considerable progress has been made in popularising and improving the Development Department chawls. In Bengal, additional accommodation has been provided in 20 concerns and in several cases *kutcha* houses have been replaced by *pucca* ones. In the Punjab, except in the case of a few large factories, the housing conditions were unsatisfactory.

The health of the factory employees in all Provinces was reported as generally good. Ventilation, lighting and sanitary facilities in the larger establishments were on the whole adequate. Bombay continued to make progress in air-conditioning the textile mills. Experience is showing that air-conditioning is not only improving conditions, but has also increased efficiency from four to eight per cent. with fewer breakages and more even conditions for the yarn and cloth.

The nature of dust hazards which cause respiratory and other disabilities, is being investigated in Assam, Bengal, Madras and the Punjab.

REPORT OF THE BIHAR LABOUR INQUIRY COMMITTEE

THE Report of the Labour Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Bihar under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad was published the last week in June. The Report consists of 25 chapters and 281 pages and covers a wide range of subjects. Among the recommendations are the following :

(a) Due to conditions arising out of the war the matter of a compensatory allowance to correspond with the rise of the cost of living should be investigated.

(b) Ex-employees should be given the first claim on employment and preference should be given in employing the relatives of employees. Discrimination against Biharis in matter of employment should be discontinued.

(c) Government should assume power to prohibit contract labour, save in exceptional circumstances.

(d) Every establishment should have service rules, framed in consultation with the labour unions or representatives of workers and submitted to the Labour Commissioner for approval and registration.

(e) Reduction of wage-rate as a means of punishment should be abolished.

(f) Provident funds should be made compulsory save where Government specifically grants exemption.

(g) Holidays with pay should be granted to workers who have completed a minimum number of days of service in a period of 12 months.

(h) The matter of a compulsory scheme of sickness insurance on a contributory basis should be investigated.

(i) The Factories Act should be extended to all manufacturing establishments not using power, provided they employ at least 40 persons.

(j) Employers should be required to provide shelters for rest, and to maintain creches for the care of children.

(k) Government should assume power to investigate serious grievances regarding the rate of rents for workers' quarters.

(l) Workers' housing should be a statutory obligation on industry, with due reference to the financial condition of an industry. Workers should be encouraged to build homes by loans on reasonable terms and by concession leases.

(m) A debt conciliation act applicable to industrial workers should be passed.

(n) Attempt should be made to acquaint the workers with their rights under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

(o) The Payment of Wages Act should be extended to mines and quarries. All wage contracts should be reduced to writing.

(p) All trade unions which are registered and have been in existence for at least six months and command a minimum membership of 5 per cent. of the total labour force in any establishment should be recognised by that establishment for purposes of negotiation.

(q) Cases of victimisation arising out of strikes should be decided by the Labour Commissioner or any other officer authorised by him.

(r) There should be no strike or lockout without notice.

(s) Stay-in Strikes should be prohibited by law.

(t) Peaceful picketing should be permitted.

(u) An Industrial Court and a Labour Department with the Commissioner of Labour at its head should be established.

SIND INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY BOARD

AN Industrial Advisory Board of 15 members has been appointed by the Government of Sind to study problems relating to the industrial development of Sind. The Board will function for three years and will prepare schemes and examine proposals relating to industries, acting in an advisory capacity to Government.

SICKNESS INSURANCE

THE Government of India have requested the provincial Governments to consult important associations of employers and workers in an endeavour to ascertain whether they are willing to accept the principle of compulsory contributions to the proposed sickness insurance fund. The opinions elicited and the comments of the provincial Governments are to be in the hands of the Central Government by September.

WHERE WELFARE AND HOUSING MEET

AVERY useful pamphlet under the above title has recently been issued by a Joint Committee on Housing and Welfare of the American Public Welfare Association and the National Association of Housing Officials.¹

The Report stresses "that public policy and administration in welfare and housing have the same basic general objective—the groundwork for a decent, healthful, civilized way of life for all families in the community,

¹ American Public Welfare Association, 1313 East 60th St., Chicago, 25 cents.

including those at the bottom of the economic heap Many officials both in housing and welfare habitually fail to see the scope of the others' programmes and activities. To altogether too many housers welfare administration is solely or almost exclusively the granting of family relief—handing out certain sums of money or forms of script or goods to destitute families. Too large a proportion of welfare officials think of housing either as the enforcement of a few rudimentary standards of sanitation or the building of a few isolated, heavily subsidized housing projects The first job, therefore, both of housing and welfare officials, is to find out what manner of men the others are and what they are doing and trying to do."

The Report urges the co-operation of welfare and housing officials in developing reasonable housing standards. It points out that planning, building and managing low-rent housing are not simple jobs. They demand trained and specialized abilities. On the other hand, housing officials should take the advice of experienced welfare officials on housing needs, location of housing projects and family habits and requirements. Before undertaking clearance projects, housing and welfare officials should confer regarding the proper disposition of dispossessed families. They should consult together regarding tenant selection. Housing authorities should not attempt to provide extensive welfare activities. They should rather co-operate with the welfare agencies equipped to render such services.

Much sound common sense is compressed within a few small pages and a supplementary bibliography supplies a competent guide for those who desire to pursue the subject further.

WHY NOT PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE ?

IN the winter of 1936-37, The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work organized a series of public lectures around the general theme, "Some Social Services of the Government of Bombay." It was considerable of a problem to decide what should be included under the social services, but as finally arranged the topics presented were: The Public Health Activities of Government; The Medical Programme of Government; The Work of the Labour Office; Factory Law Administration; The Administration of Workmen's Compensation; The Work of the Labour Officer; Industrial Housing; Rural Reconstruction; Co-operative Societies; and the Working of the Bombay Children Act.

A recent English volume on *Social Administration*¹ discusses such topics as Public Health, Housing, Town and Country Planning, Education, Maternity and Child Welfare Work, Employment of Children, Juvenile Delinquency,

¹ Clarke, John J., London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., Rev. Ed., 1939.

National Health Insurance, Labour Legislation, Unemployment, Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, Blind Person's Pensions, and Widows, Orphans and Old Age Contributory Pensions Acts.

The term "Public Welfare" is difficult of exact definition, but in general usage it refers to the public tax-supported social work carried on as a function of either the Federal, Provincial or Local Governments.

From a functional standpoint, public welfare has been described as including "all Governmental Activities for the prevention and treatment of dependency, neglect, delinquency, crime, and physical or mental handicap. It includes programmes for various type of public assistance, such as general relief, unemployment relief—whether direct or work relief, disaster relief, and assistance to special groups such as underprivileged children, the physically and mentally handicapped, and the delinquent, and the administration of public institutions for these groups. Related to these institutional programmes are probation, parole, and clinical services. Closely related to public welfare are other fields of social insurance and social planning."²

The modern conception of public welfare is thus far removed from its historical antecedents—the Elizabethan Poor Laws and subsequent "pauper legislation."

Local bodies, both official and non-official, have attempted to supply relief for the destitute and institutional care for the insane, delinquent and physically handicapped. The obvious inability of local bodies to cope with such problems in any adequate manner, has led larger units and the State Authorities themselves to establish Government Institutions for those members of society requiring special care.

In every country, the first step so far as Government was concerned, was to establish institutions for the care of the handicapped. It has been in relatively recent times that public welfare work has passed beyond the institutional stage.

Today, in any modern State, public welfare work is no longer confined to institutions. It now includes child welfare activities, family case work, old age assistance, mother's aid for the care of dependent children within the home, mother's pensions, cash payments to the needy blind, and in more recent years—unemployment relief and unemployment insurance.

The extension of the case work activities of Governments has been most interesting. Both local, and what would correspond to our Provincial Governments, have interested themselves in the placing and adoption of orphan children; work with unmarried mothers; care and education of the blind, deaf and crippled—particularly children; and case work for the mentally deficient

² Social Work Year Book, 1939, p. 348,

and delinquent. In a number of States the work of probation and parole is controlled in its entirety by State Departments of Public Welfare.

The State Welfare Authority is directly charged with the responsibility of administering such state institutions as those for the care of the insane, feeble minded, and epileptics; for dependent, neglected and delinquent children; for the physically handicapped, and the prisons and reformatories. The State Welfare Authority has also the responsibility of supervising local public institutions, such as almshouses and orphanages, and insisting that these institutions maintain a certain standard of excellence.

It has been well pointed out in this connection that "The ability of a State Department to use these powers in a constructive educational way depends as much upon the quality of the personnel employed as it does upon the statutory provisions. Effective supervision of institutions and agencies, public or private, presupposes a state department capable of exerting leadership through initiation, stimulation, and education. It is important that the State should experiment and co-operate in the establishing of standards rather than rely merely on 'inspection' for that result."³

The object of centralizing public welfare activities in a single department of government is to prevent duplication of effort and to bring about co-ordination of the agencies in the field. At present in India, welfare functions may be found scattered through many departments of Government. A re-organization, bringing related functions together in a single department of public welfare, would, without doubt, result in an improvement of the services rendered by the various agencies.

If public welfare work is to progress satisfactorily in India, there must be not only proper administration and supervision of existing agencies, but the creation of new local agencies under the direction of the provincial authority. If funds are allotted for public welfare by the Central Government, or by the Provincial Governments themselves, it will be the task of the provincial welfare departments both to allocate funds to local bodies and to prescribe rules and standards for these bodies. They may also lay down qualifications for personnel and arrange for auditing the accounts of the local bodies. Central Government supervision of the provincial departments and thus indirectly of the local agencies should help to improve the standard of work.

The administrative control of a Provincial Department of Public Welfare might be vested in a single appointed welfare executive, or in an appointed board which would either name an executive or act jointly as the executive.

The qualifications for the public welfare administrator are a thorough knowledge of the field, and proven executive competence. The workers entrust-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

ed with carrying out the programmes should be adequately trained in modern methods of social work.

We are living in a time of rapid changes in the social field. The problems of public welfare are too complicated to be relegated to departmental subordinates with no particular genius or enthusiasm for the task in hand. They demand the continuous attention of able and well-trained minds. Is the time not at hand for the establishment of Provincial Departments of Public Welfare ?

THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

THE NEW CLASS

THE Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work began its fifth academic year on Tuesday, June 18, 1940. The Opening Assembly, presided over by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mr. S. D. Saklatvala, was held on Thursday, June 20th. The Director delivered the opening address on the subject, "Education and Social Change," which is printed in full in this issue of the *Journal*. The Chairman, while accepting the general thesis that all is not well in industrial society, felt that the remedy, for India at least, lay in further industrialization and not in a curbing of industrial effort. Granted that some form of planning may be advisable, the question still remains, "Who is to do the planning: the business man or the politician?" It is but natural that the industrialist feels that he is more competent to deal with matters concerning industrialism than the politician is. The Chairman expressed the personal feeling that if business men would regard their activities as a trust and really seek to enlist the whole-hearted co-operation of their employees, class antagonisms would soon disappear. "We are all workers," he said, "and should refuse to accept divisive labels."

The new class admitted to the School was chosen from an unusually large and competent list of applicants. The students selected are as follows :

- Mr. Palonji Pirojshaw Antia, Bombay.
- Miss G. Kantharathnam Appalswamy, Secunderabad Dn.
- Mr. Iqbal Azad, Bombay.
- Mr. Jagannath Vasudeo Bhawe, Nagpur, C. P.
- Miss Uma Chatterji, Calcutta.
- Mr. Joseph Mampilli Cherian, Cochin State.
- Miss Aloo Fardunji Desai, Bombay.
- Mr. Navichandra Ambalal Desai, Ahmedabad.
- Mr. Ganpatrao Kamlakar Dighe, Bombay.
- Mr. Jagdish Prasad Gupta, Meerut, U. P.
- Miss Lila Jayawant Kulkarni, Bombay.
- Miss Perin F. Madon, Bombay.
- Mr. Yeshwant Dattatraya Mahajan, Poona.
- Miss Janaki Rangaiyyar Manjeri, S. Malabar.
- Miss Maki Shapurji Modi, Bombay.
- Mr. Oatlingam Mohanasundaram, Madras.
- Mr. A. J. Nagaraj, Bangalore.

Miss Keshar Baburao Naik, Vengurla, Bombay Province.

Mr. Dalip Chand Nanda, Eminabad, Punjab.

Mr. William David G. Patil, Kolhapur.

Mr. Girdhari Lal Rajhanshi, Meerut, U. P.

The Hon. Beena Sinha, Calcutta.

Mrs. Lily James Sukhnandan, Mungeli, C. P.

A CORRECTION

MISS Kokila Doraiswami writes that in designating her as the Organising Secretary of the Madras Red Cross Society, in the June issue of the *Journal*, we are advancing her far too rapidly, for in reality she is serving as a probationer with the Society. Our apologies to Miss Muriel Simon, the efficient and very active Organising Secretary of the Society.

ALUMNI-STUDENT TEA

A VERY pleasant social function was the tea given in honour of the new students by the alumni resident in Bombay, on Saturday, the 6th July. Conversation, food and games combined to make the occasion a memorable one.

STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

AT a meeting of the Students' Association on the 11th July, the following office bearers were elected for the first term :

General Secretary—Mr. P. P. Antia.

Sub-Committee for Games—Miss P. F. Madon, Mr. J. V. Bhawe and Mr. J. M. Cherian.

Entertainment Sub-Committee—Mrs. L. J. Sukhnandan, Miss A. F. Desai and Mr. P. P. Antia.

Programme Sub-Committee—Miss J. R. Manjeri, Miss M. S. Modi and Mr. O. Mohanasundaram.

POOK REVIEWS

Manhood in the Making. Edited by T. F. COADE. London: Peter Davies, 1939. Pp. 347. 10s. 6d.

The major need of educational reconstruction is a definition of the place of education in character building, in personality development and, above all, of its function in a democratic society. There is, therefore, a growing realization that education can no longer concern itself with segments of the child's personality; it cannot concentrate upon intellect alone, or body alone, or pay special attention merely to his spiritual development. There must be consistency in the influences that mould his character, his personality, his attitudes and his values. This aspect of the education of youth is fully discussed in the book, *Manhood in the Making*, a symposium by a group of like-minded educationists and psychologists.

The general plan of the book is first to survey "The Material," that is, to consider the boy himself—the potential specimen of manhood—in the light of modern knowledge of hygiene and physical education, of psychology and educational philosophy. This is followed by a short section in which "The Makers," namely, parents and teachers, are discussed. In these two sections the authors examine carefully and scientifically what childhood is, what adolescence is, and what conditions are essential in one stage if we are to expect orderly development and expansion in each succeeding stage. How can the boy best achieve and retain fitness of body, health or mind, freedom in emotional life, contact with his spiritual source? What is his duty as an individual? What is his duty to his family, to his locality, to his country as citizen, to humanity at large as a social being? On these and other questions which perplex parents and teachers, the book attempts not so much to dogmatize as to throw light.

The third section is entitled "The Making." The three chapters of this part give some account of what was, is and might be in the three kinds of schools—the Public School, the Secondary School and the Co-Educational School—for adolescents in Great Britain. The authors of these three chapters are headmasters who should know from their considerable educational experience what they are writing about. The real objective of education is the co-education of mind, body and soul. "You do not educate a man," said John Ruskin, "by telling him what he knows not, but by making him what he was not." For the boy, the school has to make him into a wage-earner;

for the parent into a realized personality, and for society into a citizen. To state it briefly, the school's business is to discover and make effective a unique personality. Hence each chapter is a plea for greater freedom for the pupil.

In defence of co-education the writer on the third type of school maintains that "co-education offers fuller environment and a fuller training." "If the ultimate aim of education," he concludes, "is fullness of life, in fullness of life also in the organized experience of the school is to be found the means of attaining that aim. That is the ground for my belief in co-education, a belief which has only been strengthened by a long experience of it in practice." Finally comes the section on "Vocational Guidance" by two experts whose experience enables them to speak with authority as to the best environment for emergent manhood coming to grips with the problems of earning a livelihood.

It is, indeed, refreshing to read *Manhood in the Making*. It is not a tribute to our social intelligence that we know so much less about human behaviour and personality than we do about the behaviour of physical objects. The reason for this discrepancy is not only that persons are more complex and difficult to study but also that the resources of research have been directed much more toward understanding the behaviour of objects than of persons. The human personality has been a poor second in the affections of the scientists, and the adolescent has not even received his share of the scanty resources devoted to human research. Such studies as have been made of the adolescent have been to untangle the roots of delinquency among youth, though within the last decade some attempts have been made to study scientifically the "normal" adolescent. Whatever the causes of this neglect, the fact remains that the resources of knowledge about the adolescent are inadequate for our needs. Therefore the book under review is a welcome contribution. Though the book is concerned with the British boy and his education, there is enough material to help Indian parents and teachers to a better understanding of the adolescent and his training.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Social Service in India. Edited by SIR EDWARD BLUNT, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (Retd.) London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938. Pp. 447. 10s. 6d.

Economic Problems of Modern India. Edited by RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1939. Pp. 443. 10s. 6d.

Here are two books which deal with certain important aspects of Indian society. *Social Service in India* is the contribution of six English authorities, with long service in India, and is designed primarily for the instruction of

probationers for the Indian Civil Service. At the same time it has a general interest.

The range of topics presented is a broad one and necessitates their being treated in a somewhat sketchy manner. The subjects particularly stressed are the social backgrounds of the Indian people; the rural community and agriculture; medicine and public health; education; industrial labour; co-operation, and local self-government.

The final chapter discusses the relationship between voluntary social effort and official schemes:

"Since . . . the Indian peasant or labourer cannot in a few years, probably cannot in a single generation, transform his outlook and his habits, social welfare work, and particularly rural welfare work, must during the interval be promoted and sustained by an institution which is itself permanent. It must *not* depend on individuals who may very shortly disappear. The only permanent bodies which can fulfil this function are (i) Governments, and (ii) voluntary associations having a stable existence, an adequate income to pay their staff, and a continuous policy . . . The two types of agency—Governments and voluntary societies—will effect most if they remain in touch with one another and work as allies. Government departments are permanent, but cannot always reach the people; voluntary societies reach the people, but may lack resources or knowledge which Governments can supply."

A bibliography for each chapter is of value for those who wish to make further study of the topics under discussion.

While *Economic Problems in Modern India* is, as its name suggests, primarily a handbook in economics, it also contains a number of chapters of definite interest to the social worker. Dr. Mukerjee states the point of view very clearly when he says :

"Rural planning is a delicate and difficult art, and vast sums may be wasted if there be no proper co-ordination of reconstruction activities of Government in the fields of agriculture, co-operation, education, sanitation and social welfare, nor reorientation of *panchayats* and other intermediary bodies which develop local initiative and progress-mindedness among the rural masses. The peasant cannot be progress-minded in one direction and conservative and superstitious in another. No progress can be achieved if social custom, family and marriage habit encourage the peasants to multiply without restraints and out-reach not merely the out-put of their fields but also the facilities of education and sanitation that may be provided. The advantages of co-operative credit are nullified if the peasant continues to waste money lavishly on social ceremonies in the sequence of births, deaths and marriages in the family or falls a victim along with his cattle to diseases, seasonally and

recurrently, through disregard or ignorance of the elementary rules of hygiene. Neither intensive farming nor dairying can flourish as long as religious sentiment prevents the Indian peasant from taking a practical view of animal keeping . . . How often are the fruits of toil of the depressed castes, who form the backbone of Indian agricultural labour and a considerable section also of industrial labour in India, dissipated in drink and vice because of the social barriers to acquiring land, following less servile and degrading occupations and otherwise improving their economic status and standard of living ! A rural recovery programme must therefore include social reform, an offensive against all out-worn religious creeds, social beliefs and caste habits, which prevent the men and women of India from taking a common-sense attitude for conserving and wisely using the present limited resources." (pp. xvii-xviii)

Although fourteen different authors contribute to the symposium, the net result is a fairly unified picture of India's outstanding economic problems. It is a source of satisfaction to find the economists approaching their subject in the light of "the sociological whole situation" instead of from the standpoint of pure theory. An extension of studies of this type is certain to result in programmes of practical benefit to the nation.

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

Your Community. By JOANNA C. COLCORD. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. Pp. 249. \$ 0.88.

This book is a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier and popular pamphlet, "What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities."

The book is primarily useful for making "Social Surveys" rather than "Sociological Surveys." It is an outline intended as a guide to non-professional and pre-professional students of social research, to help them secure a "rounded picture of their own community," especially as to the provision which that community makes to conserve the health and safety and to promote the education and general welfare of its inhabitants. The different outlines given in separate chapters cover such topics as Community Setting, Local Government, Crime, Public Safety, Labour Problems, Housing, Provision for Health Care and its Distribution, Provision for the Handicapped, Educational Resources, Recreation, Religious Agencies, Provisions for Family Welfare, for Child Care and for Community Planning and Co-ordination.

The most helpful feature of the book is that it assists in the gathering of pertinent data. Under each heading is given a set of questions, answers to which would form the most essential data for the study of that particular aspect of community life. Such help in the preparation of Schedules makes it

possible to avoid the unnecessary labour of collecting a medley of facts which may not be useful for the study as such.

Even though the book is meant for use in the study of American communities, it can be a useful guide for the survey of any Indian community by reformulating the questions to suit any particular purpose or area. It must be noted, however, that the word "Community" is used in its "Sociological" and not in its "Religio-Political" sense as it is often used in India.

P. M. TITUS

A LIST OF BOOKS ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

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PRINCIPLES OF RURAL ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

"In India," says Dr. Kumarappa, "village reconstruction means national reconstruction, as the bulk of our population is to be found in the villages. The utmost caution is therefore required in our method of approach."

This article may be regarded as an authentic exposition of the philosophy of rural reconstruction held by Mahatma Gandhi and his associates at Wardha, as Dr. Kumarappa is the Assistant Secretary of the All India Village Industries Association.

EVERY one in India is talking about rural reconstruction. But very few take up the task humbly. The majority assume that the villager is thoroughly old-fashioned and ignorant; that he must be made to do certain things taught in text books, or adopt what other people in other lands have done to become prosperous. Their attitude is one of benevolent contempt and each reformer, who is as a rule an outsider from the point of view of education and culture, takes it upon himself, without any appreciation of the villager's life and problems, to advise him what should be done. Is it any wonder then that in spite of much talk, rural reconstruction has made little headway? It is not that the villager is stupid and over-conservative. It is that he is not much impressed by the reformer who is out to set things right in the village overnight.

One of the first requisites of one who would take up the task of village reconstruction is therefore intimate knowledge of village life and conditions. But mere knowledge is not enough; the village outlook must have become second nature to him, so that he sees things instinctively from the villager's point of view. The reason for this is nothing hidden or mysterious. It arises from the fact that village life and organisation are not a mere accident, but are the result of centuries of experience and thought applied to every detail of human life. The whole is so closely knit together that you cannot easily remove a piece without destroying the fabric. It is he who has insight into, and regard for, this wisdom of the ages, that is qualified to plan for village reconstruction.

Further, the utmost caution is required, not only because, as we have just said, any half-baked scheme will destroy the unity of the village fabric, but also because in our country village reconstruction means national reconstruction, as the bulk of our population is to be found in villages. In planning for the nation therefore it will not do to take up any novel idea that comes along, for the social or economic conditions that may result will have far-reaching consequences on the character of the nation. There are philosophers who assert that a man is what he is because of his social environment. Change the environment and you will change so-called human nature. Even if we do not accept this theory in the extreme, there is no gainsaying the fact that environment does play a very important part in making a man what he is. He who would reconstruct the village must therefore see if the conditions he would bring about in the village will make for national character and development. Any scheme that is likely to promote selfishness, greed, hatred and violence is in that very fact self-condemned, however good it may be in other respects. Therefore, the effect on human beings should be the main criterion in evaluating schemes of reconstruction, and material gain or prosperity secondary.

If village reconstruction is national reconstruction, it must be in line with our own national culture and heritage. No alien importation or blind imitation of what exists elsewhere will be anything other than an ugly patch-work on the fabric of our national life. The soul, or peculiar genius of a nation, is to be found in its religion, its philosophy, its art, and its institutions. It would be an interesting thesis to show, how in these various spheres in our country, the Indian genius expresses itself, giving these spheres their peculiarly Indian flavour and distinguishing them from what prevails in other countries. For our purpose here it will suffice simply to indicate the one principle which seems ultimately to account for all else that is distinctive of our culture, viz., the emphasis, or as some may call it over-emphasis, on the things of the Spirit. Our religion and philosophy have been said to be other-worldly, to the extent of being negligent of the things that pertain to this world. Asceticism and renunciation of material wealth, and in its place attainment of spiritual qualities, has been held in high esteem, and as necessarily connected with this, the virtues most taught have been selflessness and non-violence—these being regarded as the cardinal virtues on which all others rest.

This being so, our social organizations, with which alone we are chiefly concerned here, may be expected to reflect these very principles. In them, the idea prevailing has been that the individual was not an entity in himself but had manifold obligations to his group. The joint family system reflected

this idea within the small family group, where the income of a member became the joint property of the family. The selfishness of an able member was thus curbed and made to serve the purpose of the group. Similarly in a wider sphere, the caste system did the same. It inculcated in members of the caste a group loyalty which transcended the barriers of rich and poor, learned or ignorant. It bound the rich with the poor and the learned with the ignorant, within the caste. It thus curbed selfishness and made the capable members of the caste fulfil their obligations to the less capable members—unlike the present class system of the West, which divides the rich from the poor, the learned from the ignorant and prevents the benefits of wealth or learning reaching the poor and ignorant, except as the result of condescending charity. Or taking a still larger unit, viz., the village, the individual's life and occupation were determined by the needs of the village rather than by his own individual preference. The group required certain services to be done, and the work was distributed among the several members, who carried out these services from generation to generation without the slightest protest. So well had the control of the individual in the interests of the group been effected. Selflessness, social solidarity and co-operation were thus achieved in the place of the extreme individualism and cut-throat rivalry that exist in the world today.

Or take the virtue of non-violence. One may almost say that the logical consequence of selflessness is non-violence, or refraining from causing injury to another, even as the logical consequence of selfishness is violence. For instance, if a capable member of the family keeps all his earnings to himself and refuses to help the weaker members, he does injury to them and is violent. Similarly, if a farmer or a merchant raises himself by suppressing other members of his caste or village, he is selfish and violent. Instead of generating selfishness and violence, the village organisation, caste and the joint family tended to promote fellow-feeling and mutual-helpfulness between members of a group.

If these are the virtues on which our social organisations of the past were based, it is necessary to keep them in mind while planning for the future, for it is only that which is in harmony with our own cultural traditions that can permanently abide with us and help us to make our peculiar contribution to the common good of mankind.

In striking contrast with our ancient organisations are the two types of economic systems that prevail in the world today—the capitalistic and the communistic. Capitalism is based on the principle of allowing uncurbed freedom to each man to acquire as much wealth for himself as he can. If in the process he co-operates with others, he does so only for the purpose of making more wealth for himself. Such a system cannot but lead to extreme

selfishness and greed, and as an inevitable result, to violence as between capital and labour, and between nation and nation. Communism seeks to overcome this evil by denying freedom to the individual to organise production. The individual thereby becomes a cog in the wheel; his is not to reason why; his is but to do and die. Freedom, the most sacred possession of the individual, is forfeited, and in its place violence—required to regiment the nation for production—reigns supreme.

In planning for the economic reconstruction of our villages then, neither capitalism nor communism seems suitable. However efficient these systems may be in producing material wealth, it will be incompatible with our national heritage to adopt them if they promote social disruption and violence. If we would preserve freedom of the individual, which communism takes away, and at the same time see that the interests of the community are not sacrificed, as happens under capitalism, it would seem that the individual should be allowed to think and plan production as best he can, though at the same time be curbed, in the interests of the group, from misusing his freedom. This double purpose requires to be kept constantly in mind and can be served by a twofold method, which we may call (1) Decentralisation in Production, and (2) Swadeshi in Consumption.

(1) *Decentralisation in Production.* Decentralisation in Production means that as far as possible all enterprise should be left in the hands of individuals who would carry it on, not in factories which centralise production, but each under his own roof—so far as he has the capacity to run his own business. Production will then take place in innumerable small units scattered all over the country. Instead of a cloth mill supplying the demand of hundreds of miles around, there will be several cottage spinners and weavers meeting the requirements of their immediate neighbourhood. Such decentralised production is best suited to conditions prevailing in our country, for

- (a) India is primarily agricultural, and agriculture being the main occupation, the bulk of the people are perforce scattered throughout the country in villages. Industries must therefore be carried on as far as possible in villages and as subsidiary to agriculture so that the idle moments of villagers can be turned to profit. Many have little or no work on the fields for a few months in the year. Factory production cannot absorb them for they cannot leave their fields and go elsewhere, as they often have to work for a part of the day on the fields. The industries have therefore to be such as they can take up or leave as convenient. This is not possible in large-scale production, where machines must work at a fixed speed for a continued period of time if they are to be profitable.

- (b) Capital in our villages is scarce. The people cannot spend more than a few rupees on tools and equipment. Any plan for their economic uplift which overlooks this fact will be impracticable. Many a beautiful scheme has fallen flat precisely because the villages cannot afford the means suggested. Therefore centralised industries which require enormous capital are altogether out of the question.
- (c) Labour in this country is plentiful. Large scale methods curtail labour and thus lead to unemployment. They are therefore just what we should not adopt in this country. If we would bring prosperity to the village it is necessary that every person in it should be profitably engaged. This cannot be done except with home-crafts. Work is that which makes for disciplined character—resourcefulness, steadiness of purpose, industry, perseverance, accuracy, initiative and thoroughness. It also calls for intelligence and artistic sense. It is the great educator leading man to health, wealth and happiness. It is therefore not something to flee from. On the other hand, it is lack of work that is a curse, leading to despondency, a sense of purposelessness, futility, vice, and an all round demoralisation in character, intelligence and artistic sense. Whatever else we may not be able to secure for our villagers, what we must by all means seek to obtain for them is work—work not of a kind that will, as in the factory, be soul-killing and make of the worker a machine, but that which the worker can call his own, and over which he can exercise his thought, character and sense of beauty. Work must therefore be decentralised and left to the resources of the worker, and it is only when it is carried on thus in small units that it can give employment to the vast number of people in the villages.
- (d) Our people are poor. The solution to widespread poverty does not lie in large scale production which accumulates wealth in the hands of a few, but in spreading production among as many units as possible, each of which will make wealth for itself. Wealth will then be automatically more evenly distributed. Instead of there being a few millionaires on the one hand, and the bulk of the population on the verge of starvation on the other, we shall, if we replace large scale manufacture by cottage production, have no millionaires, and the millions which would have gone to fill their pockets will have made thousands of villagers more prosperous.

As against this, it is no use to point to the wealth and high standard of living of the industrialised nations of the world as an argument that poverty can be ended only by large scale methods of production. For if these nations are prosperous it is at the expense of the weaker nations of the world, who have been impoverished and enslaved in the process. There is no getting away from the fact that as things are at present, large scale methods have taken away production and therefore wealth from a majority of human beings and thus led to poverty and misery for the greater part of mankind. The remedy therefore in a land of poverty is to adopt small scale methods of production which will bring back to the small producer the profits which now go to swell the income of the already-too-rich capitalist.

For these reasons, the only way to bring life and prosperity back to our land is to revive cottage and village industries, which will be owned, run and managed by individuals as best they can. This is what we mean by decentralisation in production.

But it may be argued that these small producers may in time expand their business till the more efficient among them is able to oust his rivals and monopolise production to himself, when we shall be faced once more with large scale production. This is what has actually happened in the industrialised West. How shall we avoid it? The only way out will be to curb the greed of such in the wider interests of the community. This can be done, as we shall presently see, in a number of ways which can be summed up in what we may call the principle of *Swadeshi*.

(2) *Swadeshi in Consumption*. One of the best ways of preventing manufacture of goods without limit, then dumping them on other people—upsetting economic equilibrium and producing unemployment among them—is to inculcate in people the ideal of *Swadeshi*, i. e., their duty to purchase goods manufactured by their immediate neighbours rather than goods imported from elsewhere. This means that in economic reconstruction the aim should be to make the village as far as possible self-sufficient for its primary requirements, so that all the fundamental wants of the people can be adequately met from the village itself. Each unit will then be using goods produced by itself in preference to goods from outside; and so if a person wishes to increase his business so as to supply also the needs of others than those who belong to his unit he will find that no one else will buy his goods. Thus he will be prevented from developing into a large scale manufacturer. If articles produced elsewhere are more attractive than those produced locally they will not be allowed to flood out the local product, but the local artisan will be required to improve his production to come up to the standard of the foreign product. In this way consumers will limit themselves to, and improve, local production.

It need not be thought that such self-control on the part of the consumer to help the local producer will call for more altruism on his part than he is capable of. For he himself being a producer will readily understand the wisdom of the scheme. He will see that if the goods he produces are to be consumed, his neighbour must have the wherewithal to consume them, and his neighbour cannot have the means to buy his goods if left unemployed for lack of consumers. He will thus see that in his own self-interest he should limit his consumption as far as possible to the products of his neighbour. As mutual gain accrues no great idealism will be required.

Such *Swadeshi*, or group loyalty, should not be mistaken for a narrow clannishness which swears by its own group, right or wrong, and aims to advance itself against other groups. This spirit, if it prevails, will disintegrate the nation into warring elements. This is certainly a danger which must be averted by all means. We have already too many such disruptive forces to contend with to advocate bringing one more into existence. True *Swadeshi* is not thus exclusive. While recognising that the whole world is one and its parts closely knit together, it consists in serving the world by serving that little part in which one finds oneself, and serving it in such a way that it does not hinder any other part from legitimately developing itself. The relationship is not unlike a man's duty to his family as compared with his duty to society. In fulfilling his obligations to his family he is fulfilling his duty to society. But in no case must he allow love of his family to become so exclusive as to seek to serve it by causing injury to society. If family obligation is right, so is *Swadeshi*, as here understood. And it will be as faulty to condemn *Swadeshi* as disruptive of the nation and the world as to say that family love should be condemned as it may work against the interests of the community. Any virtue can become a vice by overdoing. But that is no reason for condemning the virtue itself.

When under the operation of the principle of *Swadeshi*, consumption is restricted to local products, production will be related to a known demand. Hence there will be no over-production, and all the evils incidental thereto—such as periodic depressions, forced sales, imperialism and war. Production will be directed to meet the primary needs of people rather than waste itself, as at present, on the manufacture of unnecessary articles such as cosmetics and ineffective tonics. The consumer will be brought into direct contact with the producer, thus eliminating the middlemen who at present swallow up the bulk of the profits. The villager will have knowledge and control over factors which affect his production, unlike today when he is at the mercy of international forces about which he knows nothing and over which he has no control, and which lead him as by chance—now to prosperity and now to depression and

ruin. The problem of marketing which is almost insoluble for the modern producer will be easily solved, as the producer will have his own village for his market. Trade will be voluntary and for mutual benefit where a locality is able to produce what some other locality cannot produce, and takes back in return what it requires but cannot produce.

Our land is eminently suited to putting into effect this principle of *Swadeshi* in consumption, as group loyalty and group control on which it rests, have been drilled into us, as we have already seen, by the social organizations of the past. The final method of bringing about the practice of this ideal is of course through the slow but sure process of education, whereby people are taught the implications of *Swadeshi*, see that ultimately it is in their own interests as it is in the interests of their neighbours, and learn to practise it of their own free will. In the meantime the principle can be enforced (a) by Panchayats or village administrative units passing laws enjoining consumption of local products; (b) by their raising tariffs against imported goods; (c) by their refusing to allow mills or factories to be set up in areas under their jurisdiction; and (d) by means of social sanctions whereby the community regards an individual buying or selling articles imported from elsewhere as *grama-drohin* (traitor to the village) and thus outcasts him.

Through the operation of this principle the economic equilibrium of the village will be properly maintained, as each village will produce for itself what it wants. Consequently there will be no competition for markets, and therefore no incentive for war or group violence. Thus peace and uniform prosperity can be secured. And further, since under decentralised production the worker will have the option of producing what he likes and how he likes, there will be ample scope for creative endeavour and the development of individuality. What more can we desire of any economic system? It is along these lines then: of decentralisation of production and *Swadeshi* in consumption, that we must seek to build the economic life of the village and of the country. And happily when we do so we shall also be in direct line of descent from our national heritage, which as we have already pointed out, cared more for the attainment of spiritual values and for human welfare than for the hoarding of material wealth. Under such a system we may be poorer in this world's goods, but we shall have established non-violence and peace on the secure foundation of economic life, and given rise to a nation of free, self-determining individuals.

We have so far concerned ourselves with the general principles which should guide our efforts in reconstructing the economic life of the villages. We must now turn to practical details.

As man is not a mere wealth-producing machine, but is a living being, anything which will promote his physical, mental and moral development will

also finally aid in the work of economic reconstruction. The village reformer must therefore not isolate economic problems and neglect the human element. The villager today is in a sorry plight. He is physically weak and falls an easy prey to disease. A man without vitality, energy or ambition cannot be an efficient producer. He drags on a miserable existence. It is, if anything, even more important to improve him than to improve his tools and implements. But that is not to say that the one must precede the other. All problems affecting him must be tackled together and immediately. His surroundings and his water-supply have to be kept clean; his diet has to be improved within the means available to him; education that will make him an efficient producer and an intelligent citizen will have to be provided; moral and religious instruction must be given; in the place of drink, gambling and vice, healthy amusements and recreation introduced; and he should be liberated from cramping social customs. All these have a vital part to play in economic reconstruction, and without them mere schemes for economic betterment will not accomplish much.

In regard to economic questions themselves, the village reformer will find that he is up against factors over which no individual or private organisations can have control. They involve Governmental policy and action. All that the village worker can hope to do is to create public opinion which may ultimately move the Government to make the necessary changes. We shall here barely mention a few of these, as they are fundamental to economic reconstruction of villages.

- (a) It will be necessary to see that through taxation and through the exactions of municipalities, local boards and malguzars the economic life of the people is not injured nor their taxable capacity reduced. At present these exactions hamper the village producer at every turn.
- (b) The State must stimulate village production through its purchases, even if it can buy cheaper elsewhere. Otherwise it will be guilty of creating unemployment among its citizens, and thus reducing the taxable capacity on which the State depends.
- (c) A State that is interested in village industries will even tax factory goods in order to enable village products to compete favourably with machine-made goods. As it is, factories get the benefits of protection, while the village producer is left to fate.
- (d) The exchange ratio will have to be fixed with the sole purpose of aiding the Indian producer, and currency and credit made to serve the same end.
- (e) Loans should be made available to village producers on easy terms.

- (f) Research will have to be undertaken to improve village implements and processes, and to start new industries wherever possible.
- (g) Transport facilities, in the way of favourable freight rates and good roads, will have to be provided.
- (h) Marketing, grading and standardising of village products should be done with the help of experts.
- (i) Forest laws will have to be made to suit the village producer and forests owned and controlled by the State operated to benefit village industries.
- (j) Land tenure and land revenue must be modified to enable agriculture to bring in a greater income to the peasant.
- (k) Mineral resources should be conserved by the State for local use in the manufacture of goods and not exported.
- (l) Education should centre round village crafts.

In all these ways the State can give a powerful impetus to village production. On the other hand, so long as things are as they are and nothing is done to alter them, all efforts of village reformers can avail but little, for many of the handicaps under which the village producer labours are due to Governmental policy and can be removed only by a change in this policy. To attempt under present conditions to make headway in bringing about improvement in the economic condition of villagers is almost like trying to run with one's legs tied. But that does not mean that we must therefore sit and wait for the Government to be converted. The condition of our villagers is too desperate to allow of such procrastination. Individuals and organisations must do all that is possible in spite of these obstacles. What they may do we shall now outline.

(1) Before any plan of village economic reconstruction is made, one must acquire an intensive knowledge of village conditions regarding the area under cultivation, source of irrigation, size of average holding, total revenue, taxes and other duties paid, general indebtedness, financial resources, rates of interest, average income in a year, kind of crops raised and where they are marketed. In regard to existing industries it will be necessary to know from where the raw material is obtained, whether anything has to be paid for collecting it, what capital is required, how it is obtained, equipment and tools required, labour employed, markets, any subsidiary industries that may be run out of waste materials and bye-products of the industry. In regard to industries that are on the verge of extinction or have become extinct, it will be necessary to discover the causes for their decline, how many were occupied in these industries and their earnings, and what are the possibilities of their revival and improvement. It is also necessary to study local consumption to

see what articles are coming into the village from outside, and whether such articles cannot be produced in the village on a cottage basis. This survey should not be conducted in a purely academic fashion where the interest is in merely collecting data and filing them, but must be motivated with the practical aim of seeing what can be done to improve matters. For this a thorough-going study is unnecessary. During the process of investigation itself, numerous suggestions will offer themselves as to how improvements may be effected. These should be discussed with the people concerned, who will present the practical difficulties in the way. In the light of such difficulties plans must be made keeping in mind the whole economy of the village.

(2) We have already said that economic reconstruction must proceed primarily along the lines of decentralisation in production and *Swadeshi* in consumption, making the village self-sufficient in regard to its primary requirements. This has various implications. It will mean, firstly, that it will not do to start or encourage industries which make the village producer dependent on mills or distant places for his raw materials if they can be produced locally or in the neighbourhood by cottage methods of production. Thus, for example, it is unwise for the hand-loom weaver to depend for his yarn on mills. For any day the mill-owner who now provides him with yarn may expand his business and start power-looms which will leave the hand-loom weaver without yarn. Whereas if the village weaver obtains handspun yarn from the village, his supply of yarn is assured to him. Or take soap making. If the village soap-maker is dependent on caustic soda imported from abroad, he is at sea if through war or for other reasons, this supply is stopped or becomes prohibitive in price. If on the other hand, he displaces the foreign caustic soda by alkali obtainable locally (*sajji*, *pappad khar*, or wood ash) he is free from the factors he cannot control.

Secondly, the tools and implements needed for the industry should be as far as possible such as can be made and repaired in the locality. Otherwise, not only does it involve a drain of wealth from the village for purchasing them, but it also means that the village producer becomes helpless if for some reason they cannot be had or go out of order. Further, if they are produced in the village their manufacture will give employment to the local wood-cutter, the blacksmith, the carpenter and whoever else may be required to make them.

Thirdly, it will mean that the village reformer will concern himself chiefly with cottage industries which meet the requirements of the village itself. Philanthropic-minded foreigners in India, eager to improve the economic lot of the people, have often made the mistake of introducing new industries like furniture-making, embroidery and crochet work for which there is no demand among the people themselves. The result is that the industry, not being

indigenous, does not call out the originality of the worker. He only learns to make things according to given design, sometimes not even knowing for what use the article is intended. The market is found for the article elsewhere. Thus the worker instead of becoming self-reliant through such industries becomes wholly dependent both for ideas and for markets on others. Not only is the industry precarious as it depends on external agencies beyond his control, but it is essentially wrong in principle as it does not conduce to making the worker free and self-reliant. Where, on the other hand, an industry aims to meet a demand in the village itself, the worker can use all his ingenuity in adequately meeting that demand as it is known to him, and the market is readily available.

So also it will not do for the village producer to seek to cater to demand from mills or from abroad. Sugar-cane and oil-seeds cultivation provide telling illustrations of this truth today, as owing to over-production, sugar-mills are unable to consume sugar-cane, which therefore has had to rot in the fields, and owing to war many of our markets abroad for oil-seeds are closed, thus leading those who produce them to ruin and irreparable loss.

Further, where the consumption is not local, the village producer gets into the hands of middlemen who exploit the situation to their own benefit and leave very little income for the producer.

But this is not to say, of course, that the villager is never to produce except for his own village. We have already suggested that trade or mutual exchange of goods may take place between villages. But it will relate to surplus products, or articles, for the production of which a locality is specially favoured by geographical or other circumstances. The needs of the village however will be the first concern of the producer. Today the villager produces raw materials for cities and distant places. Mills and export traders buy them off on a mass scale. In return factory articles and imported goods flood the village. The villager is left poorer by this transaction, for in exporting raw materials on which he can work himself, he has exported employment and therefore wealth. Why, for example, send out raw cotton to Lancashire or Japan or to Indian mills to have it made into cloth and sent back to the village, when the villager himself is well able to make cloth? The procedure is as absurd as if the villagers of India sent their clothes to Europe to be laundered. The tragedy of the situation is that in the process the villager is doubly impoverished. He has to pay out for the finished product and he has been deprived of employment.

In the past, our villages themselves produced all they needed, and some of their industries, such as those of cotton, silk, carpet, brass and ivory work were the envy of the world. There is no reason why today India should be

reduced to being a purely agricultural country. Agriculture and industries have been spoken of as the two lungs of a nation. A nation condemned to live on one lung only must die by inches. It is necessary therefore by all means to prevent export from the village of raw materials capable of being turned into finished goods in the village itself. Accordingly, the agriculturist must be weaned away from growing money crops for distant markets and urged to utilise his land for growing such crops as are needed for food and the industrial occupations of the people. The villager will then be able to say to the trader who wishes him to produce for commercial purposes, "I am quite content to produce what my neighbours and I need; if you wish me to produce for you, you must pay me on my terms." Such a spirit of healthy independence, and with it all round prosperity and contentment, can come about only when he frees himself from the grinding exploitation of large commercial interests through making himself self-dependent both in regard to production and consumption as here suggested.

(3) Lastly, one of the most effective ways of bringing about economic prosperity in villages is through consumption. It is often thought by those residing in towns or cities that however much they may wish to ameliorate the poverty of the people by reviving village industries, still inasmuch as they do not live in villages they can do nothing. This is altogether wrong. As consumers they have a powerful weapon wherewith to direct production. If city-dwellers and others piously wishing for village reconstruction, continue to patronise factory products, it cannot but give a death-blow to village industries. If, on the other hand, they determine at all costs to buy village products in preference to factory goods, village production will at once be stimulated. It will not do to reply that village industry articles are so poor in quality that until they are improved no one can be expected to buy them, for obviously, they cannot improve unless they are in demand. It is because they have not been patronised that they have deteriorated in quality. Our craftsmen still have the patience, industry and skill of old, which won for their products universal admiration.

It lies with us, the consumers, therefore to see that this excellence in quality is once more revived. Nor can we say that *khadi* (hand-spun, hand-woven cloth) and other village products are far too expensive as compared with factory articles. Large scale, organised industries receive various forms of subsidies and services from the Government, which are paid for from the general revenues of the country, while village industries hardly get recognition of their existence, leave alone services and concessions. Therefore if there is any cheapness in production in large-scale industries it is due in some measure to a part of the expenditure connected with them being paid for by

the tax-payer. Further, we have already seen how large scale production means poverty and unemployment for the bulk of our population. If that is so, large scale industries are far too costly from the point of view of the nation. What profit is there if an individual saves a few rupees if the masses are thereby impoverished? For ultimately, when the masses are poor it will inevitably recoil on the well-to-do consumer himself and on large scale industries which must languish for lack of consumers. It is time we learnt that we stand together or fall together.

Not only so, today the industrialised nations of the world are covering the world with the dead bodies of men, women and children. Human blood appears to be as necessary fuel for their mammoth machines as coal, oil or electricity, for the machines cannot run unless there be sufficient raw materials and markets, and these cannot be had except by killing all economic rivals and keeping others off at the point of the sword. Shall you and I be a party to such organised large scale murder just in order to buy goods "cheaply"?

In reconstructing the economic life of our people then, we must pursue a method all our own, the method of decentralised production and consumption, which is not only eminently suited to geographical and other conditions prevailing in our country, but also conducive to non-violence and peace. Too long have human considerations been carefully excluded from the economic sphere. If India is not to follow the industrialised countries of the world into self-destruction, and if in accordance with her spiritual heritage, she is to show a war-worn world the way of peace, her only means is the establishment of an economic order which will deliberately aim at making production and consumption of a kind which will not necessitate war. The principles here laid down of village economic reconstruction have been propounded precisely with this aim in view. As we said at the outset, it will not do to attempt village reconstruction haphazard, piecemeal and without a plan, for what the village is to be, that our country and we as a nation ultimately will be. When through decentralised village production our people become self-reliant, independent and at the same time peace-loving, they will not only have achieved economic stability for themselves but will be a powerful influence for peace and good will among men.

GOVERNMENT AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

Official efforts at rural reconstruction may lack the spontaneity of non-official efforts, but at the same time a large amount of solid work is being done. The emphasis in this article is primarily on what the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are doing for the improvement of agriculture, without which there can be no rural progress.

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IN a country where about 90 per cent of the population lives in villages and almost 70 per cent of the population is directly dependent on agriculture, the rural problem is of no mean importance.

Time was when each Indian village was in very large measure, self-sufficient. But today, that self-sufficiency is gone—and along with it the confidence which gave the village its power. The village of today is not only dependent on the town, but also has lost a tremendous amount of potential leadership through migration to the towns.

And yet the fact remains that the rural areas are, and for many years will continue to be, the dominating force in Indian life. Wise leaders therefore recognize that if India is to enter into her rightful heritage the village must be re-born.

There are two ways of attempting rural reconstruction. One way is to impose it from without; the other way is to encourage the villager to develop his own resources. A sound programme of rural reconstruction also aims at unifying village life. Improved agriculture is important, but along with it must go better health and a general raising of village standards.

For a number of years spasmodic attempts have been made to revitalize individual villages or groups of villages. A large proportion of these efforts have been of the touch-and-go variety, leaving no lasting results. But some centres, due to wise leadership or other fortuitous circumstances have taken root and attained to more than local importance.

Within the last decade Government have evinced a new interest in rural affairs. The appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India may well be taken as a landmark of agricultural progress. The Report of the Commission, published in 1928, is noteworthy both for its thoroughness and for its intelligent insight into the rural problem. The Report points out clearly that material improvement alone is not enough. The outlook of the peasant himself is the most important factor making for prosperous agriculture. "If the inertia of centuries is to be overcome," says the Report, "it is

essential that all the resources at the disposal of the State should be brought to bear on the problem of rural uplift. What is required is an organized and sustained effort by all those departments whose activities touch the lives and the surroundings of the rural population.”¹

The State alone, however, cannot deal with such a complex problem. Though the Commission feel that it is the “duty of governments to initiate a combined movement for the betterment of the rural population,” they recognize that “success on a large scale can be rendered permanent only if the sympathy, interest and the active support of the general public can be enlisted. So vast is the population and so extensive are the areas concerned, that no resources which could conceivably be commanded by the State would be adequate to the task in hand.”²

The appointment of Lord Linlithgow, who had served as the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, as Viceroy, gave a new impetus to the rural movement. Addressing the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research shortly after his accession to office (Simla, July 16, 1936), His Excellency the Viceroy expressed his satisfaction at the progress in agriculture during the nine years which had elapsed since his previous visit to India and stated that in his opinion “the establishment of a greater degree of co-ordination than would appear at present to exist between district officers and the officers of other departments of the Government, Public Works, Irrigation, Agricultural, Veterinary and Co-operation, would strengthen materially the means at our disposal for promoting agricultural improvement as well as rural betterment in the widest sense The road is clear for a great advance in India’s premier industry,” said the Viceroy. “Let us seize with all eagerness the opportunity thus presented over the whole range of agricultural improvement. Let the word be ‘Full speed ahead.’”

With the interest of His Excellency the Viceroy and the enthusiasm of the local governments, the tempo of rural reconstruction has been greatly accelerated during the past few years. This progress has manifested itself in various forms.

Less spectacular than many other phases of work, but more fundamental, is the vast amount of quiet research being carried out. In the course of a broadcast from Delhi, early in 1938, Sir Bryce Burt, Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, stated that “there are now in India 22 agricultural institutes and laboratories concerned with the improvement of crop production, about 300 experimental and demonstration farms, a teaching and research staff of 800 officers and assistants and nearly 2,000 officials en-

¹ P. 89.

² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

gaged in the introduction of the successful results of research into general agricultural practice."

The main attention of Government "has been concentrated on the improvement of indigenous crops by the application of modern plant-breeding methods." To this end, 83 plant-breeding stations are carrying out experiments on 80 major crops. "It is known," stated Sir Bryce, "that improved varieties of crops now occupy some 25 million acres, but this figure quite inadequately represents the total effect on the agriculture of the country . . . The annual gain to Indian agriculture from the work of plant-breeding stations runs into many crores of rupees."

Outstanding progress has been made in extending the acreage of improved varieties of sugarcane, which has made possible the establishment of a modern Indian sugar industry. The acreage of improved varieties of cotton is steadily increasing, to the advantage both of the grower and the Indian textile industry. Experiments are being carried out in dry farming. Researches are being made on soils and investigations in the use of fertilizers. The quality and yield of various staple crops such as rice, wheat, jute and other fibres, tobacco, oil-seeds, tea, coffee, rubber, fruit, fodder crops, grasses and millets have been improved. Facilities for marketing agricultural produce have been extended. The principal problem is to bridge the gap between the experiment station and the farmer—a problem which is being met by demonstration farms, demonstrations carried out in the cultivators' own fields, exhibitions, oral and written advice and propaganda by such means as the gramophone, radio, magic lantern and cinema.

Alongside of research in crop improvement has gone research in various branches of animal husbandry, including veterinary service, animal nutrition and cattle breeding. Attention is also being devoted to the development of the dairy industry and to preventing the adulteration of dairy products.

The Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India has stated that the population of India may be expected to reach the figure of 400 millions by 1941. He has further pointed out that only about three-fourths of an acre per head of population in British India is at present being cultivated for food purposes. It is therefore apparent that all steps which are being taken to increase the food supply are of vital importance, and none of more importance than those for increasing the facilities for irrigation. In opening the annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation at New Delhi in late October 1936, His Excellency the Viceroy pointed out that the total amount so far expended on irrigation works approximates to 150 crores of rupees, but that vast as that sum is, the area served by the works on which that sum has been spent raises crops annually to the value of 100 crores of rupees. Thus

taking into account the value of these crops, the capital expenditure is repaid every eighteen months.

According to *Irrigation in India for 1934-35*, issued by the Industries and Labour Department of the Government of India, the area irrigated by Government Works alone totalled 29,888,000 acres—nearly a seventh of the whole area under crops in British India. The Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage and Canals Construction Scheme is the greatest work of its kind in the world. When completed it will include 6,400 miles of canals, and will command 7,500,000 acres—an area two and a half times the size of Palestine. There is scarcely a Province in India in which large irrigation schemes are not either now being carried out or are under consideration.

For the financial year 1935-36 the Government of India placed a sum of Rs. 92½ lakhs at the disposal of Local Governments and minor administrations to be utilised for rural development. In reviewing the progress made during the year, Government pointed out that there was a tendency for effort to become diffused over too wide a field and that in a number of provinces the machinery of sanction and control had become too centralized, leaving too little initiative to the district authorities.

In announcing an extra grant of 103 lakhs for the financial year 1936-37, the Government of India therefore laid down certain principles for the guidance of the Provincial Governments. It was suggested :

(1) that each local Government should select two or three main objects, suited to the conditions of its own Province, to which to devote the money available, and should resist every attempt to deflect it from those objects.

(2) that short-range schemes or attempts to accelerate accomplishment at the sacrifice of the stability of the results achieved should be avoided.

(3) that in order to enlist local interest, the schemes undertaken should be contributory, i.e., the local area should contribute a portion of the cost in either cash or labour.

(4) responsibility should be delegated, so far as possible, to the District Officer and each project undertaken should be properly inspected at regular intervals.

On October 15, 1936, a Report of Progress in Rural Uplift was presented to the Legislative Assembly by the Hon. Sir James Grigg, Finance Member. The Report, incorporating the reports of the Provincial Governments on the expenditure of the rural development fund allotted to the Provinces by the Central Government, is most interesting reading. It is a story of agricultural improvements, the improvement of rural sanitation and hygiene, cultural advance, the provision of new facilities for education, the construction of roads and bridges, of increasing the water supply, the provision of village play-

grounds, of improved methods of marketing and the consolidation of holdings.

The list is so long that one can do no more than make a few brief extracts. Thus in the United Provinces, 9 health units were established, each comprising an area of about 50 villages. Medical relief was extended through the introduction of mobile dispensaries, maternity and child welfare work undertaken by health visitors assisted by trained midwives, and intensive health propaganda carried out by lectures, informal talks and visual instruction. In the North-West Frontier Province a scheme was introduced to sink wells in an area where drinking water is so scarce that at times it has to be fetched from a distance of 12 miles. Open wells have been converted into closed wells in order to combat guinea worm. In Bombay, 195 night schools were opened and a number of new school buildings constructed. Schemes were formulated—varying to meet local conditions—for the improvement of staple crops and for improving the breed of cattle and goats. In the Punjab, fruit nurseries were established and a canning hall equipped for the canning of fruits and vegetables. Considerable advance was made in the consolidation of land holdings. In the Central Provinces a farm was opened to supply seeds, which had hitherto been imported from outside districts. In Assam, 270 rural development circles, comprising a group of 12 villages each, were organized under the leadership of an organizer resident in each chief circle town. And so the list might be continued—a record of actual accomplishment and a portent of things to come.

A more detailed study of rural development in the provinces during the past few years supplies abundant evidence of the stirring of new life in the villages. In Bengal, the work of rural reconstruction is under the guidance of a Director of Rural Reconstruction, who is charged with the responsibility of stimulating village activities and co-ordinating these activities with the various related departments of Government and local bodies in order to secure their permanence. The following measures are regarded as falling under the meaning of rural uplift: improvements in methods of agriculture; improvements in rural living conditions; improvement in nutrition; improvements in recreation facilities; improvement in facilities for mental development and improvements in cottage industries. The unit of work is the village development association, which surveys the needs of the village and indicates the lines for future development. Twenty-one touring units provide free medical aid and carry on propaganda for village improvement. Circle officers are being trained by Government in special classes organized for this purpose.

An impetus to the rural movement in the Province of Bombay was given by the Village Panchayats Act, 1933. Many applications were received by Government for the establishment of village panchayats and a number were

established. The immediate advantage of the village panchayat is that the village elders themselves assume the responsibility for village improvement work which was hitherto carried out by Government authorities. Bombay Act No. XVIII of 1939 amends the 1933 Act by providing for the establishment of panchayats in all local areas having a population of not less than 2,000, which are declared by notification to be villages. The result should be a considerably extended interest in village improvement on the part of the villagers.

The reports of the District Collectors in Bombay reveal an attempt in each District to meet local needs. In one District the emphasis is on education through a village uplift motor van. In another District certain villages have been selected out for intensive work on all fronts. A third District is specialising in poultry farming and in the attempt to produce a better breed of cattle and sheep. A fourth District seems to be making a special effort to introduce iron ploughs. A fifth District is introducing special training classes for cultivators. A sixth District is emphasizing dyeing, painting and hand-loom weaving. A seventh is experimenting in canning mango juice. In all Districts there is an emphasis on sanitation and the improvement of communications.

In 1939 the Government of Bombay established a Provincial Board of Rural Development, consisting of officials and non-officials, for the purpose of advising on general principles and policy regarding rural development, while steps were also taken to establish a separate Board of Rural Development for each District. The first report of the Rural Development Department deals with eleven different types of activities: prevention of erosion of soil; extension of dry farming method; improvement of soil fertility; supply of seed of improved varieties of crops; extension of improved methods of cultivation; improved implements; fruit cultivation; control of insect pests and crop diseases; development of special tracts; shows, demonstrations and classes; regulated cotton markets and work under other cotton acts. The entire propaganda work done hitherto by the Agricultural Department has been transferred to the Co-operative Department. The activities of the Agricultural Department are now confined to research and education.³

The Bombay Government's rural development programme for the year 1940-41 calls for an expenditure of Rs. 2,78,000 and in addition to the customary activities, will give particular attention to dry farming, prevention of soil erosion and boring for water.

In the Central Provinces the emphasis has been placed on improving the quality of poultry and livestock, increasing the number of wells, bringing health facilities to the villagers and on the extension of debt conciliation boards.

³ *Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies and Rural Development in the Province of Bombay, 1938-39.*

The Madras Agricultural Department has been carrying on many and varied items of agricultural research, including work on plantains, millets, paddy, cotton, fodder, oil seeds, potatoes and sugar cane. The Department, through its engineering section, has also been endeavouring to evolve improved implements for use by cultivators. Demonstrators are employed to educate the ryot in improved methods of agriculture. There is an awakened interest in livestock improvement.

The Madras rural reconstruction programme includes the improvement of rural water supply, sanitation and village communications; the encouragement and development of co-operative loan and sale societies and societies for the consolidation of agricultural holdings; medical relief; cottage industries; tree planting and village improvement. About Rs. 9,46,000 have been spent by Collectors on schemes of rural uplift from April 1, 1937 to March 31, 1940.

The Punjab Agricultural Department sponsors a strong programme of research. No other Provincial Agricultural Department in India possesses so large or so well-equipped a research division. The quality of Punjab wheat and Punjab cotton is well-known. The District Staff of the Department carry on widespread demonstration and propaganda work. In the words of the Report of the Department for the year ending 30th June 1939, "A discovery not broadcasted is little better than a discovery not made. Every discovery, therefore, that promises to be of value to the cultivator must be brought to his notice For district work, the Province is divided into seven circles, each under a Deputy Director, assisted by two or more extra Assistant Directors and a staff of subordinates. They tour villages, lay down demonstration plots (of which there were more than 7,000 this year), give lectures to cultivators, arrange for supplies of improved seeds, help cultivators to destroy the pests and diseases which attack their crops and advise them in a dozen other ways by which they can secure a greater return for their labours. Village Farmers' Associations, which now number more than 4,500, receive the special attention of the departmental staff." ⁴

The passage of the Punjab Agricultural Produce Markets Act, 1939, will undoubtedly result in the producer obtaining a fairer deal in the disposition of his produce.

The cultivation of land in the Punjab, as well as in the other Provinces in India, is seriously handicapped by the small size of the holdings. According to a Press Note issued by the Director of the Punjab Information Bureau in August of 1938, the average area cultivated is only 7 to 8 acres per owner, and in the more congested districts seldom over 4 acres. But the smallness of the plots is a lesser evil than the system of fragmentation, due to the principle

of succession to immovable property by equal division among male heirs. Every co-sharer claims a separate share in each quality of land, which results in a wide fragmentation of such holdings. Thus a single cultivator may have his 7 or 8 acres split up into 50 or more different plots. This means, of course, time wasted in going from field to field, and land wasted by the excessive number of boundary lines. Rotation of crops and the use of improved implements and scientific husbandry are alike impossible. Neither can wells be sunk profitably.

The remedy lies in the consolidation of holdings. A regular scheme has been worked out whereby the people of an estate desiring to consolidate their lands form themselves into a society for this purpose and by mutual agreement and with Government assistance, repartition the land to the satisfaction of all concerned. There are many interests to be reconciled and differences to be composed, but the advantages of consolidation are so obvious that the process is going ahead. The Punjab Government has allotted first place to consolidation of holdings as a measure of rural uplift and earmarked the largest sum of the Government of India grant for rural reconstruction purposes to it.

The Bihar Government is undertaking a five-year rural welfare scheme looking to the development of primary and adult education, physical culture, libraries and reading rooms, improvement of village sanitation, medical relief, village industries, village communications, irrigation and water supply, and provision of credit and marketing facilities.

The attempt is being made in Orissa to concentrate on those schemes which will benefit the rural population as a whole and not only certain sections of the community. Emphasis is therefore being placed on the improvement of village communications and water-supply. The villagers themselves have co-operated heartily in this programme, both by contributing labour and arranging to take work on contract at moderate rates. The amount of work thus accomplished is far in excess of the actual expenditure.

The major problems of agricultural development in Sind are those related to the management of the soil and irrigation water, improved methods of cultivation and the production of better and high yielding crops. The major research work is carried out at the Agricultural Research Station, Sakrand. A new Research Station is being developed on the right bank of the Indus at Dokri, for investigating the problems of that area, which differs considerably from the left bank in soil and crop conditions.

A special officer is in charge of rural reconstruction activities. The plan is to use primary co-operative societies as the nucleus for village welfare work, co-ordinating the activities of allied Government Departments in each area.

In October, 1935, a scheme of rural development was initiated in the

United Provinces with the end in view of bringing the nation-building departments of Government into closer touch with village life. It contemplated the establishment of a rural development association in each District, consisting of the local officers of the various development departments, one or two representatives of the local district board and selected non-officials under the chairmanship of the District Officer.

It was planned that there should be six development circles in each district, each circle comprising a group of twelve villages. A resident organizer was to reside in the central village of each circle and a district inspector was charged with supervising the work of the organizers. In order to provide a definite channel through which improvements could be effectively introduced into the villages it was specified that in all the villages selected for development work, there should be either village panchayats or some other village organization to assume local responsibility.

After the selection of suitable groups of villages in which to begin the work, resident organizers were to be chosen for a three months' course of training. Village panchayats or Gram Sudhar Sabhas were to be established in the selected villages. A District Rural Development Association, under the guidance of the District Officer, was charged with the task of planning, co-ordinating and directing the work in each District, which was to follow along the general lines of the work attempted in the other Provinces, as outlined above.

Before the United Provinces scheme was well under way, the Congress Ministry assumed office and a new plan was introduced increasing the powers of the district associations and placing more of the work of rural development in their hands. The idea behind the new scheme was that there should be a registered "Better Living Society" in each village, a union of such societies for each unit, a district rural development association for each district and a provincial rural development board for the Province. The staff when complete will consist of a village guide for each village, an organizer for each unit, an inspector for each district, a superintendent for each division, and the Rural Development Officer and his staff at headquarters.

Reviewing the activities of the Department of Rural Development, United Provinces, during 1939, the Rural Development Officer states that during the year practically every aspect of rural welfare work was attended to, subject to the limitations of finance. He further points out that almost all the rural uplift schemes in the Province have been carried out on a contributory basis—the people themselves contributing in cash, kind, or labour at least a third of the expenses. There were 5,275 Better Living Societies at the end of the year, 2,977 of which were registered, and 310 Better Living Unions, of which 216 were registered.

So far as I am aware, the rural population in no Province in India is begging for "uplift." The rural reconstruction movement is in most instances an imposition from without and gives evidences of the weaknesses inherent in such a programme. At the same time a definite attempt is being made to enlist the co-operation of the villager and to encourage him to make efforts in his own behalf.

A critique of the Rural Development Programme in the United Provinces, by one who has been closely associated with it, can apply to other provinces as well. Writing in *The Social Welfare*,¹ Mr. Gopinath Srivastava says: "There was the absence of domestic adaptation as between one department and another. In the name of autonomy departments do not and are not expected to see anything beyond their nose. Such departmental myopia leads, and actually did lead, to collective blindness. The defects of each multiplied at the cost of the separate good. The Agricultural Department did not understand the need of co-operation of the entire village as a unit; and the Co-operative Department, *quid pro quo* only thought of providing credit to the villagers when they could not sell their products. Similarly, Public Health, Veterinary; each department went its way. The Government tried to blend these activities by the ideal of common endeavour and common good. But the red tape, the departmental mind and bureaucratic habits stood in the way."

A further danger comes from those leaders who desire to move forward too rapidly and who are more concerned with immediate reports than with lasting results. There is a tendency to confuse talk about rural work with actual progress. But enough has already been accomplished to make it clear that rural India is awakening, and that though reactions may set in because of unwise leadership, the rural movement itself will go ahead.

Although the preceding pages are concerned almost entirely with work undertaken with the backing of Government, the private agencies in the field are numerous and much of the work being done is of very high quality. Since the visit of Dr. Kenyon Butterfield to India in 1929-30, and the publication of the so-called "Butterfield Report" in 1930, Christian Missions have taken a keen interest in rural reconstruction. A considerable number of missionaries are co-operating with Government in providing demonstration centres for the wider Government programmes.

If the emphasis in this article seems to be more on better agriculture than on better living, it is because in the opinion of many, better agriculture is the essential prerequisite to better living. The villager, speaking broadly, is under-nourished and ill-fed, and his response to an ideal programme cannot but be conditioned by his own physical situation. Furthermore, a number of

the elements in a well-rounded programme of rural reconstruction, such as co-operation, debt redemption, primary and adult education, and health education, are deserving of separate treatment, and so the picture is as yet incomplete. As Mr. F. L. Brayne has well pointed out : "Village life is one whole and must be developed and improved as a whole. Better farming is useless without better health and vice versa; better business is essential to both and the raising of the standard of living means all three. Our object is increased happiness and happiness requires everything that is good."

(To be continued)

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN BURMA

BA KIN

This article supplements the preceding article by giving a brief account of attempts at rural reconstruction in Burma.

Maung Ba Kin, who received a certificate from the Tata School in 1940, has been actively engaged in rural reconstruction work in Burma for a number of years.

I. THE BACKGROUND

BURMA lies between Assam on the North-West and China on the North-East, and between the Bay of Bengal on the West and South-West and Thailand on the South-East. It stretches from $9^{\circ}55'$ north latitude to about $28^{\circ}30'$ north latitude, and from $92^{\circ}10'$ to $101^{\circ}9'$ east longitude. The extreme length from North to South is about 1200 miles, and the broadest part, which is in about Lat. 21°N , is 575 miles from East to West. Its total area is estimated at about 262,000 square miles.

The main geographical feature of the country is the series of rivers and hills running fan-like from North to South, with fertile valleys in between which widen out and flatten as they approach the Delta.

The chief agricultural product of Burma is rice. Other important field crops are sesamum, numerous varieties of beans and pigeon peas, ground-nut, cotton and millet. The cultivation of garden crops and palm trees is also practised.

The principal methods of cultivation are :

- (1) shifting cultivation—cultivation of the most primitive type, where the cultivator shifts from place to place from year to year;
- (2) dry cultivation—cultivation which does not require standing water, but depends on the water retained in the soil;
- (3) wet cultivation—a term used for the cultivation of rice;
- (4) irrigated cultivation, and
- (5) alluvial cultivation.

The rural areas in Burma are divided into village tracts, each under a village headman. The village is the primary unit of administration. This system, however, is comparatively modern, having been introduced by the British for administrative purposes in 1886. The differences between the traditional Indian village and the traditional Burma village are quite marked.

In a typical Indian village there were village officers—the headman, the accountant, the watchman, the boundary-man and the superintendent of tanks and water courses. There was the village priest, the school master, the astrologer, the washerman, smith, carpenter, potter and herdsman. Where cir-

circumstances permitted there were stone masons, goldsmiths and coppersmiths. These village officers and servants rendered their services to the people of the village and were remunerated by a share in the village land or crops.

It was quite otherwise in Burma. In great part each house-hold supplied its own requirements. In almost every house there was a loom for weaving and much of the cloth was spun at home. To supply their household wants, the villagers instead of depending on village servants, drew their supplies from convenient centres over a radius of five to fifty miles. One village might be noted for one product and a second village for another. Commodities were brought to the markets, or were peddled about the countryside in carts or boats. The Burmese village was not a political or administrative unit.

Under the British rule five different systems of land occupation have been recognized :

- (1) the squatter system—the occupation of vacant land by a cultivator, without formal permission, subject to the payment of the revenue due on the lands occupied;
- (2) the *patta* system—a grant of a small area of land by Government to a peasant cultivator, involving a degree of control not found in the squatter system;
- (3) the lease system—designed to facilitate the assessment of land and to encourage the permanent occupation of land;
- (4) the grant system—an attempt to attract capitalists to develop the country by offering them large areas of land on easy terms;
- (5) the colonization system—the placing of selected colonists in waste land areas treated as Government estates.

In Upper Burma the proportion of landowners who are also cultivators is much larger than in the Delta. Large estates are few as compared with Lower Burma, but where they exist they differ from those of Lower Burma. In Lower Burma the large estates have been built up by the acquisition of holdings scattered over a wide area. In Upper Burma the whole, or the greater part, of any large estate is probably continuous. In Lower Burma the typical owner of a large estate is a man of business, a money lender, a mill owner or trader—residing in a town which may be at some distance from his land. In Upper Burma the landlord usually lives on his estate and is descended from a family which has had for many generations a tradition of wealth and official service. He is often the local headman, or at least of kin to the hereditary chieftain of the locality, if the hereditary line of local officials has not been broken. The tenants on an estate in Lower Burma are migratory cultivators, but in Upper Burma they may have cultivated the land for many generations.

The gradual development of rental customs over a long period, through

most of which domestic agriculture has prevailed, has given rise to a greater variety of forms of tenancy in Upper Burma than one finds in lower Burma. The following are the chief variations :

- (1) Partnership Tenancies—usually on the better lands, particularly rice lands. The landlord contributes the land and usually the seed and part of the expenses of cultivation—ordinarily half the cost of transplanting—, while the tenant contributes cattle, his own labour and the remaining expenses of cultivation. The produce is generally divided equally between the landlord and tenant.
- (2) Share Produce Tenancies—prevalent in dry cultivation areas and on the poorer rice lands. The landlord contributes the land only and the tenant bears all costs of cultivation. The landlord takes from one-tenth to one-third and sometimes one-half of the produce.
- (3) Fixed Produce Tenancies—generally found on the poorest land. The tenant pays a stipulated sum of money per acre or local unit of cultivation.
- (4) Mortgage Tenancies are tenancies in which the landlord mortgages his land to the tenant. Ordinarily one thinks of the mortgagee—the man who lends money—as a wealthy man and the mortgager—the man who borrows money—as a poor man. But in a mortgage tenancy, the man who lends money is usually the poorer and the wealthy man—the landlord—the borrower.

In the Delta, contracts of tenancy are generally for a single year and tenants rarely continue in occupation of the same land for more than two or three years. In Upper Burma, the contracts in respect of rice land are usually for a single year, but the same tenant may continue in occupation year after year. In respect of dry lands it is usually agreed that the tenant shall remain in occupation for the whole period of three or four years covered by the rotation of crops. A similar stipulation is also found in mortgage tenancies, where the landlord may be debarred from redeeming the land for a period of three years (*thon-hnit-thon-thi*), though it is sometimes stipulated that the land is redeemable on demand (*ngwe-pe-mye-baw*). On rich, but insecure lands, a lump sum may be paid in cash to cover a period of years. Thus, some lands are cultivable with tobacco if flooded by a stream, which may happen only once in three years. Such land may be let for a period of four years. If the stream comes down once, the tenant recovers his rent and cost of cultivation. If it should happen to come down twice, he makes a handsome profit.

The condition of labour in Upper Burma differs widely from that in Lower Burma. In Burmese times, and so long as domestic agriculture continued, little labour was required outside the cultivator's family and additional

labour was supplied by neighbours on a system of mutual help (*let-sa-alok*). Most of those who worked in the fields were themselves cultivators and there was not, as in Lower Burma, now, a distinct labouring class. It was rarely necessary to hire labourers by the year, although most well-to-do households would usually contain a few dependents more or less distantly connected with the family. So far as outside labour had to be engaged, it was hired when necessary and, at least since the annexation, has usually been paid in money and not, as in Lower Burma, in kind. Labour employed on the cultivation of food crops, however, such as rice, may be paid in kind. Rates of wages were, and still are, largely regulated by custom.

In agriculture, as in industry, there is a need for capital. The cultivator must have seeds, implements of cultivation and live-stock. Additional capital is needed to effect improvements on land. In Burma, as elsewhere, small amounts are usually loaned on promissory notes—sometimes with no security beyond the signature of the borrower, and perhaps witnesses, and sometimes with definite security. In many cases it is agreed that both principal and interest shall be repaid in money. But it is often arranged that both principal and interest shall be repaid in produce. Such loans are termed *saba-be*, or *wa-be* or *knau-be* or *pyaung-be*, according as the produce in question is paddy, cotton, sesamum or millet. Almost all the loans in the Delta are *saba-be* transactions, and so also are many of the smaller loans to tenants and landowners—especially where the money lender is a paddy trader. In another type of loan the agreement is to repay the principal in money and the interest in produce.

One type of agricultural credit seems to have become more common in Lower Burma in recent years. The village shopkeeper, usually a Chinese or an Indian, sells all the common foodstuffs and house-hold necessities and for the most of the year extends credit to his fellow-villagers. Six baskets of paddy at harvest must be paid for one basket of rice at the shop. But usually the borrowings are converted into *saba-be* loans, at the ruinous rate of 100 per cent or more interest, i.e., a loan of Rs. 30/- is paid for at harvest by 100 baskets of paddy, when paddy sells for Rs. 80/- or more. An additional disadvantage to the cultivator is that the prices charged for goods in village shops are considerably higher than those for the same goods in the large bazaars. When the cultivators cannot buy elsewhere for lack of cash or credit, the shopkeeper is in the position of a monopolist.

II. GOVERNMENT AS AN AGENCY IN RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Although the educational system is a powerful potential agent in rural reconstruction, the system of education in Burma, until very recent years, has

been urban-centred. In 1935-36 a Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Campbell, the Assistant Director of Public Instruction, considered possible changes in the primary, middle and high school systems of Burma. The stimulating comments and far-reaching recommendations of the Committee are of definite value to those interested in rural reconstruction.

Government maintains a widespread system of Civil and Railway Hospitals and a well-organized Public Health Department. The hospitals, being located in the larger centres, do not minister greatly to village health, though of course village patients are among those treated.

Of more direct service to the villager is the Public Health Department. The outstanding service of the Department is the prevention of epidemics. The Public Health Department has shown a really remarkable zeal in carrying its propaganda work to the villages. Health talks, magic lantern and cinema demonstrations, distribution of vernacular leaflets, baby shows, special exhibitions and constant inspection work help to educate the villager and protect him from the ravages of those diseases, which in former days, took their regular yearly toll.

A Rural Health Unit was started at Hlegu in 1930 as a joint project of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Public Health Department. Its activities cover one of the four townships of Insein District in an intensive manner. In addition, the Health Unit supplies bored-hole latrine equipment for use in any part of Burma or the Shan States. The activities of the Centre include health lectures, school inspections, teaching of health habits, vaccination, breeding and distribution of larviparous fish and infant welfare and maternity service. In 1936 Government took the step of extending the activities of the Unit to the other three townships of Insein District.

Government's chief answer to the economic problem of the village has been the Department of Agriculture. The work of the Department is carried on by a small central and specialized staff, such as the Director, the Marketing Officer, the Agricultural Chemist, the Economic Botanist, the Mycologist, the Entomologist and the Rice Research Officer and by the Deputy Directors of Agriculture and their assistants. Each Deputy Director of Agriculture is in charge of a circle and each circle has a central experimental and seed farm. Anyone visiting one of these farms, particularly the splendid farm at Hmawbi, must be struck by the infinite patience and skill with which the plant breeding is carried on and superior strains made available to the cultivators.

Some 77 cultivators' leaflets have been issued in Burmese and large numbers are distributed annually. Nearly 5,000 soil inverting ploughs are being supplied to cultivators each year at a cost of Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 2/-.

The place which vaccination and the magic lantern hold in public health

work seems to be held by the demonstration plot in respect to agriculture. In every circle, plots of from half an acre or less to three or four acres are cultivated according to departmental instructions—demonstrating fertilizers, seeds, implements or methods, or more than one of these improvements at the same time.

Some of the experimental farms, including Hmawbi, Mahlaing, Pyinmana, Mudon, Allammyo and sometimes Akyab, give courses of from six weeks' to nine months' duration, to selected cultivators and cultivators' sons.

The Co-operative Department is a Branch of Government from which great things have been expected in the past. Co-operation in Burma, however, received a serious set-back with the failure of the majority of the primary societies and of the Burma Provincial Co-operative Bank, Mandalay, during the depression. In recent years the Co-operative Department has unfortunately been obliged to devote its principal efforts to the unenviable task of winding up defunct societies. At the present time the Department is encouraging the co-operative marketing of paddy and with the aid of the Department of Agriculture is introducing better methods of farming.

The general standard of living in Burma is so low that the introduction of supplementary handicrafts such as weaving, lacquer-work, pottery, wood-work and metal-work should be of genuine benefit to the cultivator. The Cottage Industries Department maintains a splendid weaving institute at Amarapura, where the use of the flying shuttle and other improved devices are taught. There is also a school for lacquer workers at Pagan, the Burma centre of this interesting industry.

Early in 1935 the Local Government was notified that it would receive a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs as Burma's share of the amount allowed by the Government of India for rural uplift work. After consulting the heads of the various departments concerned, it was decided to open a Rural Uplift Centre at Tatkon in Yamethin District. The work of this Centre was started in July, 1936 as a co-operative effort of the Agricultural, Public Health, Education and Veterinary Departments.

III. PRIVATE AGENCIES AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

It has been generally felt among the patriotic and educated section of the Burmese people that progress in other spheres of national life cannot be effective apart from a radical change in the life and condition of the village areas. "Village Uplift" or "Rural Reconstruction" has formed the subject of many discussions and articles in the press, but the actual task of beginning work has lagged—partly because it is harder to do the work than to talk about it, and partly because few people know where to take hold.

It is impossible to give a complete picture of the private efforts at rural reconstruction in Burma, but a few typical examples may be cited. An early effort, of value chiefly for propaganda purposes and in indicating a method of approach, was the intensive programme carried out in the village of Theingyaung in Insein District by the Youths' Improvement Society, during the Christmas holidays in 1934.

The Rural Reconstruction League, Burma, was established in May, 1936. The League has held a number of demonstration camps along the lines of the camp at Theingyaung and has opened a permanent centre in Yemum village in co-operation with the Yemum Village Improvement Society. The work of the Village Improvement Society includes a library and reading room, lectures, education in improved methods of weaving, improvement of village sanitation, introduction of bored-hole latrines, baby shows and health propaganda, road repair and encouragement of cottage industries. Village improvement societies are now being started in a group of surrounding villages.

Christian Missionary Societies are carrying on a considerable amount of rural work throughout Burma. This work includes rural dispensaries, agricultural demonstrations, poultry breeding, instruction in improved methods of weaving, health education, encouragement of household gardens and propaganda for better living. A number of rural schools maintained by missionary societies both inculcate the principles of village uplift and introduce their students to practical work in the villages. In Burma, as in India, agricultural schools have to contend with the attitude: "Agricultural education is a good thing for other people's sons, but my son is too good for it."

The Rural Reconstruction League, Burma, in addition to the activities noted above has sponsored a number of summer schools of rural reconstruction where short courses are offered for the training of leaders. The Institute held at Tatkon, Yamethin District, in October, 1938, enrolled 506 persons.

The actual record of accomplishment in Burma is as yet not imposing, but solid work is being done and more and more Burmese villagers are being trained in the art of helping themselves. There is still a considerable amount of overlapping and lack of co-ordination between the various agencies, official and non-official, interested in rural reconstruction. What is urgently required is an attempt to see the rural problem as a whole. A representative Rural Reconstruction Board on a national basis will be a definite step in the right direction.

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

P. M. TITUS

The problem of rural indebtedness is a matter which is causing grave concern to all the Provincial Governments. In this article, Dr. Titus, who is Lecturer in Social Work in the Tata School, describes the legislative measures which have already been undertaken to deal with the situation and discusses the Bills which are pending. As Dr. Titus well points out, the problem is not simply an economic problem, but is a social problem as well.

“NATURE is rich; but everywhere man, the heir of nature is poor.” Thus wrote Henry D. Lloyd, an American social philosopher of the latter part of the last century. This is all the more true about India—“a rich country inhabited by the poor.”

The average *per capita* income in India is estimated at Rs. 67·5 per annum, or £5, as against that of the United Kingdom which is £76 and of the United States of America which is £142. The poverty of the large percentage of people is revealed when we notice the very uneven distribution of wealth. It is estimated that 5 per cent of the population in India owns 35 per cent of the wealth; another 35 per cent owns 35 per cent of wealth and the remaining 60 per cent of the people enjoy among them 30 per cent of the wealth.¹

Alongside this abject poverty and unequitable distribution of wealth is the predominance of an agricultural population which is always in debt. Rural indebtedness is one of the major economic problems of India.

EXTENT OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

In 1875, the Deccan Ryots Commission, after an investigation of the situation in 12 villages in the Ahmednagar District (Bombay), reported that one-third of the occupants of Government lands were in debt and that the average debt per occupant amounted to Rs. 371. The Famine Commission of 1880 inferred that one-third of the land-holding classes of India were deeply and inextricably in debt. In 1895 Sir Fredrick Nicholson estimated the total rural debt of Madras at Rs. 45 crores. On the basis of Nicholson's estimate for Madras, Sir Edward Maclagan calculated the total agricultural debt of British India to be about Rs. 300 crores in 1911. In 1924 Mr. M. L. Darling, on the basis of the Punjab figures for 1921, estimated the total agricultural debt for British India as not less than 600 crores. The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee placed the amount in 1929 as Rs. 900 crores for

¹ Radhakamal Mukerjee (ed.), *Economic Problems of India*, Vol. I, p. xii.

G. B. Jathar & S. G. Beri, *Indian Economics*, Vol. II, pp. 167 and 169.

British India. Since the depression, it has increased both in its nominal and real burdening load.

"If the total agricultural debt of British India was about Rs. 900 crores in 1928-1929, it must have increased to about Rs. 1,200 crores by 1933 and the real burden must be tantamount to Rs. 2,200 crores assuming that prices fell by 50 per cent between 1929 and 1933; that no repayment for the principal has been made and that interest payment is in arrears."²

The average indebtedness per agriculturist in 1929 in different provinces ranged from Rs. 30 in the Central Provinces to Rs. 92 in the Punjab. In the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam, it was estimated as Rs. 31 each; in the United Provinces it was Rs. 36; in Bombay Rs. 49 and in Madras Rs. 50. The average income per family in rural areas as worked out by Dr. Mann in 1917 was only Rs. 218 or Rs. 43-3-0 per head. The income at present is probably lower than in 1917. The average annual expenditure for subsistence alone is estimated to be Rs. 44 per head. These figures reveal not only the appalling poverty of the agriculturist, but also the hopeless predicament he is in, having little hope of extricating himself from debt and poverty by his own effort.

CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

The causes of rural indebtedness are diverse, varying in degree in different localities. Indebtedness in itself is not bad, provided it is only temporary and is contracted for productive purposes. The agrarian population of almost all countries becomes heavily indebted. But the nature of rural indebtedness in India is unique in its unproductive character and its ways of accumulation.

Very often an agriculturist is born into the legacy of an ancestral debt—debt inherited from father to son, generation after generation, without any equitable restrictions. It is seldom that he takes advantage of the legal provision that "the debts of a deceased person only pass to his heirs when these succeed to the deceased debtor's property and only to the extent of such property." Instead he obeys the moral law which regards hereditary debt as a debt of honour. Discharging of ancestral debt has become by tradition a moral and pious obligation on the part of any Indian.

In all discussions on rural indebtedness, we find debt largely attributed to the agriculturist's extravagance and improvidence. In this respect it may be mentioned that he is very often "more sinned against than sinning." By and large the Indian peasant is too poor to be anything other than frugal. He leads a hand-to-mouth existence. But religious and social traditions compel

² P. J. Thomas, "*Rural Indebtedness*," in Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

him to spend money on ceremonials at births, deaths, marriages, death anniversaries of relatives, etc. To be sure these expenditures are materially unproductive. But to charge him of extravagance on this score is to imply that he could restrain himself on these items if he wanted to. The situation is not so simple. There is by long tradition a social and religious compulsion that makes such expenditure more obligatory than the paying of the land tax. How can the peasant be frugal on funeral expenses which are meant to ensure peace and release for the soul of his departed relative? Can he avoid the expenses of a marriage feast and yet maintain his social status in his community? How can he marry off his daughter if he does not find a suitable sum for dowry? Such expenditures are universal in the life of any Indian. To say that the agriculturist is extravagant on such occasions is to say that the entire Indian culture, especially the Hindu culture, is extravagant in its emphasis on such social and religious functions.

Against the economically wasteful aspect of such social functions, we have to consider the social productiveness of the same. Such periodic assembling of family and community members for feasts and other ceremonial functions are the means of maintaining the family and community solidarity and *esprit de corps*. Complete elimination of such functions for the sake of economy, and in the absence of any other substitute to provide easy social intercourse, will cause social and family disorganization.

The main cause of rural indebtedness is that the rural population is too poor to be otherwise. There are too many people attempting to live from agriculture alone. Excessive subdivision and fragmentation of land has left too little area for the individual agriculturist to cultivate with profit. Disease and famine make him still more inefficient. Large numbers of peasants do not earn enough to maintain themselves even in a normal year. But normal years are rarely common. Almost every year something or other happens adversely to crops or cattle or to the agriculturist's family. It may be drought or flood, disease or some other unpredictable event which leads to failure of crop, loss of cattle or funeral expenses. To carry on, the agriculturist has to keep on borrowing, and far too often he is unable to repay. This leads to accumulation of debts. His poverty makes him a debtor. His debts nail him down to poverty. Thus he moves in a vicious circle, generation after generation.

A share of agricultural indebtedness is due to the heavy incidence of land assessment and the rigid system of collecting land revenue. Another factor is an unfavourable exchange ratio—an over-valued Rupee—which increases both burden of debt and the burden of taxes.

According to Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, it is the shortage of credit that is at the root of the problem of poverty in India.

"The poverty of India in money, compared with England, is shown by the fact that on a population basis India is short of 3,400 crores of paper money and 20,000 crores of bank deposits. . . . The disease from which the soul and body of India are both suffering is pernicious financial anaemia." ³

Substitution of paper currency in place of silver currency and expansion of credit and organization of Indian agriculture on the co-operative basis will, according to Sir Daniel Hamilton, start a new era in India.

Another important factor in the matter of indebtedness is the rapaciousness of the village money-lender. Financing the village, marketing its produce, and supplying its necessities, the money-lender in India has frequently stood between the cultivator and death. But very often he is more keen to make profit than help the villager. His greed, unconscionable practices, high rates of interest and exploitation of the ignorance and credulity of the peasant make him the dread and scorn of the villages in India.

A few outstanding examples of the money-lenders' practices at their worst are found in the first six-monthly Report of the Conciliation Board for the Relief of Agricultural Indebtedness in Kehuta Tehsil (Punjab), which was published in January 1937.

Pahlwan Khan took a donkey from Jit Singh for Rs. 6. For this amount Pahlwan alleged that he had already paid Rs. 600; but 200 were still being demanded by Jit Singh.

Fateh Khan borrowed 4½ maunds of wheat from Jiwan Singh. He had paid 26½ maunds on the original debt. The money-lender still demanded Rs. 17,000 from Fateh Khan.

Qaiam Khan borrowed 15 seers of "Jawar" from the grand-father of three creditors. The sum of Rs. 22,000 is alleged to have been paid and the sum of Rs. 175 is still due from him.

According to the chairman of the Board, these cases are by no means exceptional. They illustrate the extent to which the local Zemindar has been victimised by the money-lender.

In the same area mentioned above, the police discovered in the house of a money-lender an account book with the thumb impressions of the money-lender's debtors on blank pages. Undated promissory notes were also discovered. With such crooked ways, unscrupulous money-lenders are more than a match for the ignorant and credulous villagers. Growth of debt is generally due to the accumulation of interest.

Interest rates vary with the nature of the security, the position of the parties, the purpose of borrowing, the period of loan and so forth. They are lowest in the ryotwari tracts and highest in the zemindari tracts and where the ryot has only tenancy rights in land. In the Punjab and the Central areas, where there are restrictions on the alienation of land, the rates vary between agriculturist and non-agriculturist lenders. Thus in Madras and parts of Bombay, 9 to 12 per cent. is the common rate and the village money-lenders do not usually charge above 18 to 24 per cent. even on unsecured loans; but in Bihar and Orissa, Sind and Assam, the usual interest charged is between 25 and 50 per cent., and even in the United

³ Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, "Living and Dead Money," *Asia*, May, 1937, pp. 362-365.

Provinces 18 to 37 per cent. is the rule. Indeed landowners in most places can raise loans on first mortgage at rates between 9 and 12 per cent., but the small holders have often to pay higher rates; and as for tenants and labourers who have no proper security to offer, the rates charged may be anything up to 150 and even 300 per cent. The rate of interest on grain loans is nowhere below 25 per cent., but in many parts of the country it rises to 50 and 100 per cent.⁴

The extent of rural indebtedness and its causes, and the prevalent practices of money-lenders and borrowers, reveal the magnitude and complexity of the problem.

DEBT RELIEF MEASURES

Various ameliorative measures have been taken in the past to ease the burden of rural indebtedness in India. The earlier legislation included such measures as the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879, the Land Improvement Loan Act of 1883, the Agriculturists' Loans Act of 1884, the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1901, and the Usurious Loans Act, as amended in 1918. More recently, there have been many enactments passed in different Provinces to help the agriculturists to lighten their burden of indebtedness.

In Madras, for instance, several legislative measures have been passed in favour of the agriculturists. The Land Improvement and the Agriculturists' Loans Act, the Co-operative Societies Act, the Land Mortgage Bank Act, the Insolvency Act, the Debtors' Protection Act, the Usurious Loans Act, the Agriculturists' Loans Amendment Act of 1935, the Debt Conciliation Act of 1936 and the Moratorium Bill of 1937—all are passive attempts to redeem the agriculturists. But these measures have not been sufficient to tackle the problem well. Conciliation and other voluntary methods have not worked and the principle of compulsion thus became inevitable. Hence the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1938 was passed, after dropping the Moratorium Bill, to make conciliation more obligatory than optional.

The Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act has been in force since March 1938. The object of the Act is to give relief to indebted agriculturists in the Province. This object is attained by (1) scaling down their existing debts; (2) reducing the rate of interest on their future debts, and (3) writing-off the arrears of rent due to zemindars, Janmis and other land-holders.

Debts are classified into two categories: pre-depression and post-depression debts—that is, those which were incurred before 1st October 1932 and those which were incurred on or after that date. Relief given is different in the two cases.

In the case of debts incurred before 1st October 1932, all interest outstanding on 1st October 1937 is wiped out. When an agriculturist has paid

⁴ Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

twice the amount of the principal to his creditor, by way of interest or principal or both, the entire debt is wiped out.

Where the repayments made exceed the principal, but are less than twice the principal, only such amount as would be necessary to bring up the amount to twice the principal, or such portion of the principal as is outstanding, whichever is less, need be paid.

Where a debt has been renewed and a fresh document has been executed, only the principal originally advanced, together with the sums subsequently advanced as principal, will be regarded as the principal for the purpose of these provisions.

In the case of debts incurred on or after 1st October 1932, relief is given only in respect of interest and the outstanding portion of the principal will have to be repaid.

No debt incurred by an agriculturist after the twenty-second of March 1938 will bear interest at a rate exceeding $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum.

Every person who has a saleable interest in any agricultural land not situated within a municipality or cantonment is entitled to the benefits of the Act. Ryots, tenants, lessees, sub-lessees and such others who hold a direct or indirect interest are benefited by the Act. Even an agriculturist who has been declared insolvent will get the benefits of this Act, if his property has not been already sold, and payment made to his creditors out of the sale proceeds. Large zemindars, Janmis, Inamdars and other rich landholders and professional people are excluded from the benefit of the Act. Certain types of debts deemed as not of any improper burden to the debtor are not affected by the Act. Sums due to the Government or Local Bodies, to Co-operative Societies or Land Mortgage Banks, to public companies or banks—provided the interest payable is not more than 9 per cent per annum; wages due to agricultural or other rural labourers; liabilities arising out of a breach of trust and sums payable as maintenance are not affected by the Act. Usufructuary mortgages when no rate of interest is stipulated; any balance of purchase money due in respect of immovable property which has been sold; any sum declared as costs by any Court; any sum spent to preserve mortgaged property and sums due to a woman creditor who is not rich above a certain limit are also excluded from the provisions of the Act.

In no Province or State had compulsory methods to scale down debts hitherto been adopted. The Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act is unique in this respect, that it is the first attempt made to scale down debts even when the creditors are not willing to do so.

The division of debts into pre-depression and post-depression categories and dealing with them separately is also of importance. The division was

made on the basis of fall in prices of agricultural commodities. The principle of *Damdapat* (the principle under which a debt is wiped out in a case where twice the principal has been paid) was applied to pre-depression debts, as it has been conclusively proved that ancestral debts with usurious rates of interest are the heaviest burdens on the agriculturists.

Alongside of debt relief, facilities for easy credit are also provided. The Government provided a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for the disbursement of loans to the small ryots in order to enable them to take full advantage of the provisions of the new Act. The Government also helped Land Mortgage Banks to extend their credit by an increase of Rs. 100 lakhs guarantee for the debentures of these banks.

In a statement issued in May, 1940 by the Government of Madras, showing the working of the Act during the twenty-five months, ending March, 1940, it was reported that the total amount involved in applications disposed of under different sections of the Act during the 25 months' period was Rs. 48,953,911; total amount as scaled down Rs. 25,552,829; total amount of reduction by scaling down Rs. 23,401,082, or 47·8 per cent. of the amount originally due.

There have been criticisms from different quarters against many of the provisions of the Act. The application of the principle of *Damdapat* was objected to vehemently in certain quarters. It has been suggested by some that the upper limit for the measure should be limited to those who pay an assessment of land revenue to Government not exceeding Rs. 100. But on the whole the effect of the Act has been satisfactory and has been helpful to the poor agriculturists.

In Bombay, the first step taken was to pass the Small Holders' Relief Bill, which came into force in 1938. It was a moratorium measure seeking to "provide for temporary relief of small holders" during the interim before further measures could be taken. Three Bills : the Money-lenders' Bill, the Debt Conciliation Bill and the Agricultural Debt Relief Bill were passed. But none of these came into force as the Ministry resigned before they were put on the statute book. The Money-lenders' Bill sought to register all the money-lenders in the Province; to restrict interest to 12 per cent. on unsecured loans and 9 per cent. interest on secured loans; to check molestation of debtors by creditors and to limit the amount of interest to less than the principal at any time. The Debt Relief Bill was to apply to debtors whose debts in each case were less than Rs. 15,000 and more than Rs. 100, on 1st January 1939. The debtors were to be members of a resource society approved by Government to facilitate current crop finance by Co-operative societies or other bodies. The debts were to be scaled down by a Debt Adjustment Board to the limit of the

debtor's capacity to pay. The paying capacity was to be declared as 80 per cent. of the current value of the debtor's property. A debtor whose assets were inadequate was to be declared as insolvent. The interest rates were to be fixed as 6 per cent. on debts incurred before 1931 and 9 per cent. on those contracted after that date.

Debt legislation undertaken by the United Provinces Government in 1934 consisted of six main civil debt relief Acts. Four of these were temporary, viz., (1) the Encumbered Estates Act; (2) the Regulation of Sales Act; (3) the Temporary Regulation of Execution Act and (4) Postponement of Execution of Decree Act. The two permanent Acts are the Usurious Loans Amendment Act and the Agriculturists' Relief Act. Two of the temporary Acts, viz., the Temporary Regulation of Execution Act and the Regulation of Sales Act are now no longer in force.

Two Bills, one to control money-lending and the other to provide for debt relief to agriculturists and workmen, were introduced in April 1939. The Ministry resigned before these two Bills came into force as Acts. In June of this year two Bills were circulated by the Government. The first is the United Provinces Debt Redemption Bill, 1940. It differs in several important respects from the Bill passed in the regime of the Congress Ministry by the Assembly. The other Bill is the U. P. Regulation of Agricultural Credit Bill 1939. No changes of importance have been made in this Bill.

A statement of the objects of and reasons for the Debt Redemption Bill as published in June by the Government, says :

"Experience has shown that the provisions of the Acts which were passed for the liquidation of agricultural debt in 1935 have failed to reduce debt to a level which would enable any measures, which may be passed to put agricultural credit on a sound basis in future to be effective. Before therefore such measures can be effective it is necessary to pass an Act which will effectively reduce agricultural debt. This is the main object of the Bill which applies only to loans incurred before June 1, 1940."

Under the Bill, debt is reduced by the application of low rates of interest : $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum simple interest in the case of secured debt and 6 per cent. in the case of unsecured debt. The Bill also provides for the application of the principle of *Damdapat* in the case of unpaid interest, but not in the case of paid interest. A certain portion of the debtor's land will be protected from sale or transfer in the execution of a decree for debt. Only one-quarter of the agricultural produce of the debtor will be liable to attachment at any one time. The provisions for reduction of debt apply to both decreed and undecreed debts.

The provisions of the Bill relating to transfer of land at valuation and

the protection of a portion of the land apply to all agriculturists. The remaining provisions of the Bill apply to agriculturists who pay an amount of rent and revenue which combined does not exceed Rs. 1,000 and who do not pay income tax. The Bill also applies to workmen employed on wages not exceeding Rs. 60 per month. Loans advanced by scheduled Banks are excluded from the scope of the Bill. The Bill will not affect decrees or proceedings under the U. P. Encumbered Estates Act of 1934, except that protected land as provided in the Bill will not be transferred to the creditors in any circumstances.

The Bill will not apply to proceedings for the recovery of debt from an agriculturist if the creditor declares that he will not proceed against the land, agricultural produce, or person of the debtor in execution of his decree.

There are several important modifications of the original Bill as passed in the Assembly in 1939. In the matter of interest, the original provision of retrospective *Damdapat* has been removed. The clause which provided for the automatic redemption of all mortgages over 30 years old without any payment by the mortgagee has been omitted. The limit of Rs. 1,000 land revenue or rent has been removed in execution proceedings and even the biggest landlord will be able to demand that his properties should be sold at pre-slump valuation. The definition of "workman" has been modified in such a way that a very large number of people have been excluded from the scope of the Bill. The Bill has been criticized as having many of the defects of the original Bill and that in its new form it favours the zemindars and the creditors more than the debtors.

The Debt Redemption Bill deals with debts existing on June 1, 1940. The Regulation of Agricultural Credit Bill 1939 deals with debt that may be contracted on or after that date. It is concerned only with debts of agriculturists and only with the extent to which decrees based on such debts can be executed against agricultural produce and land. The provisions are such that there is to be limitation of amounts that will be lent to an agriculturist. There are provisions to restrict both over-borrowing and over-lending on the part of proprietors and money-lenders, respectively. The land of a proprietor who does not pay more than Rs. 250 land revenue is protected and cannot be sold in execution of a decree for debt.

Despite the shortcomings in the Bills, it is gratifying that the Government of the United Provinces has taken up the matter, even after the resignation of the Ministry. So far the Bombay Government does not seem to be interested in putting any of the Bills passed on the Statute Book, or in drafting new Bills in their place.

Four legislative measures were undertaken by the Punjab Government

in 1938 to help the agricultural population of the Province, and in particular to relieve them of debts. They were concerned with the Alienation of Land, the Restitution of Mortgaged Lands, the Registration of Money-lenders and the Marketing of Agricultural Commodities.

The Alienation of Land Act provides that "no member of an agricultural tribe, when he is the debtor, shall make permanent alienation of any portion of his land to a member of the same tribe or to a tribe in the same group, who is the creditor, within five years of the date of the repayment in full by the debtor of any loan, advanced to him by such creditor." This clause thus seeks to provide that an agricultural debtor will be saved from alienating his land at least for 5 years after any loan advanced to him by an agriculturist money-lender becomes due.

The central provision of the Registration of Money-lenders Act is that, except in certain special circumstances, a money-lender, whether belonging to a statutory agricultural or non-agricultural class, who is not registered as a money-lender, and does not hold a valid license, will receive no help from the law courts in recovering a loan, i.e., a loan which bears interest.

The Restitution of Mortgaged Land Act is to redeem the debtor from usurious loan burdens. In compensation to the mortgagee, it is provided that he must either have received benefits to the extent of at least twice the original sum or failing this, must be paid a sum, varying from 5 to 30 times the land revenue, according to the period for which the land has been in possession of the mortgagee, before it can be restored to the owner.

Much criticism has been levelled against these measures—especially that they were directed against the Hindu money-lenders and also against the non-agriculturists. As a result of Government enquiries it has been shown that no particular community or class is favoured by the Act.

The original Relief of Indebtedness Act which dealt with rates of interest and Conciliation Boards, was felt to have flaws and an amending Bill was framed in April of this year.

The Punjab, with an estimated rural indebtedness of Rs. 200 crores, needs more than partial measures to ease the burden of the poor agriculturists.

In Bengal, the Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935, Debt Conciliation Act, Money-lenders Act and the recent Agricultural Debtors (second amendment) Bill are the legislative measures taken by Government in reference to rural indebtedness.

The Bengal Debt Conciliation Act, compared with the acts of the Central Provinces and Punjab, is more stringent. While in the other Provinces, the penalty clauses against creditors who do not agree to conciliation are non-enforceable, in Bengal, the Conciliation Board can, if it deems fit,

give a certificate to the debtor and the penalty provisions come into effect even though no creditor agrees to the terms offered by the debtor. While the secured creditors are favoured in the other Provinces, the Bengal Act recognizes no distinction between secured and unsecured debts. The general scheme of the Bengal Act is that every debtor must be freed from debt within a period of 20 years at the most. If after conciliation, the Board finds that the debtor is unable to pay off even the reduced debt within this time, it may declare him as insolvent and then proceed to reduce the debt still further so as to be within his capacity to repay within 20 years.

The Money-lenders Act, like similar Acts in other Provinces, enforces the registration and licensing of moneylenders, and the maintenance by them of prescribed accounts. It limits interest and prescribes penalties for molestation of debtors by creditors.

The apprehensions aroused among land-lords and creditors by discussions of the terms of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935, at the time of its passage through the Legislature, prompted many of them to take hurried action towards obtaining decrees in pending suits and towards executing them before such action could be stayed. Consequently a large number of debtors lost their holdings through sales in execution of decrees before they were able to have recourse to Debt Settlement Boards for relief. The main object of the Agricultural Debtors (second amendment) Bill is to provide a machinery for restoration of such holdings to as many as possible of their former possessors, subject to the payment of proper compensation to the decree holders.

The Central Provinces, the Frontier Province, Bihar and Orissa and Sind also have initiated remedial measures for the amelioration of rural indebtedness. But the measures taken in Madras, United Provinces, Punjab and Bengal seem to be the most important and radical. Analysis of these, as given above, indicates the trend of Debt Relief legislation in India.

The main objects of Debt Relief legislation in all the provinces, broadly speaking, are to reduce the interest on decreed and undecreed loans; to grant easy instalments; to save debtors from the dishonest dealings of fraudulent creditors; to scale down the principal and interest on existing debts to a level which the debtors can pay within the limitations of their means; to allow the liquidation of the liabilities of landholders; to give them the benefit of the pre-slump values of landed properties; to limit usufructuary mortgages and to make all legal processes easy and inexpensive. In some places easy credit on reasonable terms has been made available for the agriculturists by Government loans. By and large the efforts are aimed at the rehabilitation of agricultural industry rather than helping individual ryots to redeem themselves from debts,

DEBT RELIEF MEASURES IN INDIAN STATES

A few of the Indian States have not lagged behind the British Indian Provinces in the matter of legislation for debt relief. States like Bhavnagar, Morvi, Mysore, Hyderabad, Cochin and Travancore have enacted laws to reduce rural indebtedness.

In 1932 the Bhavnagar Darbar started a comprehensive scheme, whereby the entire debt of the ryot, which amounted to Rs. 8,638,874 was compromised for Rs. 2,059,473. This sum was paid by the State to the creditors and is now being realized from the ryots in instalments with the land revenue dues. By 1935, Rs. 387,273 was realized by the State. Easy credit was also made available by the State to the ryots for agricultural expenses and improvements.

Among the measures adopted to conserve the economic improvement of the ryots effected by debt redemption are : (1) encouraging the ryots to rear their own stocks of bullocks by rearing a cow or two; (2) multiplication of co-operative societies; (3) extension of *Gramya Panchayats*; (4) still larger advances of money by the State provided their recoveries are assured. To minimise leakage in these State grants, they are given through the agency of *Gramya Panchayats* and co-operative societies where such agencies are available.

Six years after the initiation of the scheme, a survey was made, in an endeavour to determine to what extent, if any, there had been a relapse into the old condition of indebtedness. Unfortunately the survey was made rapidly and by untrained investigators. Hence its accuracy is questionable. The findings of the survey were that 6 per cent of the total individual holders had incurred fresh debts, totalling about 12 per cent of the liquidated debts, and that the debts incurred had been for current domestic purchases to be repaid at the time of harvest. In some areas the situation was reported as much worse. In 65 villages, between 10 to 30 per cent of the cultivators were indebted; in 28 villages more than 30 per cent; and in 10 villages the percentage exceeded 50 per cent.

Debt litigation is reported to have decreased in the State, and expenditures on marriages, funerals, births, etc., are said to be curtailed, because it is now more difficult to secure money.

The Bhavnagar scheme is one aimed at helping the ryot to start with a clean slate. When the amount in question is small and the area is small, there is much to be commended in such a scheme. But it will be impossible to introduce such a scheme for the whole of India. The problem of preventing further indebtedness has not been solved completely by the State either.

The arbitration scheme in Morvi State was introduced in 1938. The rate of interest is fixed as 6 per cent per annum simple interest. The amount

of interest allowed in any claim shall not exceed the principal amount. The aggregate of all claims against any ryot is not to exceed five times the amount of assessment on the holding of such a ryot.

The amounts that may be settled by the Arbitration Committee as due to any creditor are immediately paid in cash by the Morvi Ryot Bank on account of the debtor ryot. Payments thus made by the Bank bear no interest. In order to reimburse the Bank for the loss of interest, the State advances an equivalent amount to the Bank without any interest. The debtors have to pay to the Bank the respective amounts in instalments. On a total indebtedness of Rs. 14 lakhs in the whole State, the ryots will be benefited annually to the extent of Rs. 3½ lakhs in interest charges alone. This is a great gain for the poor ryots.

Legislation for Debt Conciliation was brought into force in Mysore in 1937. As an experimental measure the scheme was introduced into six taluks in 1938. The Government, after 18 months' working of the scheme in these taluks, found from representations received from the public that the results were not particularly encouraging. Out of 622 applications received by the Board, involving a total amount of Rs. 836,000, conciliation was effected in only 64 cases; the debt amount being reduced from Rs. 55,852 to Rs. 35,920. The total expenditure incurred by the Government for the purpose was Rs. 4,941.

According to the report of the special officer appointed by the Government to examine the working of the scheme, "it is not so much the restricted scope of the Act, but the absence of provision to enforce prompt settlement and a payment of conciliated debts, that has made the Act ineffective." Most of the suggestions furnished by the public aim at replacing conciliation by compulsion. But the officer thinks that such a measure is neither necessary nor advisable, for the present at least.

The Travancore Debt Relief Act came into force in September of this year. It has come after a term of experimenting with Conciliation Boards. The present Act provides for compulsory scaling down of debts and interest. It also provides for the payment of debts in instalments.

If 80 per cent of the amount of any debt, together with future interest that may accrue thereon, is repaid within 9 years from the date of the commencement of the Act, the whole debt shall be deemed to be discharged. Under the same conditions, if 75 per cent of any debt is repaid within 6 years, the whole debt shall be deemed to be discharged. The instalments are to be not less than 6 per cent of the debt or Rs. 10, whichever is larger. The first instalment must be paid within 6 months from the date of commencement of the Act and succeeding payments must be made in half-yearly instalments.

Bank transactions are specially treated. All provisions of the Act will apply to transactions with banks in respect of which the interest charged exceeds 9 per cent annually, except to the extent that the benefit in reduction of the total amount of debt will not be beyond 20 per cent and that such reduction itself will be available only if repayment is made within two years in half-yearly instalments.

The major enactments for the relief of debts of agriculturists in different provinces and States show that there has been a uniform effort to scale down debts and rates of interest to a reasonable limit. Arrangements are made to have the debts repaid in instalments. Many of these measures are mainly concerned with the existing debts. In other words they are curative rather than preventive measures. Restriction of credit to the ryots seems to be the main preventive measure recommended in almost all cases.

The first Statutory Report of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank, published in December, 1936, recommends the restriction of agricultural credit, so as to make it difficult for the agriculturist to incur debt beyond his capacity to pay from his own resources or for other than *bona fide* agricultural purposes. It suggests for consideration "that total future liability (after the liquidation of previous debts) of agriculturists might be limited either by fixing it in terms of a suitable multiple of land revenue or on the basis of the average value of land held in proprietary or occupancy right so as to enable the debt to be liquidated, after providing for the bare necessities of life of the owner (or tenant) and his family, within a period of, say, 30 years."

Loans must be strictly limited to cultivation finance, which would ordinarily mean the expenses in connexion with cultivating operations like ploughing, sowing, weeding, etc., but may also include the sums ordinarily required for the maintenance of the farmer's family till harvest, or other urgent purposes like the replacement of cattle or implements, provided such loans can be repaid out of the proceeds of the harvest in a normal year. In order that there may be no over-financing, the normal income from the crop and the normal cost of cultivation should be estimated by the co-operative department and the Central Banks. . . . All loans must be issued in instalments as money is required for each of the purposes and not in lump sum . . . Repayments of loans must be arranged in equal instalments within a period of two years.

These recommendations are aimed at restricting credit to the agriculturist in order to save him from unproductive wasteful expenditure. This means that he should no longer spend money on elaborate ceremonials and feasts. But will restriction of credit alone prevent the ryot from spending money on such religious and social occasions if the emphasis on such functions is not relaxed? Alongside of economic reforms must come social reforms. Such of those social functions which are economically expensive must be weeded out, and where they are socially productive, inexpensive substitutes for the integration of community and family must be introduced. Economic

legislation without social reform will tend to disorganize individuals, families and communities in India.

Economic improvement of the ryot is the basic factor that will help in the rehabilitation of agricultural industry. Agriculture must be made profitable. Organization of co-operative societies for farming, marketing, financing and all other rural activities and processes may be the only stable remedy for the ills of the Indian agriculturist.

More than all, there must come a revolution in the thinking of the Indian ryot. He must be drawn out of his defeatist attitude towards life. The "will to live" and the desire for the "abundant life" must be instilled into his mind, so that he may make greater efforts and face the struggle in a more hopeful manner.

A STUDY OF THE VILLAGE TIMBI IN BHAVNAGAR STATE AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF AN AGRICULTURISTS' DEBT REDEMPTION SCHEME *

VAMANRAI A. BHATT *

This careful study of a Kathiawar village, after the introduction of a State debt redemption scheme, throws much light on the rural economic problem. The passage of a debt redemption act may give the agriculturist temporary relief, but if the improvement is to be lasting there must be simultaneous advance on the whole rural front.

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THE Indian peasant is proverbially poor. The causes of this poverty are many and varied but are generally summarised as (a) wasteful social customs; (b) heavy indebtedness; (c) sub-infeudation of property and insecurity of tenure, and (d) contempt for manual labour.

Indebtedness, which is both the cause and result of poverty, is of such a nature and magnitude with the Indian peasant, that it is almost impossible to help him to become rid of it through ordinary means. The problem is so intricate that it requires the most careful attention on the part of those who set themselves to deal with it. Naturally the State is looked upon as an agency having the power and competency to attack such a problem.

The state of Bhavnagar, though not a large one, was the pioneer in seeking to remove the indebtedness of the agriculturist. The work started in the year 1923, with an economic inquiry, the results of which were first seen in Lilia Mahal (one of the State taluks) in 1930, when the scheme to relieve indebtedness was first started. The scheme in its entirety was completed in 1934.

It will be of interest to know something about the composition of the State, as well as of the village, and the life therein, before we study the economic aspects of the Agricultural Debt Redemption Scheme in a particular village. The study will help us to judge how the above mentioned causes of poverty affect the economic condition of the peasantry.

The village Timbi, which is selected for the present study, is a typical village of the State with regard to black cotton soil, well irrigation, a population of the cultivating class, facilities of transport by road; railway and connection to a sea port, nearness of a State model agricultural farm, execution of debt redemption scheme, organization of Gram Panchayat, and facilities of a co-operative credit society. The village is situated near the railway junction Dhola of the Bhavangar State Railway and lies in Umrula Mahal of the State. It is nearly forty miles distant from the capital of the State—Bhavnagar.

Bhavnagar State is one of the major States of the Western India States Agency, situated in what is popularly known as the Peninsula of Kathiawar. The northern and southern parts of the peninsula differ in respect of land, vegetation and climatic conditions. The south is richer and better. The irrigation is by wells, which in the interior and south are sweet, but which are extremely brackish in the Bhal strip. The State lies between 21°18' and 22°18' N. Latitude, and 71°15' and 72°18' E. Longitude. It has an area of 2691 square miles and a population of 55,274 persons.

The average annual rainfall of the State is between 20-25 inches. The temperature varies from 118° F. in April to 44° F. in January. The climatic conditions of the village approximate those of the State.

The Kathiawar village is composed of people of many castes and creeds. *Kunbis* (cultivators) form more than 50% of the population of Timbi. Garasias, Rajputs and Ayars come next as cultivators. Kolis and the Untouchables work as the agricultural labourers. More than 75% of the population is dependent on land and its cultivation. The potter, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the goldsmith and the oil-presser are the skilled workmen and craftsmen of the village. The Bania and the Lohana form the business class. The old landlordism can be seen in a decaying condition amongst the Garasias. Bharwads or shepherds form a special dairy class, while Brahmins, Sadhus and Zogis are the priests and beggars. A few Muslim families work as oil-pressers. The tailors and barbers are the personal servants of the village. Income from their small plots being meagre, agricultural labour and dairying help the cultivator to make both ends meet. Weaving is rapidly becoming extinct. Since the debt redemption scheme, money lending has become a subsidiary occupation. The schoolmaster is also a physician of the village. A bicycle dealer and watch repair shop complete the village industries.

The population of the village Timbi has increased within the last five decades from 673 to 928 persons. But the population of the taluk in which it lies has decreased by 14·6% in the same period. Of the 206 families in the village, 34 have migrated outside either for want of work or to pursue their business enterprises.

The proportion of females to 100 males in the village is 96·8. By age groups the proportion is lowest between 8 to 20 and 41 to 50—due to early marriages in the first instance and to the higher death rate of females before 50 in the second. According to classes the shortage of females is most marked among the *Kunbis* (cultivators) and Untouchables (agricultural labourers).

The active population of the village (between the ages of 15 and 50) is 446—232 males and 214 females, and comprises 48% of the total population. Children below 15 years form 43·5% of the population.

The strength of the working class population in the village is as follows :

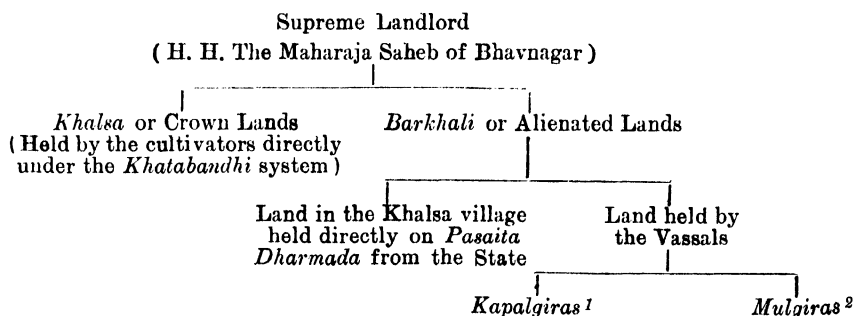
<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Population</i>
Effective working population		
(Males between 15-60) ...	259	27·9 %
Co-Workers		
(Women between 15-50) ...	214	23·0 %
Helpers		
(Children between 8-14) ...	180	19·4 %
Dependents		
(Children under 8; women above 50; males over 60) ...	275	29·7 %

Turning to the civil condition of the population we find that marriages take place even before the age of ten. Men re-marry more often than women, the proportion of widows to widowers being 2 to 1. Widowhood is prevalent as early as the age of 19 years. 54·9% of the girls were married before the age of ten.

Children are not born before the mother is 15, for though the girls are married at an early age, they are not sent to their husbands before puberty. The average number of children per mother is four—out of which 25% die during the lifetime of the parents. 68% of the married women are mothers.

Birth and death rates in the village in 1929 were 17·9 and 10·75 respectively. In 1937 the corresponding figures were 32·3 and 36·6. The rapid rise in the death rate should command the attention of the State health authorities.

Land in Bhavnagar State, as in the Province of Bombay, is under the Raiyatwari system. The collection of land revenue is also as in Bombay. The main divisions of land tenure within the State are as follows :



His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Bhavnagar State has the absolute sovereignty and property of the soil.

¹ *Kapalgiras*—newly-made vassals of the State.

² *Mulgiras*—originally masters of land, but subsequently made vassals of the State.

Land held under the *Khatabandhi* tenure pays a fixed amount per year to the State for a stated period of years, and the holders are liable for ejection from their lands only on failure to pay the assessment and inability to continue the cultivation of the land despite the remissions of the assessment due. In 1931 the present Maharaja granted the right of transfer and sale of land to *Khatabandhi* tenants. In case of ejection of a tenant, the newcomer has to pay the royalty to the State.

Barkhali lands in the crown villages are held directly on *Pasaita Dharmada* (religious endowment), *Jaiwai* (pension), *Inami* and service tenure. The *Inami* tenure differs from the others in that no services can be demanded from the tenant.

Barkhali lands held on the above mentioned system of tenure, and by the vassals—either as *Mulgiras* or *Kapalgiras* are free from any assessment save a royalty of one anna in a rupee value of assessment.

Timbi village belonged to the ancestors of the present vassals before 1831 A.D. But due to indebtedness to the State, the village was handed over to the State, though keeping the right of one-fourth the collected revenue until 1891 in kind, and afterwards in cash, due to revenue settlement. The change of the vassal village into a crown village is proving of benefit to the cultivators and the other communities of the village.

Up to 1869 the revenue was collected in kind, but after eight years of trial and error method, it was settled for cash payment in 1878 A.D. The first soil classification was made in 1891 A.D. and revenue settled on a scientific basis. A revision on subsoil classification took place in 1923 and the separate tax on wells was included with the revenue.

The soils of the State are black cotton soils, except in Bhal where they are a bit brackish, but suitable for the cultivation of wheat without irrigation. The soil of Timbi is good, black cotton soil. The anna valuation of the soils of Timbi is as follows :

Soil Valuation	No. of Plots	Total Area		Average Area per Plot in that Valuation		Percentage of Area in that Valuation, compared with total area
		A.	G.	A.	G.	
Above Rs. 1-8-0 to Re. 1-0-0	137	1188	4	8	27	68·6% of the total land above one Rupee value
Re. 1-0-0 to 0-8-0	62	544	32	8	31½	31·4% of the total land is valued at one Rupee and less

These figures make clear that more than 2/3 of the area of the lands of the village has soils of high value, while the remaining 1/3 is not of the poorest quality, but of medium type. The lowest value is Rs. 0-7-6, while the highest value is Rs. 1-10-0.

The average area per plot of land of the highest value is the smallest, showing that the land of the highest value is divided most. However, the difference in size of plot is not large, as the average area per plot in the village is about 8 acres 28 gunthas. Fragmentation, therefore, is not marked.

The distribution of land in Timbi village is as follows :

					Acres	Gunthas
1.	<i>Darbari Khatbandhi</i> land cultivation	...	...	...	1434	17
2.	<i>Barkhali</i> land	...	...	...	255	4
3.	Land occupied in village site, roads, Railway line				53	23
4.	Land with agricultural farm, contract cultivation and <i>Barkhali</i> with full assessment	...	...	...	218	10
5.	Waste lands	...	...	...	301	1
					2262	15

Table Number I classifies the land-holders of the village and indicates the size of their holdings.

TABLE I : *Classification of Land-holders in Timbi Village, together with the Area held by Each Class, 1936-37.*

Type of land holder	No. of holders	% age to total	Area held by each class		% age to total	Area per individual in each class	
			A.	G.		A.	G.
Cultivating Landlords	49	62'0	1158	29	63'71	23	26
Non-Cultivating Landlords	6	7'6	55	13	3'02	9	12
Absentee Landholders	1	1'27	4	13	0'22	4	13
Cultivating Landholder, and							
(a) Tenant paying cash rent	8	10'13	235	32½	13'00	29	19
(b) Tenant paying crop share	10	12'65	319	13½	17'53	31	37½
Cultivating Tenant							
(a) Paying cash rent	3	3'80	15	24	'88	5	8
(b) Paying crop share	2	2'55	30	00	1'64	15	0
TOTALS	79	100'00	1819	5	100'00	23	1 average holding

It will be seen from the above table that three-fifths of the land-holders cultivate their own lands, which comprise three-fifths of the land under cultivation. 7'6% of the total are non-cultivating landlords, and there is but 1 absentee landlord in the village. 22'78% of the landholders are also tenants because the size of their landholding is not sufficient to provide a living income. The average cultivated holding is 23 A. 1 G. per landholder, and 25 A. 10½ G. per cultivating family.

Table Number II classifies the land-owning Mulgarasias (Vassals) of the village.

TABLE II: *Classification of Land-owning Mulgarasias in Timbi Village, 1936-37*

Type of holder	No. of holders	% age to total	Total Barkhali land owned	
Cultivating <i>Barkhali</i> land-owner and State <i>Khatabandhi</i> cultivating holder	5	50'00	A.	G.
Non-cultivating <i>Barkhali</i> owners	3	30'00	214	20
Absentee <i>Barkhali</i> owners	2	20'00		
Average <i>Barkhali</i> holding of <i>Mulgarasias</i>			A.	G.
			21	18

Size of holdings. 17'55% of the landholders of Timbi have holdings under 10 acres; 55'45% from 10 to 25 acres; 20'25% from 25 to 50 acres; 5'40% from 50 to 100 acres, and 1'35% over 100 acres. The problem of fragmentation is not particularly acute, but the areas of the plots do not make for extensive cultivation. In 1934-35 the State banned the subdivision of holdings having an area of less than 32 acres.

Cultivation. 43% of the total area of Bhavnagar State is cultivable and all of this area is under cultivation. 99% of the area cultivated is under one crop. 65% of the total cultivable area in the State is under food crops and only 35% devoted to commercial crops. The negligible double-cropped area shows the lack of irrigation facilities.

Timbi village has 88'33% cultivable and 11'67% uncultivable lands. 2'20% of the cultivable land remains as waste, leaving 86'13% available for

cultivation. Out of this 86·13 %, 7·56 % is cultivated by people from an adjoining village, and 1·58 % by the State agricultural farm—leaving the village 76·99 % of the total lands for cultivation.

There are 32 *pacca* and 34 *kaccha* wells with two *Mhot* capacity each. Drinking wells bring the total number of wells up to 70. The water on the whole is quite good and the supply holds up to the month of May. Cost and lack of technical skill have prevented the peasants from installing motor-driven pumps. The common irrigation is by an improved *Mhot* (leather and iron bag) with a capacity of 30 to 40 gallons of water. One pair of bullocks is sufficient for the lifting. If we regard 60 wells of the village as having an irrigating capacity of 5 acres each, 300 acres—or 15·75 % of the cultivated land—can be brought under double cropped cultivation. The present average rainfall of 22·55 inches per year is just sufficient for the local single crop cultivation, provided the distribution is proper.

The common crops grown in the village fields are as follows :

- (a) *Food crops*—*jawar*, *bajri*, wheat, *banti*, *tur*, *wal*, black gram, horse gram, green gram or *mug*, *kulthi* and rice.
- (b) *Commercial crops*—castor seed, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, *til*, groundnut, maize, mustard and chillies.
- (c) *Vegetables*—nearly all kinds.
- (d) *Fodder crops*—green *jawar*, lucern, etc.

Crops like rice, *tur* and tobacco are rare, but others are common.

Complete tillage is carried out only in case of the *til* crop. Ploughing is done for important crops such as cotton and sugar cane. Otherwise a couple of harrowings are regarded as sufficient. The country wooden plough is used, which only scratches the soil. There is only one iron plough in the village. The unpopularity of iron ploughs is due in part to the lack of animal power required.

The seeds used for the village sowing are not of the selected variety. The use of fertiliser is very limited. The trees grown near the village have a variety of uses, such as supplying wood for implements, wood for fire, shade, fencing, fodder for animals, fruits and other products. The supply, however, is inadequate, and the planting of new trees should be systematically encouraged by the State. The people have still a great deal to learn regarding improved methods of cultivation and modern methods of production.

Table Number III on the following page shows the various crops grown in the village Timbi and how these crops are disposed of.

Although the year under study was not a particularly good year, still

TABLE III : Production and Distribution of Crops, Timbi Village 1936-1937

Name of Crop	Crop produced in maunds				Crop consumed at home		Crop given as rent		Crop sold	
	Within village		Outside village		Mds.	Shr.	Mds.	Shr.	Quantity	Cash
	Mds.	Shr.	Mds.	Shr.						
Jawar	379	0	60	0	439	0	418	20	14 20	16 2 0
Bajri	838	0	6 10		844	10	658	25	11 25	21 12 9
Wheat	2947	20	100	0	3047	20	543	20	45 0	106 14 0
Cotton	2507	0	124	0	2631	0	13	0	30 20	108 11 0
Sugar Cane (Gul)	1202	0	.....		1202	0	122	0	.....	.....
Cane (only)	1200	0	.....		1200	0	400	0	.....	.....
Til	708	30	86 10		795	0	137	35	33 25	113 7 6
Chibbda	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....	.....
Math	2	0	.....		2	0	2	0	.....	.....
Total food crops	9784	10	376 20		10160	30	2295	20	135 10	366 15 3
Kadali (Hay)	13735	0	1305	0	15040	0	12780	0	510 0	175 9 0
Lucern	11738	20	.....		11738	20	11738	20	.....	.....
Green jawar or Chasatio	11633	0	.....		11633	0	11633	0	.....	.....
Carrot	6289	0	.....		6289	0	6289	0	.....	.....
Kidney beans	5	0	.....		5	0	5	0	.....	.....
Total fodder crops	43400	20	1305 0		44705	20	42425	20	510 0	175 9 0
									1970 0	656 10 0

(In this Table 1 Sher is equal to 1 Pound, and 40 Shers are equal to 1 Maund.)

the crop is of considerable quantity, considering the soil and limited irrigation. 96·3 % of the total fodder crop is produced in the village and 3·7 % comes from outside. Out of the total non-fodder crops, 22·6 % is taken for consumption; 1·3 % is given as rent; and nearly 75 % is sold to meet the expenses of production.

The fodder crops are generally consumed in the village—except for dry fodder which is sold because of the price it brings. The village is practically self-supporting with regard to fodder for the animals. Fodder crops, when grown on an extensive scale, fetch a good income, and are easily saleable because of good transport facilities.

Commercial crops help in paying the land revenue, and when they fail, the condition of the peasants is pitiable. The table above shows a sum of Rs. 20,401-11-0 realised by the village from the sale of its produce. 1936-37 was not a good year. In a good year the income might be half again as much. The peasant is at a financial disadvantage in that he has to meet his revenue instalments regularly and is therefore not in a position to hold his crop and negotiate for better prices. A co-operative marketing society which would help the agriculturist to get better prices for his crops, fair treatment in transactions and supply some instalment subsidy to help in paying revenue dues would be of genuine value.

Agricultural Labour. That section of the population which is dependent upon agriculture for its existence, and does not belong to the landholding class, may be said to be the agricultural labour group. 10·6 % of the total population of the State, and 15 % of the rural population belong in this category and the group has increased during the past decade.

Out of 172 families in Timbī Village, 44 families are mainly dependent upon agricultural labour and 38 families are partially dependent upon it. In the partially dependent group are the insufficient landholders, the artisans, and some stray families of the village. The dependent group includes the Kunbis, Kolis, Ayars, Rajputs and Untouchables. With the exception of high-caste Hindu women, men, women and children work in the fields.

During sowing and harvesting seasons the demand for labour is good. Cotton and sugar cane require labour for weeding in the middle of the season. The co-operative labour system is seen in operation at the time of *Gul* preparation from sugar cané.

There are two kinds of agricultural labour. The permanent group is called *Sathi* or *Hali*, as distinguished from the group which works by the day. Casual labourers are hired the night preceding the day's work and are paid 4 annas per day plus the noonday meal. When labour is scarce the daily wage is increased by a quarter of an anna.

Permanent or yearly servants are settled in the months of April and May. So far as possible they are chosen from the village, and bachelors are preferable because they are more available at night to watch the fields. The remuneration varies from Rs. 75/- to Rs. 100/- per year, plus food and clothing. If a bachelor, the *Sathi* takes his food with his master. If he is married he receives his yearly remuneration in kind.

The *Sathi* must both work in the fields and care for the animals at home. If for any reason he has to leave the work before the end of the year, he receives his remuneration in proportion to the number of days which he has worked. In case of temporary absence he must either pay his substitute or work for an equivalent number of days on the completion of the year. Generally the same man is employed for years together if his work is satisfactory.

When seasonal servants are engaged they receive a fixed sum, without food and clothing. Payment may be in kind. Harvesting operations are at times given on contract, payment also being given in kind.

Though boys and girls often do as much work as adult helpers, they receive only half of adult wages. There is no distinction between the wages of men and women.

The hours of work are from 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening, with two hours' rest at noon.

It is interesting to compare the number of working days per year in Timbi village with similar studies made elsewhere:

<i>Study made by</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Number of Working Days Annually</i>
Jack	Bengal	3 months and sometimes 6 weeks more when jute is grown after rice
Keating	Deccan	108 days
Calvert	Punjab	150 days
Gilbert	Madras	150 days
Bhatt	Timbi Village	270 days for double-cropped areas and intensive cultivation; 150 days for single-cropped areas

Capital in the Village. Capital in the village can be classified under the heads of land; animals; implements, and buildings. The amount of ornaments and savings cannot be determined by the casual investigator and cannot therefore be taken into account.

(a) *Land* is the chief investment of the village. Its possession gives status and prestige to the holder and hence it is not sold, save in unavoidable circumstances. Sales occur at very rare intervals. I have arrived at the valuation of the land (1) by taking into consideration the price received from

the most recent sale, which was Rs. 100/- per acre; (2) by drawing upon my experience in the Town Planning Department of the State, where even the best land acquired was not in excess of Rs. 200/- per acre; (3) by multiplying the land revenue by 20 to 25 times the revenue per acre which gives a figure of Rs. 100-125/- per acre. Accordingly, accepting a figure of Rs. 125/- as a fair valuation per acre, the value of the whole village area of 1,957 acres and 23 gunthas comes to Rs. 244,625-14-0.

(b) *Animals*. Table Number IV shows the number and value of the animals in the village.

TABLE IV : *Number of Animals in the Village Timbi and their Value, 1936-37*

Type of Animal	Number of animals in				Price per animal Rs.	Total Value Rs.
	1921	1931	1935	1937		
Bullocks ...	167	172	151	166	40	6640
Cows in milk } ...	36	80	26	47	30	2310
Cows not in milk }				30		
She buffaloes in milk } ...	65	83	79	44	60	3780
She buffaloes not in milk }				19		
Calves ...	92	109	105	119	10	1190
Goats ...	288	188	260	139	4	556
Sheep ...	399	340	521	350	6	2100
Asses ...	23	17	17	2	10	20
Horses ...	5	2	3	3	40	120
Bulls ...	...	4	...	2	30	60
Buffalo Bulls ...	...	12	4	...	.....	.....
TOTAL ...	1103	1042	1190	921	.....	16776

The decrease in the number of animals in the year 1937, is due to the migration of some herdsmen with their animals, because of the shortage of fodder. Asses, formerly kept by potters as beasts of burden, are now being replaced by carts. The absence of sufficient breeding bulls is telling upon

the quality of the livestock. The total value of the animals at current market rates comes to Rs. 16,776-0-0.

The number of bullocks per plough, i. e., per yoke, in Timbi village is 2'37. There are '087 bullocks per cultivated acre, or one bullock for every 11'3 acres, or a pair of bullocks for every 23 acres. There are 2'30 bullocks for every cultivator family in Timbi and 0'96 bullocks per family in the village. There are 1'07 cows and '87 buffaloes per cultivator family and 0'44 cows and 0'37 buffaloes per family in the village. The number of bullocks allows for no cultivation reserve, while the number of cows and buffaloes per family is quite inadequate if dairying is to be regarded as a subsidiary industry.

(c) *Implements and tools.* A primitive plough with a yoke, harrow, seed drill, hoe and sickle constitute a unit of implements for agriculture in the Indian village. A *Mhot* with simple accessories, a spade and a pick form the unit for irrigation. A bullock cart is essential for transportation.

These fundamental implements and instruments are prepared and repaired in the village itself. The farmer spends little, as he takes the wood from the trees in his field and pays the labour in kind. The Indian peasant is very conservative regarding the introduction of improved implements, and especially when he has to spend a bit. But once he is convinced of their utility, he is too shrewd not to take advantage of them. The State Agricultural Department has both a challenging and fruitful field for propaganda. Though the State farm is in the limits of the village, there is but one iron plough in the village Timbi.

A detailed study of the implements in the village shows a total of 2,252 agricultural implements with a value of Rs. 12,482-0-0. The study reveals that there is but one cart for every 40'6 acres cultivated; but one plough for every 27'25 acres cultivated; but one harrow for every 29'8 acres cultivated. and one seed drill for every 20'5 acres cultivated. This may explain why the people do not plough every year, and why scarcely one harrowing can be done in a year. The village possesses but one *Mhot* for every 27'9 acres of cultivated land. Either the number of basic working implements must be increased or methods must be worked out for their more efficient use.

(d) *Housing.* The problem of village housing is no less important than the problem of urban housing. The village houses for the most part, are made of mud walls, plastered with cow dung, and are roofed with bamboo sticks and covered over with country tiles. The house is a structure of four walls, the door being the only opening. All the operations of domestic life are carried out in one room, with a verandah five to six feet broad, which is mainly used by the males. The cattle are housed in an open courtyard in front of the house. The houses are attached to the farms and cannot be bought or sold separately.

Table Number V shows the types of buildings in the village and their value

TABLE V : *Types of Buildings in the Village Timbi, 1936-37, and their Value*

Type of building	Number [*]	Price per building	Total value
Mud house with ground floor only .	174	Rs. 150	Rs. 26,100
Mud house with ground floor and one additional storey, but of half the ground area	20	150	3,000
Brick and mortar with ground floor only	4	1000	4,000
Brick and mortar with an additional storey... ..	12	2000	24,000
TOTAL	210	.....	57,100

The brick and mortar buildings, which add considerably to the valuation of the village property, number but 16 out of a total of 210 buildings, and are either public or State buildings, or houses occupied by business people.

Table Number VI summarises the total capital of the village.

TABLE VI: *Total Capital of the Village Timbi, 1936-37*

Item	Total value			Percentage of total value	How many times the revenue of the village	How many times the total value of crop production
	Rs.	a.	p.			
Land ...	244,625	14	0	73'93	29'28	6'6
Animals ...	16,776	0	0	5'07	2'00	0'45
Implements ...	12,482	0	0	3'78	1'49	0'33
Buildings ...	57,100	0	0	17'22	6'80	1'53
TOTAL ...	330,983	14	0	100'00	.....	.....

Studying the relationship between the total capital, revenue collected and yearly production, we find that the gross return is only 11%, of which nearly 2½% goes for State revenue. The remaining 8½% forms the income on the capital invested, and includes all the occupational expenses. The net profit, if there is any profit, is very meagre.

Over and above the four types of capital listed above, the peasant needs working capital for seeds, manure, wages and for recurring expenses. As the peasant has no ready cash, he either must borrow from his relatives or money lenders or manage with *Tagavi* loans. The village co-operative society has been of definite help to the peasants, while the State has also been generous in *Tagavi* loans.

Economic Condition. The work of the Agriculturists' Debt Redemption Scheme in Bhavnagar State was started with the willing cooperation of the *Sowkars*. According to the State rule, consideration was to be given primarily to those having agriculture as their main occupation.

The Conciliation Board started with the principle that the success of a debt redemption scheme was dependent upon the co-operation of both peasant and money lender. The State would pay a certain amount to the creditor on behalf of the debtor, under certain specified conditions :

- (1) The sum to be paid should not exceed thrice the land revenue due from the indebted peasant every year.
- (2) The sum to be paid by the State for the whole circle—a group of 12 or 13 villages—should not exceed one fourth the sum demanded as debt by the money lender. Thus the amount of debt was to be curtailed as much as possible.
- (3) The rate of interest to be calculated on the principal of the debt was kept at 12%.

The debt figures were first collected by the *Thanadars* (circle officers of the Revenue Department), then scrutinised by the Board to find out the actual dues, and finally the sums to be paid were fixed according to rules.

53·4% of the peasants of the State were found to be indebted to the amount of Rs. 86,38,874/-. The total debt of the village Timbi, according to the *Sowkars'* statement, was Rs. 12,782/-. The total debt of the village, according to the Committee's findings, was Rs. 9,602/-. The amount to be paid fixed according to the rule of "thrice the annual revenue" amounted to Rs. 6,333/-. The actual money paid to the creditors, according to the proportion for the village with regard to the whole circle, was Rs. 4,172/-. Thus Rs. 8,610/- were cancelled from the alleged amount due.

The position of the peasants who took advantage of the scheme at the time of my study of Timbi Village in 1936-37 was as follows :

(1) 25 % repaid the balance to the money lenders in order to continue their good relationships.

(2) 20·8 % were completely free from debt.

(3) 16·6 % were indebted to the Co-operative Society only.

(4) 62·6 % were indebted both to the Co-operative Society and money lenders.

The average debt of the cultivators who took advantage of the scheme was Rs. 533/-. The average debt of these same persons at the time of study was Rs. 254-13-4. The causes for the current debt were reported as follows :

(1) Agricultural losses	...	42·4 %
(2) Marriages, funerals, etc.	...	30·3 %
(3) Productive agricultural purposes	...	21·2 %
(4) House building	...	6·1 %

Since the debt per indebted family has within 3 or 4 years gone up to about one half its previous amount, it would appear that for many, agriculture is not a paying proposition, and that too large an amount is still being spent in carrying out social customs. Productive debts are only 1/5 of the total. Emphasis on improved agriculture and social re-education are both urgently needed.

For the permanent good of the agriculturist, the State has passed an Agriculturists' Protection Act on the model of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. And for the social and economic uplift of the people, the Gram Panchayat Act has been passed.

The situation regarding debt in the village as a whole may be summarised as follows :

(1) The average debt per family is Rs. 100-11-0.

(2) The average debt per indebted family is Rs. 254-13-4.

(3) The average debt per capita is Rs. 18-10-7.

Of the 68 new debtors in the village, 32 have secured credit from money lenders; 13 from money lenders and the co-operative society and 5 from money lenders, without interest. That 50 out of 68 debtors have gone to money lenders would go to show that the money lender still has a strong place in village economy, due to the tedious delays experienced in obtaining money from co-operative societies and *Tagavi* loans. Under present conditions the money lender can be curbed, but he cannot be dispensed with.

Family Budgets. To facilitate study the families of the village were divided into five main groups according to their annual income.

Table VII on the following page shows this economic grouping.

Out of the total families in the village 70·93 % have an annual income of

TABLE VII : *Economic Grouping of the village Timbi, 1936-37*

Economic Group	Annual Income	Number of families	Percentage to total
A	Rs. 1000 and over	3	1'75
B	Rs. 501 to 1000	13	7'55
C	Rs. 251 to 500	34	19'77
D	Rs. 101 to 250	64	37'21
E	Rs. 100 and below	58	33'72
TOTAL		172	100'00

less than Rs. 250/-. The most of the members of A and B groups are merchants and traders. Group C is a mixture of business people and agriculturists. Group D contains more agricultural labourers than agriculturists and Group E more agriculturists than agricultural labourers. The major sources of income are from land and animals—the actual amount of income from these sources being Rs. 27-1-11 per cultivated acre.

Table VIII on the following page shows the annual expenditure per family in each economic group.

A minimum annual budget for a family of four members, at current village prices, would amount to Rs. 191-7-0, distributed as follows :

		Rs.	a.	p.
(a)	Food	...	108	15 0
(b)	Clothing	...	48	8 0
(c)	Social activities	...	12	0 0
(d)	Personal, travel, etc.	...	18	0 0
(e)	Religious	...	4	0 0
			191	7 0

Since the income of 33% of the people of Timbi village is below Rs. 100/-, and the income of a second 37% is below Rs. 250, it would appear that only about 1/3 of the people of the village approximate the minimum living standard. And Timbi is regarded as a fairly prosperous village.

On the basis of the above budget it is possible to try to work out an economic holding. The annual income from land and animals in the village is Rs. 27-1-11 per cultivated acre. The annual expenses of the cultivator are as under : (To page 357)

TABLE VIII: *Annual Expenditure per Family in Each Economic Group, Timbi Village, 1936-37³*

Economic group	Food	Clothing	House Rent	Occupational Expenses	Interest	Religious	Special Purposes	General	Total
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
A	277 12 0	85 0 0	...	1184 4 6	...	18 15 3	83 5 3	86 10 8	1735 15 8
B	243 13 0	92 8 7	...	611 5 10	21 10 6	10 12 3	77 8 7	44 2 6	1101 13 3
C	159 3 2	50 10 10	1 2 10	199 8 3	8 7 2	4 4 6	47 5 7	22 14 1	493 8 5
D	104 12 11	29 8 8	1 8 3	134 1 4	6 15 9	2 13 7	38 2 0	10 12 6	328 11 0
E	80 10 9	21 15 5	0 12 2	176 7 0	11 4 4	3 2 1	7 8 0	9 3 4	310 15 1
Average per family	120 15 1	36 14 4	1 0 10	213 2 8	9 11 4	4 0 8	33 6 5	16 7 10	435 11 2
Average per adult	28 9 2	8 9 3	0 4 0	50 5 9	2 4 8	0 15 3	7 14 3	3 14 4	102 12 8

³ A family is considered as consisting of 3 adults and 2 young persons, or 4 adults.

"Special purposes" means expenditure incurred on marriages, funerals and other social activities.

"General" means pocket and sundry expenses, such as travelling.

		Rs.	a.	p.
(a)	Family budget (as above) ...	191	7	0
(b)	Occupational expenses (cf. Table VIII) ...	213	2	8
	Total annual expenses ...	Rs. 404	9	8

To realize this amount, 15 acres of good land with irrigational facilities are required. But in Kathiawar, 3 out of 5 years are bad years, so at least half again that amount of land, or 22 acres 10 gunthas, are required. In the village the average holding is 23 A. 1 G. In the entire State, 54.5 % of the landholders have more than 20 acres of land. So provided the soil is good and water supply adequate, the agriculturists do have sufficient holdings to realize the budgetary standard of life.

The Village and the State. The village of Timbi is connected with the State through the Revenue Department, Agricultural Department, Co-operative Department, Police Department, Educational Department and Medical Department.

(a) *Revenue.* The Revenue Patel of a village in Bhavnagar collects the revenue and pays to the State through the *Thanadar* (Circle Officer), *Vahivatdar* (District Officer) and the Revenue Commissioner for the State. The Member in charge of the portfolio is the authority responsible to the Maharaja. In villages where there is a Gramya Panchayat the circle inspector has been eliminated.

The Gramya Panchayat Rule was passed by the State in 1929, and was introduced into the village in 1932. It is intended to interest the people in matters of common well-being, such as village protection; to help them to work out jointly, and without outside aid, problems touching their own common interests, and to manage their own affairs.

The Panchayat consists of five elected members recognised by the State, with the Revenue Patel and Headman (*Mukhi*) as ex-officio members. The president is elected from among the members. The life of the Panchayat is for three years. It has the power of appointing revenue and police peons and of removing the patels if they have sound reasons against them.

The Panchayat has to collect a fixed revenue (average of the last 20 years), leaving the management of alienated lands with the State. It has to keep all the records desired by the State. It has all the powers of the revenue code for demanding revenue from the cultivators. If the work of the Panchayat is found to be extra-ordinary, powers may be conferred on it to hear money suits up to a prescribed limit, to hear cases under the Cattle Trespass Act, and to try cases of petty theft and mischief under the Indian Penal Code. Matters relating to customs, excise and arms and ammunition are dealt with by the Darbar.

The Panchāyat can only be relieved at the end of the year. The president of the Panchayat is honorary and has to supervise all of the office work. In council with the other members, he has power to fine up to Rs. 10/- for petty offences and up to Rs. 25/- for cattle trespass.

The post of Revenue Patel is an hereditary one. The Patel receives Rs. 100/- per annum from the state. It is his duty to record the sale of farmers' produce, collect revenue and taxes, look after encroachment of land, to keep the documents regarding land in proper order, to help in the evaluation of crops and to assist the revenue officer in his work. He is empowered to detain the cultivator on the threshing ground on default of the revenue payment.

The *Talati* is the village clerk and accountant. His appointment is with the sanction of the Panchayat and he receives Rs. 15/- per month.

The revenue of the village Timbi is collected under the following heads: ⁴

					Rs.	a.	p.
(1) Crown land assessment	...	...	...	...	8209	10	9
(2) Barkhali	...	...	...	...	85	0	0
(3) Land on crop-share system	...	...	...	...	0	13	9
(4) Tax on fruit trees	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
(5) Tax on stone quarries	...	...	...	...	2	3	6
(6) Tax on brick and lime kilns	...	...	...	...	3	7	2
(7) Tax on cattle grazing	...	...	...	...	3	15	1
(8) Royalty	...	...	...	...	7	14	0
(9) Tax on shepherds' cattle	...	...	...	...	31	4	0
(10) Improvement tax	...	...	...	...	10	3	0
(11) House rent from Darbari houses	...	...	...	...	3	15	2
(12) Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	0	2	2

Total Rs. 8359 9 7

(b) , *Agricultural Department*. The Agricultural Department was started in 1918 under the Director of Agriculture, but in 1924 it was brought under the Revenue Department, and the head was designated as the Assistant Commissioner for Agriculture. There are five agricultural graduates in the department. There is a model farm at Dhola. The activities of the Department are to introduce new varieties of crops; to carry on propaganda for chemical and green manure; to introduce better implements and seeds; to show the advantages of bunding operations; to increase the water supply by providing more wells; to train cultivators' boys in improved agricultural methods in a State School (which is now abolished); to prepare sugar from gul, and to carry on propaganda for hand-spinning and hand-weaving. There are no veterinary surgeons under the department.

⁴ Average for the last five years.

(c) *Co-operative Department.* The Co-operative Department is also under the Revenue Department. It was started in 1918, but only became active from 1923. It is under a head, assisted by 2 or 3 honorary organizers. Save for one consumers' society, operations are limited to co-operative credit societies. The working is the same as in British India. 50 % of the capital raised by the people is given by the State, up to Rs. 2,000. A further 20 % bonus is given on the capital raised by the people within a period of two years. Timbi has had a co-operative credit society since 1925. It has made good progress with from 22 to 31 members; deposits varying from Rs. 1,100/- to Rs. 3,604/-; loans varying from Rs. 3,152/- to Rs. 9,032/-; total profits from Rs. 1-0-3 to Rs. 201-8-2, and reserve fund from Rs. 1-6-6 to Rs. 186-6-9. Repayment, however, is not too prompt.

(d) *Police Department.* The Police Patel with two Chowkidars is responsible to Fojdars and Naik Fojdars of Mahals, who again are under the Assistant Superintendent and Superintendent of Police of the State. The Police Patel gets Rs. 50/- per year, and has to maintain the birth and death record; lock up the stray animals and fine their owners; maintain register of arms and black diary of criminals; keep a record of vaccinations; report epidemics, crimes and fires to the authorities concerned; control the Chowkidars; and help the Panchayat members in their work. The Patel is now appointed with the consent of the Panchayat. He is responsible to the Medical, Revenue, Army and Police Departments. Though his pay is small, he has his status in the village and had his own way of ruling before Panchayat administration. The Chowkidars receive Rs. 90/- per annum.

(e) *Educational Department.* The Director of Public Instruction, assisted by three inspectors of schools, is in charge of the Department. The school in Timbi was started in 1922, with a strength of 35 boys and with an annual expenditure of Rs. 265-11-0. At present there are 42 boys and girls and the expenditure is Rs. 252. Thus little progress has been made in 16 years. The State order to admit the Harijan children is neglected for fear of hostility and non-co-operation on the part of the higher caste Hindus. The school has only one teacher, but is housed in a satisfactory building.

(f) *Medical Department.* The medical department is under the Chief Medical Officer of the State, but hospitals and dispensaries are found only at the State capital and Mahal (Taluk) capitals respectively. The Mahal town nearest to Timbi village is three to four miles distant. There a dispensary of the State is run by a doctor and compounder.

There is one touring doctor for 660 villages. Vaccinators visit the village at an interval of six months. In times of small pox epidemics, vaccinators pay emergency visits.

The Revenue Department distributes packets of *Sudarshana* (Ayurvedic drug for malaria) gratis. The State has started a scheme of subsidised Ayurvedic physicians in certain selected villages.

There is no regular veterinary service. In case of epidemics, veterinary officers are called from the Military Department of the State.

The following compilation shows how much the village gets back from the revenue which it pays to the State:

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Annual payment to Revenue Patel, Police Patel, Chowkidars and Talati	...	590	0 0
2. Received for Village Improvement Fund	...	100	0 0
3. Educational Grant	...	252	0 0
Total Received	Rs.	942	0 0

The village pays in revenue to the State, after deducting 1/4 for the village vassals, Rs. 7,484-10-6. Hence the village gets back only 12.6% of what it pays to the State. Town and city improvements are made at the cost of the villages.

Rural Development. Some aspects of the social and economic situation in Timbi village have thus far been studied and some of the problems disclosed. The rational solution of these problems calls for an attack on a number of fronts.

1. There should be a reorganization of the village community administration by strengthening and developing the Gramya Panchayats. The Panchayat should work for the interests of all, without any party spirit. Even as things stand at present the Panchayat has been of considerable assistance to the villagers. Before Panchayat rule the villagers had to go to a circle office to pay the revenue instalment. This instalment is now taken by the Talati at their own homes. At present the Panchayat is concerned with such matters as public water wells, stud bulls, road repair, library extension, tree planting, street lighting, village cleaning and charities. These activities can be increased and better directed for further progress. The Panchayat should become the agency for pushing rural reconstruction and for breaking outworn and useless traditions, which today hold the villagers in their bondage.

2. I have stated previously in this article that once the agriculturist becomes convinced of the economic value of improved methods of agriculture, he will adopt them. The present experimentation on the State farm should be carried into the fields of the villagers. They should be supplied with free seeds of improved qualities, free manure, given expert guidance on their own plots and granted remission of land revenue for experimental land. The State farm should not only exhibit, but also become a seed-supplying agency.

Dairying should be introduced as a subsidiary industry. Problems such

as lift irrigation, rational marketing and grading of agricultural produce, cultivation of fruit and garden crops, and green manuring should be dealt with by extensive propaganda and demonstrations.

3. The co-operative movement should not be confined to the credit side alone. After production, marketing requires the greatest attention. Grading is a modern necessity for the standardization of products and fixation of price. Co-operative marketing is essential.

A multiple purpose co-operative society should be formed, having among its activities a consumers' co-operative store, grain bank, co-operative implement and seed society, and better living society. Red tape should be cut to the minimum so as to have cheap credit available to the cultivators with the least possible delay, when required for productive purposes. It is co-operative endeavour alone which will lift the village population to the plane which it was expected would be attained after the introduction of the debt redemption scheme.

4. Literacy in the village of Timbi is 15.94 %. Female education is negligible. Agricultural and working class villagers cannot afford to lose the labour of their children during the busy season, and hence school attendance is irregular. We hear much today about vocational training. Why cannot the work in the fields be regarded as the vocational training and the other subjects taught in accordance with a rearranged time table.

Scouting and physical training will help to enliven the atmosphere of the school. The scout movement can be the nucleus for village clean-up campaigns and for giving elementary hygiene and first aid instruction. The school teacher has a key place in the rural reconstruction movement.

The education of the adults cannot be neglected. All village teachers in preparing for their work should have courses in adult education methods; first aid and hygiene; elementary agriculture; scouting and physical education and citizenship. Lady teachers in the villages should have an elementary knowledge of nursing and midwifery, home economics, and should know something about organizing activities for village women.

5. The lack of proper sanitation facilities has resulted in great loss to the village in the shape of preventable diseases. Some of the causes of insanitation in the village are lack of latrine facilities; careless disposal of human and animal bodies; manure pits in the centre of the village; shallow well plinths, and the deplorable state of the village roads, which makes them difficult to clean. These causes can be removed with very little expense by co-operative effort.

At present there is one untrained dais or midwife in the village. There is no doctor, but a medical box is kept in the office of the panchayat,

which has proved to be of little use. A travelling doctor and a trained nurse for each Taluk and at least one fully trained midwife in each village will help.

6. The development of village industries on co-operative lines will prove a great boon to those agriculturists who now find it difficult to make both ends meet from agriculture alone. The State has made some stray efforts to encourage hand spinning and hand weaving, but over and above this—after a proper industrial survey of handicrafts—attention should be given to developing other village crafts such as reviving the ancient method of dyeing, which was famous for the fastness of its colours; tanning and leather handicrafts; bamboo furniture and basket making; rope making; bee keeping; preparation of bone-meal from bones, for manure; utilisation of all materials from cocoanut palm trees; utilisation of waste salt lands for planting babul trees for wood and gum, and the development of wooden toy making.

7. Though the land revenue assessment is not so high when compared with the neighbouring British districts, yet heavy occupational expenses and meagre return, would seem to indicate the advisability of a reduction. It will help if the suspended anna valuation revenue is not taken for next year, but allowed to lapse, so that the arrears will not trouble the people in coming years.

8. As a means of helping the village people to utilise their leisure time in a constructive manner I would suggest a small library of popular books; revival of folk dancing; magic lantern lectures both for education and propaganda; encouraging wholesome dramatic productions; introduction of games which will help to foster the group spirit, and bhajans and kirtans for the satisfaction of the religious impulses of the people.

Training for Village Leaders. Village teachers, and especially village Panchayat Talatis, should be trained to carry out the work of rural reconstruction through the Panchayats, in order to secure the effects of debt redemption and to prevent future indebtedness. Their training should include elementary principles of rural economy; co-operative law; the State land revenue system; adult education methods; primary education through vocational training; village health and sanitation; organization and working of rural libraries; general principles of social psychology; general principles of agriculture; basic village industries; animal husbandry and cattle breeding; organization of recreational activities; citizenship training; first aid and hygiene; prevention of epidemic diseases and the maintenance of records and registers.

The removing of one cause of poverty alone, viz., indebtedness, will not break the present vicious circle. Indebtedness is but one phase of the larger social problem and schemes for its removal must find their proper place in a well-rounded and carefully planned programme of rural reconstruction.

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY OF THE VILLAGE PADALI, SINNAR TALUKA, NASIK DISTRICT, BOMBAY

D. V. KULKARNI

A village of 117 families, and a population of 714, contains 89 land-owning families, owning an average of 13·3 acres per family. The total annual income of the village is Rs. 29,341-8-0 and the total annual expenditure is Rs. 36,893-13-0. The average indebtedness is Rs. 446/- per family. It is obvious that villages of this type require something more drastic than talks about cleanliness and the advantages of literacy. The first step in rural reconstruction is to know the village as it really is.

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THE *Physical Environment*. The village of Padali, which is the subject of this study, is situated just within the south-western boundary of Sinnar Taluka, Nasik District, in the Province of Bombay, at a distance of 12 miles from Sinnar and 25 miles from Nasik Road Railway Station on the G. I. P. Ry.

The Taluka of Sinnar, which lies in the south of the Nasik District, and covers an area of 518 square miles, is flat except for the southern and western parts, which are hilly. The village of Padali is situated in the valley of the Mhalungi River and consequently is favoured by a comparatively superior soil.

The climate of Sinnar Taluka is on the whole "equable and healthy." The temperature ranges from 52° to 108° F. Since it was not possible to record the actual temperature in the village Padali for sufficiently long time, I have for practical purposes, presumed the temperature of Padali and Sinnar to be approximately the same.

The Sinnar Taluka, as a whole, does not get a good rainfall, but in the southern part the rainfall is comparatively better. The record at the Sinnar Dispensary shows that the highest rainfall recorded was 40'37" in 1933 and the lowest was 10'56" in 1908. The rainfall for the last ten years averages 27'87". There is no rain-gauge in the village of Padali, but the rainfall in the region of the village is no less, and perhaps is slightly higher, than the readings recorded at Sinnar. The rainy season extends over a period of four months, from July to October. The maximum rainfall is recorded in the months of August and September.

The village of Padali is situated on the bank of the River Mhalungi, which is dammed at not less than eight places. These *Bundharas* (dams) and the wells comprise the water supply. Underground water is found at a depth

of from 25 to 30 feet and is sufficient for general irrigation purposes. There are 26 wells within the village area of Padali.

Rice, *nagli*, *varai*, *khurasani* and *rale* are the chief crops of the hilly region, while *bajri*, *math*, *mug*, *udid*, *kulith*, groundnut, wheat, gram, *masur*, *watana*, sugarcane, potatoes, onions, garlic, chillies and various kinds of roots and vegetables are grown in and around the village of Padali.

In the Sinnar Taluka we do not come across a variety of wild animals, but occasionally tigers and leopards make their appearance. Jackals, foxes, wolves, herds of deer, wild hares and rabbits are common. In many parts of the Taluka, especially in the hilly areas including the region round Padali—hyenas are also found. Wild birds of many varieties abound all over the region.

Oxen of seven main breeds—including Local, *Surati*, *Varhadi*, *Khilari*, *Gavrani*, *Malvi*, and *Bahali*—, cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats, horses, asses, pigs and dogs are the important domestic animals. Fowls, ducks, pigeons and parrots are some of the domestic birds.

Historical. Thus far we have discussed briefly the physical environment. Let us now turn to the community. Out of the 103 inhabited places in the Sinnar Taluka, Sinnar is the only town; the remainder are villages. According to the Census Report of 1931 the average population per village in the Nasik District is 516. The predominant religion is Hinduism, and Marathas form the principal caste in the Taluka. Nasik District, together with the District of West Khandesh, is said to be the original seat of the Marathas. The Deshmukhas of Vavi, a village in the Sinnar Taluka, trace their genealogy to the famous Satara dynasty of Marathas.

It is very difficult to present a connected historical account of this region. We can, however, say from the materials and relics available, that in early times it was under the sway of Abhirs and Rashtrakutas (up to c.550 A.D.); earlier Chalukyas (up to c. 753 A.D.); Rashtrakutas (up to 973 A.D.); later Chalukyas (up to 1189 A.D.), and the Yadavas of Deogiri up to 1312 A. D. Later the region was governed by various Muhammadan dynasties, until in 1668 A.D. the Marathas annexed it to their territory. It passed into British hands from 1818 A.D. We have very fragmentary evidence to make out the agricultural history of this region, and the troubled shuffle and reshuffle of dynasties makes it difficult to discover the real state of affairs regarding land and labour. Nothing definite can be said about the first man that settled in this village, but the Revgades of the village say that their ancestor first came and settled at Padali. They trace their origin from a village called Edgaon (१) in Poona District and state that they have their distant namesakes in some of the Central India Maratha States and in Gujarat. I cannot verify these claims.

Population. Table Number I, below, is a study of the village by population and sex.

TABLE I : *Population and Sex of the Village Padali, 1936-37*

Caste Name	No. of Families	Males	Females	Total	Remarks
Maratha :					
Revgade ...	56	178	153	331	
Shinde ...	12	46	54	100	
Jadhav ...	9	33	33	66	
Bogir ...	7	19	17	36	
Wagh ...	1	5	2	7	
Jagtap ...	1	2	1	3	
Nhavi ...	1	2	2	4	
Koli ...	2	7	4	11	
Thakar ...	7	27	21	48	
Gosavi ...	4	15	15	30	
Chambhar ...	1	4	5	9	
Mahar ...	15	42	35	77	
Mang ...	1	1	3	4	
TOTAL ...	117	381	345	726 714	<i>De facto</i> population <i>De jure</i> population

The following are the main observations on this Table :

(1) For every 100 men in the village there are 90·55 women.

(2) The village consists predominantly of Marathas, 73·50 % of the families and 74·79 % of the population of the village being Maratha.

If we define an active male person as a person in the age group of 15 to 60 years, and an active female person as a person in the age group of 15 to 50 years, we discover that 191 males and 178 females comprise the active population of the village. This means that 48·32 % of the total population (*De jure*) is dependent, while 51·68 % of the population (*De jure*) is active.

It should not, however, be supposed that the 48·32 % dependent population is completely dependent. A child begins to help his people as early as the seventh year of his life, while an old person will go on working until he or she is disabled due to age or infirmity. It would perhaps be more accurate to describe this group as "the working population."

The number of children and infants taken together is 296, i.e., 70·08 children per every 100 persons of adult population. The average family

consists of 1'73 adult male members, 1'84 adult female members and 2'43 children.

As regards the civil condition of the population we find the following facts :

- (1) 54'20 % of the total population is married.
- (2) 10'93 % of the total population is widowed population.
- (3) Remarriage and divorcees are not completely absent.

A Socio-Economic Classification of the Population. Up to this stage I have dealt with facts which are only co-related to the main economic issues, but now I shall attempt a scheme of socio-economic classification of families, so that we can evaluate the economic condition proper in a better way. The tables following will deal with : (1) Income ; (2) Land ; (3) Land Revenue; (4) Indebtedness, and (5) Social Status. A final table, (6), taking all of these factors into account, will attempt to grade the families of the village from A—representing the most satisfactory condition—to D—representing the least satisfactory condition.

(1)

<i>Income</i>	Number of Families	Class
Rs. 1000 & above.	1	A
Rs. 500 to 999 ...	8	B
Rs. 100 to 499 ...	99	C
Below Rs. 100 ...	9	D
	117	

(2)

<i>Land</i>	Number of Families	Class
Above 50 acres ...	1	A
40 to 50 acres ...	1	
30 to 40 acres ...	5	B
20 to 30 acres ...	12	
10 to 20 acres ...	18	C
5 to 10 acres ...	25	
2 to 5 acres ...	18	D
Below 2 acres ...	9	
No land ...	28	
	117	

(3)

<i>Land Revenue</i>	Number of Families	Class
Above Rs. 40 ...	15	A
Rs. 20 to 40 ...	15	B
Rs. 10 to 20 ...	27	C
Below Rs. 10 ...	32	D
No Revenue ...	28	
	117	

(4)

<i>Indebtedness</i>	Number of Families	Class
Above Rs. 1000 ...	17	D
Rs. 500 to 1000 ...	22	C
Rs. 100 to 500 ...	22	B
Rs. 50 to 100 ...	16	A
Rs. 0 to 50 ...	8	
No debt ...	32	
	117	

(5)

<i>Social Status</i>	Number of Families	Class
Based on observation of family	19	A
	67	B
	14	C
	17	D
	117	

If all the tables showing the classification of families based on the different criteria are considered together we arrive at the following composite judgment:

(6)

<i>General Evaluation</i>	Number of Families
Class A ...	4
Class B ...	25
Class C ...	59
Class D ...	29
	117

The Problem of Land. We shall turn now to the problem of land. The first survey of the Bombay Presidency was completed in 1867. The revision survey of the area in which the village Padali is situated was completed by 1880. The village was surveyed again and the reports made available in 1916. Raiyatwari land system is followed in this region. The total area of the village is :

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Gunthas</i>	
(1)	1155	10½	Cultivable Government land
(2)	26	24	Inam and Judi (No revenue)
	1181	34½	Total Cultivable Land
(3)	460	15	Forest
(4)	4	36	Gaothan
(5)	8	37	Streets, etc.
(6)	38	37	River Mhalungi
(7)	212	27½	Potkharaba
	725	32½	Other Land Non-Cultivable

Total land—1907 Acres and 27 Gunthas.

Classification of the cultivable land according to the Register kept at the Taluka office is as follows:

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Gunthas</i>
(1) <i>Bagayat Motasthal</i>	12	38
(2) <i>Bagayat Patasthal</i> and <i>Motasthal</i>	138	3
(3) Rice Land	4	4
(4) <i>Jirayat</i> land	1026	4
	1181	9¹

Table II on the following page shows the average holding in the village.

Let us try to fix an average economic holding. Keating defines this term as: "A holding which allows a man a chance of producing sufficient to support himself and his family in reasonable comfort after paying his necessary expense."² Jaggery is the principal commercial crop of the village. We know from enquiries that the cultivator gets approximately 21 Pallas of *gur* per acre. If we value this produce at Rs. 8/- per Palla we shall get a gross income of Rs. 168/-. Out of this the expenses for various processes in making *gur* amount to Rs. 80/- for the crop produce from one acre. This means the net income will be Rs. 88/-. The average family in the village contains 1·73 males, 1·84 females, and 2·43 children or approximately 4 adults and 3 children. If the family requirements for one year are calculated in money values they

¹ Figures from the Taluka office show a difference of 25½ Gunthas.

² *Rural Economy in Bombay Deccan*, p. 52.

TABLE II: *Average Holding in the Village Padali, 1936-37*

Socio-Economic Group	Area of land	Families owning land	Average area owned by a family	Persons in the owning families	Average area per person	Total families	Per family area, irrespective of ownership	Persons	Area per person
A. G.									
A	149 11½	4*	37.2	39	3.8	4	37.2	39	3.8
B	538 8½	25*	21.5	155	3.5	25	21.5	155	3.5
C	370 37¾	48*	7.7	337	1.1	59	6.3	362	1.0
D	50 5	12*	4.1	72	.7	29	1.7	158	.8
Outsider-Sowkars	22 14½	7							
Outsiders	50 37½	4							
Non-owners		28							
TOTAL	1181 34½	89*	13.3	603	1.96	117	10.1	714	1.65

amount to Rs. 350/-. This shows us that the average economic holding of irrigated land (*Bagayat*) is approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres. If we take the *Jirayat*, or non-irrigated type of land, as our basis we arrive at an average economic holding as 20 to 25 acres per family, with the present standard of living.

Revenue. For the 1155 acres and $10\frac{1}{2}$ gunthas of taxable government land the fixed revenue is Rs. 1760-7-0. On this amount the local fund was Rs. 140-3-6 in 1935. This gives a total of Rs. 1900-10-6. To this must be added the water tax which varies from year to year. In the year when this investigation was carried out one family could not pay the land revenue, amounting to Rs. 56-6-6. Out of the total received the Government and the local board spend Rs. 420/- for a school (one teacher Rs. 35/- per month); Rs. 60/- for the *Patil* and Rs. 10/- for the *Jagalya* per year. Approximately Rs. 500/- or nearly 26% of the total revenue, are spent every year. The remaining amount is used by the Local Board or by the Government on affairs having no direct relation to the village tenancy.

Tenancy. Two methods of tenancy are prevalent in the village—(a) method of crop share, and (b) method of rent. An area of 74 acres and $16\frac{1}{2}$ gunthas was tenanted by the first method, while 50 acres and $1\frac{1}{2}$ gunthas were tenanted by the other method. This means approximately 10·5% of the total land was tenanted. Out of the whole tenanted land, 73 acres and 12 gunthas, or 6·3% of the total area, were owned by absentee landlords.

Capital. Land, cattle and other animals, implements and houses are the chief items which constitute the capital of the village.

(a) *Land.* To determine the value of the land, we shall take the total income from land, and deduct from it the total expenditure, in order to find the net profit. If we calculate the investment at 3% we approximate the value of the land. The net profit on land only comes to Rs. 7,466/-, and by the above method we arrive at a figure of Rs. 2,48,867/- as the total value of land. Calculating the same by other methods, which cannot be described here in detail, we find the approximate value of land to be Rs. 2,53,952/-.

(b) *Animals.* Table III on the following page shows the approximate capital value of the animals in Padali.

The low valuation of the animals in the village is due in the main to improper and inadequate feeding and to the fact that little attention is paid to the selection of breeds. Although there are 2·42 cows per family, and out of them 53 are milch cows, Table III shows that there are only 62 cows in milk. The total approximate value of cattle and domestic animals in the village is Rs. 19,438/-.

(c) *Implements.* Table IV on the following page shows the number and approximate value of implements in the village.

TABLE III : *Approximate Capital Value of Animals in Padali Village, 1936-37*

Animal	Total number in the village	Approximate value per head Rs.	Approximate total value Rs.
Bullocks ...	177	40	7080
He-buffaloes ...	9	20	180
Bulls ...	37	20	740
Cows in Milk ...	62	30	1860
Cows not in milk ...	230	18	4140
She-buffaloes ...	53	60	3180
Calves ...	64	6	384
Goats ...	100	10	1000
Fowls ...	44	1	44
Sheep ...	125	6	750
Ponies ...	2	40	80
			19438

TABLE IV : *Number and Approximate Value of Implements in Padali Village, 1936-37*

Implement	Total No.	Approximate value per implement Rs.	Approximate total value Rs.
Carts ...	31	40	1240
Plough ...	86	5	430
Harrow ...	89	2	178
Kurhad ...	164	$\frac{1}{2}$	82
Kudali ...	97	3	291
Pavade ...	88	$1\frac{1}{4}$	110
Seed drill ...	61	2	122
Scythes ...	292	$\frac{1}{2}$	146
Sickles ...	259	$\frac{3}{4}$	$194\frac{1}{4}$
Grinding wheel ...	120	2	240
Saws ...	2	5	10
Sugarcane crushers (wooden) ...	4	80	320
" " (iron) ...	1	140	140
Pans ...	5	35	175
Leather <i>mots</i> ...	107	12	1284
Iron <i>mots</i> ...	6	20	120
		Total value Rs. 5082-4-0	

Table IV gives a fairly correct idea about implements. It need not be emphasized here that the farmer makes little use of modern implements, partly because his ignorance hampers him from making any headway in improved agriculture. The total capital value of implements come to Rs. 5082-4-0.

(d) *Houses*. Table V on the following page shows the types of houses occupied by the various caste groups in the village in 1936-37.

It is difficult to pass any definite judgment regarding the value of houses in the village, because (1) there is no uniformity of type; (2) there is no transaction on which we can rely to find out the value; (3) there is no house-rent system. But the local estimate value for a structure of 20' by 20' with tiled roof and mud walls is approximately Rs. 425/-. Accepting this figure, we find a total capital housing investment of Rs. 49,725/-. To this we must add the value of thatched shelters in fields—Rs. 1,000/-; value of the material of deserted houses—Rs. 15,000/-; and value of the Temple and *chavdi* Rs. 6,650/-. These items, based on the estimates given by the inhabitants of the village, gives us a total value of houses as Rs. 72,375/-.

Total Capital of the Village. The total capital of the village, as revealed by the foregoing figures, is as follows:

Value of land	...	Rs. 2,53,952-0-0
Value of animals	...	„ 19,438-0-0
Value of implements	...	„ 5,082-4-0
Value of houses	...	„ 72,375-0-0
Total capital of the village	...	Rs. 3,50,847-4-0

Despite this property valuation, the farmer in Padali, as elsewhere, is always in need of ready cash for the purchase of seeds and the proper handling of his crop.

Labour. Of the 117 families in the village, 17—with a total of 75 members—are wholly dependent on unskilled labour for their existence. The families of the *Chambhar*, *Mang* and *Nhavi* castes depend mainly on skilled labour—making hide articles for agricultural purposes, making ropes, and attending to the barber's job. The demand for labour in the village is seasonal. As far as possible each owner-cultivator with his family works on his own field. If necessity arises and time permits, the villagers follow the method of mutual exchange (*avad-savad*) of labour. If still more labour is required they follow the hire method and the payment is made in kind—though in a very few cases payment is made in cash. A few well-to-do families employ servants on yearly contract basis. Twelve persons had come from other villages and settled in the village for work.

Economic Conditions and Standard of Living. Table VI on Page 374 shows the income from and expenditure on agriculture in Padali in 1936-37.

TABLE V: *Types of Houses Used by Different Caste Groups in Padali Village, 1936-37*

Caste	Mud walls; tiled roof	Mud-brick walls; tiled roof	Baked bricks; tiled roof	Baked brick walls; Mangalore tiled roof	Mud-brick walls or mud walls and Mangalore tiled roof	Thatched roof; mud walls	Mud walls; partly thatched, partly tiled roof	Mere hut	Mud walls; corrugated iron sheets roof	Partly corrugated sheets and partly tiled roof; mud walls	Remarks
Maratha ...	69	1	2	1	1	9	1	...	2	...	
Gosavi ...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nhavi ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Koli ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Thakar ...	...	...	...	...	...	5	1	1	...	...
Chambhar.	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mahar ...	4	6	1	...	...	3	1	...	...	...
Mang ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total...	78	7	3	2	1	20	3	1	2	...	Total 117 houses

TABLE VI: *Income from and Expenditure on Agriculture, 1936-37*

Group	A		B		C		D		TOTAL	
	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.
Value of crops	2,838	4 0	4,546	15 0	7,117	3 0	1,223	12 6	15,726	2 6
Value of fodder	370	0 0	891	0 0	1,094	8 0	142	0 0	2,497	8 0
Income from cattle	238	0 0	532	8 0	663	8 0	107	0 0	1,541	0 0
Gross income	3,446	4 0	5,970	7 0	8,875	3 0	1,472	12 6	19,764	10 6
Wages	766	0 0	1,156	8 0	1,076	12 0	210	4 0	3,209	8 0
Cash rent	100	0 0	40	0 0	165	0 0	.....		305	0 0
Land revenue	177	12 9	831	2 9	676	8 0	73	9 6	1,759	1 0
Seeds	395	0 0	583	4 0	1,070	7 0	178	6 0	2,227	1 0
Manure	188	0 0	385	10 0	541	1 0	90	4 0	1,204	15 0
Transport	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....
Plough hire	4	0 0	15	0 0	38	0 0	10	0 0	67	0 0
Cattle feed	361	0 0	647	0 0	849	8 0	118	0 0	1,975	8 0
Other expenses	.....		.....		.....		10	0 0	10	0 0
Total expenses	1,991	12 9	3,658	8 9	4,417	4 0	690	7 6	10,758	1 0
Net income	1,454	7 3	2,311	14 3	4,457	15 0	782	5 0	9,006	9 6

Though the total agricultural income in each group is in excess of the expenditure for agricultural purposes, 3 out of 25 families in group B lost Rs. 13-4-0, 145-9-6 and 17-14-6 respectively, or a total of Rs. 176-12-0 on their agricultural operations. In Group C, 3 families out of the 59, sustained losses of Rs. 9-9-3, 1-7-6 and 5-1-3 respectively, or a total of Rs. 16-2-0. In Group D, 1 family out of 29, lost the small sum of Rs. 1-4-0.

Table VII on Page 376 shows the total income of the village Padali and the sources of earnings for each socio-economic group in 1936-37.

From the table we see that each family in the A group has an average annual income of Rs. 899/-, and per capita income of Rs. 92/-. The figures for B group are Rs. 300/- and Rs. 49/-; for C group, Rs. 224/- and Rs. 36/-, and for D group, Rs. 175/- and Rs. 32/-.

Table VIII on Page 377 shows the annual expenditure per socio-economic group.

Analysis of the table gives the following results :

Group	Annual Expenditure per family			Annual Per capita expenditure		
	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.		
A	1070	0	0	119	0	0
B	413	0	0	67	0	0
C	281	0	0	46	0	0
D	196	0	0	36	0	0

In all the groups we find that the expense side is greater than the income side. The total annual income of the village works out at Rs. 29,341-8-0 and the total annual expenditure at Rs. 36,893-13-0, i. e., the excess of expenditure over income is Rs. 7,552-5-0.

Indebtedness. Table IX shows the extent of indebtedness in the village in 1936-37.

TABLE IX : *Indebtedness per Socio-Economic Group in Padali Village, 1936-37*

Group	Approximate Debt Rs.	Families	Approximate debt per family Rs.	Persons	Approximate debt per person Rs.
A	7400	4	1850	39	190
B	16255	25	650	155	105
C	24163	59	410	362	67
D	4337	29	150	158	27
	52155	117	446	714	73

TABLE VII: *Total Income and Sources of Earnings in Padali Village, 1936-37*

Socio-Economic Group	Families	Land	Animals	Labour		Cartage	General	Total
				Skilled	Unskilled			
A	4	Rs. as. 3208 4	Rs. as. 238 0	Rs. as. ...	Rs. as. 150 0	Rs. as. ...	Rs. as. ...	Rs. as. 3596 4
B	25	5437 15	532 8	...	1400 0	10 0	105 0	7485 7
C	59	8211 11	663 8	182 14	3451 0	...	671 0	13180 1
D	29	1365 12	107 0	273 0	3019 0	...	315 0	5079 12
	117	18223 10	1541 0	455 14	8020 0	10 0	1091 0	29341 8

TABLE VIII: Annual Expenditure per Socio-Economic Group in Padali Village, 1936-37

Socio Economic group	Families	Food and Sundry Rs.	Clothing Rs.	House Rent Rs.	Occupation Rs. a. p.	Interest and Savkar Rs. a. p.	Religious Purposes Rs. a. p.	Drinks Rs.	Special Purposes Rs. a. p.	General Rs.	Total Rs. a. p.
A	4	1,041	383	...	1,991 12 9	100 0 0	29 0 0	...	700 0 0	35	4,279 12 9
B	25	3,867	1,219	...	3,658 8 9	260 0 0	112 0 0	...	1,202 0 0	...	10,318 8 9
C	59	7,956	2,378	...	4,417 4 6	818 8 0	208 4 0	13	763 0 0	50	16,604 0 6
D	29	3,586	952	...	690 7 0	.....	32 0 0	...	337 0 0	74	5,691 7 0
	117	16,450	4,932	...	10,758 1 0	1,178 8 0	381 4 0	13	3,022 0 0	159	36,893 13 0

Table IX reveals that the A group, which comprises mainly Marathas, is heavily in debt, while the lower strata in the village (both from social and economic point of view) is the least indebted. If we consider this problem from the point of view of caste groups we reach the same conclusion. The agricultural labourers are comparatively better off than the land-holding and land-cultivating classes. The approximate total indebtedness is Rs. 52,155/-.

The following methods of money lending or lending grain are resorted to:

- (1) *Vadhi-didhi*—Returning one and one-half times the amount of grain advanced as loan at the following harvest.
- (2) Mortgages.
- (3) Promissory notes.
- (4) Borrowing from Pathans.
- (5) Money advanced on personal security.

The rate of interest was in no case less than 12%. In one case the amount of debt was Rs. 5,000/-, and in another the debtor did not know the approximate amount, as the debt was hereditary. Taking into consideration the total income (Rs. 29,341-8-0) and total indebtedness (Rs. 52,155), it will be seen that if the village does not consume anything for two years it will be able to clear off its debts. In other words the ratio of income to debt is 100 : 175. 32 families are without debt. This gives an average debt of Rs. 613/- for each of the remaining families. Over and above the factor that the year 1936-37 was not a good one and prices were not high, we have to say on the authority of data in our hand, that the villager becomes entangled more and more in the snare of indebtedness on account of his ideas of prestige and the prevalent customs and traditions.

Literacy. Our study will not be complete until we know something about the educational standard of the people of the village. When the school was started, the Hanuman temple in the village—which was built by the villagers by voluntary contributions—was used for holding the classes. Later a sum of Rs. 325/- was raised for a school building, and an equal amount was paid by Government. The total area of seating accommodation is 22' 10" by 16' 6". In 1936-37 there were 42 pupils in the school, distributed in four primary Marathi standards. There was only one teacher to teach these children. The general equipment of the school was very poor and it was not possible to keep the building in a sanitary condition, as there were no doors to prevent the cattle from entering the school at night. All children were allowed to sit together without differentiation of caste.

Attendance dwindles in the harvest season as children help their parents and guardians in their agricultural operations. The value of education for girls is under-rated. Owing to the illiteracy of the villagers they pay

very little attention to the academic education of their children ; and this outlook is fostered all the more because of the general poverty.

Table X shows the extent of literacy in the village.

TABLE X : *Extent of Literacy in Padali Village, 1936-37*

Age	Standards 1 to 4		Standards 5 to 7		English		
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
0-7	6	4	...	...	...	...
8-16	36	1	...	...	1	...	
17-25	11	...	1	1	2	...	
26-40	17	...	...	...	2	...	
41-50	2	...	1	...	...	...
over 51	2	...	...	...	...	...
Total persons	74	5	2	1	5	...	87

The table reveals that out of 714 persons in the village, only 87 persons have had some sort of school contact. If the literacy standard is taken as that of Marathi 4th Standard, then the percentage of literacy is '98 % in general and 1'63 % for males and '28 % for females. This state reflects the appalling illiteracy present in the village and indirectly gives us a clear idea of the general condition of the village.

The foregoing pages present an approximately correct picture of the socio-economic conditions of the village Padali and cannot but emphasize the dire need of social and economic reconstruction in our rural areas. It is a platitude, but nevertheless true, that India cannot advance without the awakening of a new life in the villages.

THE VILLAGER IN THE CITY : A STUDY OF RURAL-URBAN RELATIONSHIPS

BEHRAM H. MEHTA

The migration of the villager to the city may bring the individual emigrant certain immediate satisfactions, but it also creates a host of problems, which are ably dealt with by Dr. Mehta in this article.

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THE villager comes to the city, leaving his home in the village, to become a unit in a vast and multifarious population that toils the whole day in organized industry. The transition from a simple type of living to the complex city environment is hardly noticed by the layman. But this seemingly insignificant change creates fundamental problems not only in the life of the individual, but of a national character, which challenge the wisdom of statesmen. The nature of these problems cannot be fully appreciated without a glimpse into the ordinary routine life of the villager before he decides to migrate to the city.

Life in the Indian village. There are seven laes of villages in India, and though life in them does not follow a single pattern, the general tone of life is similar everywhere. The physical environment has an important bearing on the life of the villager. His life is bound to the soil and is at the mercy of the climate, especially the rainfall. Most of the events of simple village life, as well as the mental concepts of the villager, are conditioned by contacts and conflicts with the environment. The physical environment is vast and complex—at one moment actively befriending the villager, and at the next becoming so hostile that it will hardly enable him to eke out a bare existence. The human environment, on the other hand, is small and in the main, friendly. When the villager migrates to the city, it is important to notice how this condition is altered and the social and human environment becomes a factor of far greater importance.

Religion in the village. It can be stated without contradiction that religion in the form in which it is found in the village plays a greater part in the life of the villager than the economic struggle for existence. Religion, as practised in the village, has its basis in the physical environment. Fundamental beliefs have arisen, perhaps centuries ago, and have hardened into traditions—traditions which are common to Hindus and Muslims alike, who share the same common environment. Forms of worship have developed out of these beliefs, and they embrace every aspect of human life—social, economic,

personal. It is possible to classify the rural population, according to religion, into Hindu, Muslim, Animist, etc. But organized religion does not enter the life of the villager in the same form in which it is found in the city. The name of the Supreme Universal Being may be on the lips of the rural masses, the existence of the Scriptures is known to them, the village temple invites devotees to offer their devotion, but the main worship is reserved for gods, "matas" and spirits who are believed to be of help in the ordinary functions of life, or in controlling or destroying forces of evil. A thick layer of Animism lies at the bottom of the various religions in India. Thus under the thin surface-crust of the popular religions, there appear the natural and spontaneous expressions of the emotions of man expressed in rituals which are natural, simple and beautiful. In rural areas religious participation is less formal and more direct and simple. There is a good deal of tolerance, and rural and religious life is generally marked by absence of conflict.

Social life. Social life in the village is dominated by custom and tradition. In spite of the growing control of political and economic forces, social authority has not died out. It is difficult for the individual to tread away from the path which is chalked out for him by the caste or local social group. Rural social life is homogeneous, in spite of diversities, because of this willing obedience of the individual to the social group. Society remains organised on account of the more or less rigid observance of rules of endogamy, exogamy and personal conduct. The caste, as a compact social unit, determines the kind of social relations its members may have with others—neighbours and strangers. Rural social organisation reduces the chances of major conflicts, and, in spirit at least, rural society practises the virtue of co-operation.

Three important aspects of social life attract our attention: the uniformity of pattern of rural social life; the definite character of village society; and the subordination of the individual to the social group.

Economic life. Like the social life, economic life is dominated by tradition. Occupations are usually hereditary, and the son learns the art of his occupation from parents and elders. This is especially true of agriculture and the village crafts. The work-life of the village knows a rhythm that is seldom disturbed. After a period of rest and unemployment in the hot months, the villagers stir themselves before the monsoon to clean the fields, break the clods, and plough the lands. The hum of work increases during the time for sowing and transplanting. Work is again slow as the tender plants are cared for, and there is occasional inter-culturing. Slow work drags on till harvest time and stacking. A second winter crop may repeat the round of activities. Agricultural processes are simple and traditional; implements are crude and primitive; age-old methods do not require that skill and efficiency which are

common to intensive cultivation. Landlords, tenants and labourers have their traditional relations which can only be disturbed by some stray politician from the city. Wages linger on the same level in spite of good and bad years, and high and low prices. The period of rest follows again after the marketing and sale of crops and the payment of all dues to the money-lender and the Government. Marriages, festivals, religious worship and evening gossip are punctuated with visits to friends and relatives, till the Holi festival heralds the birth of Spring and the return of the hot months.

The villager is accustomed, and acclimatised to, changes in the weather, in prices and in moods of government officials. Famines, floods and disease come and go, taking their usual toll, and landlords lose their lands and pass them over to the creditors to become labourers, as if that was their destiny and their due. This usual village calm is sometimes broken by a theft or a murder, or some story cast adrift from an old newspaper read by a money-lender. Thanks to the politics of the last two decades, a new interest has flickered in the village. Activities, hopes and frustrations have followed in quick succession—the millenium remaining as distant as ever in spite of alternating good and bad times.

The cause of change. From such a life of calm and stagnation, is drawn the new class of industrial workers, which has wandered to the few spots of industry that have appeared on the horizon during the last half century. Towns and cities have existed in India from very early times. They grew up in small clusters round seats of political power and religious importance. Centres of trade and commerce also grew up on rivers or highways or near the coast-line. In none of these was the concentration of population great. The most important of them did not know the dimensions of our present commercial and industrial cities. There was not the hum and wear and tear of modern life. Transport and roads were undeveloped and the movement of population was restricted to narrow areas.

This old urban order has changed since the appearance of British Rule in India and the introduction of modern machine industry. Development of trade and commerce, the miraculous improvement and extension of transport, and the birth of industries, however limited, have brought into existence large cities. The Industrial Revolution was slow in reaching India. The first Indian Railway was constructed in 1853. Docks followed a little later. The industrial population has grown mainly since 1870. In 1921¹ it was 1,06,85,372 males and 5,04,001 females, out of a total population of nearly 32 crores. During the last two decades industries have developed considerably, and yet the

¹ The figures of the 1921 Census are quoted throughout, as the 1931 Census was disturbed by political conditions.

industrial population is not likely to be more than two crores, or one-seventeenth of the total population. In the whole of India there are only 35 cities with a population of more than 100,000. It is therefore evident that major urban-rural problems are of recent growth and the presumption would be that they would affect only a small part of the country. The latter assumption, however, is not true because cities to-day wield a tremendous influence over the political, economic and social life of the people, and are shaping the destiny of the country as a whole.

By virtue of the commercial, political and industrial position of the city of Bombay, the Bombay Province is playing perhaps the greatest role in Indian history at present. While Delhi is the political capital of India, and Calcutta is the capital of commercial England, Bombay is the national capital of this country. It is therefore inevitable that we should discuss problems in general, with our outlook based on the situation in the Bombay Province.

The most important cities in the Province are Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Surat and Poona. In 1921 the population of Bombay was 11,76,000, the industrial population being 1,88,679 males and 42,348 females. Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat, had a population of 2,74,000, with an industrial population of 52,757 males and 12,750 females. Sholapur had a population of 1,19,580, with an industrial population of 22,593 males and 10,085 females. Surat had a population of 1,17,434 with an industrial population of only 23,300 persons. Poona, the capital of Maharashtra, with a population of 2,14,796 had only a small industrial population of about 1,900 persons.

The growth of cities in the Bombay Province can be well illustrated by the example of Bombay. When the small group of islands was handed over to the East India Company in 1668, it was populated by poor fishing groups. Migration of a small but rich commercial class from Gujarat began in 1677. In 1775, Bombay was a mile long and a mile broad, with a population of about 60,000. By 1806 the population was 2,00,000. Then came railways and docks and the population rose to 6,44,000 in 1871. The beginning of the present century registered a population of 7,76,000. In 1921 it was nearly 12,00,000 as stated above. The early growth of the city was due to its commercial and political importance—the greatest rise taking place during what is known as the Share Mania. The later growth is due to the rise of industries and the boom periods during and after the last war. The population of Bombay, as well as of other cities, is drawn from the villages. It is possible to examine the most important causes which encourage rural population to migrate to towns.

Two main classes of people migrate to the city, the rich and the poor. Naturally they migrate for different purposes. The poor population is driven to the city during famines. This movement of population has often taken

place in large numbers. Since 1850, India has known seven major famines, the worst of which was the famine of 1899-1900, which affected 4,75,000 square miles. Another important cause of large scale migrations is the Land and Revenue Policy of the British Government which has led to the transfer of lands from the cultivator to the absentee-landlord. Surplus landless labour migrates to the city for employment. Minor causes also contribute towards adding to the city's working population. The adventurer, the lonely person, the fugitive from the family, the outcaste from the village and the caste, and the ambitious but ignorant man, all find the city a haven for shelter, security and employment.

A portion of the poor rural population migrates to the city for brief periods, to return back to the village in important seasons of cultivation. Very often the villager first comes alone and then gradually brings his family to the city. The heavy disproportion of sexes in the city population in almost every city of India shows the tendency of the labourer to leave women and children at home. The milkmen of Bombay, for example, come from the United Provinces, always leaving their families at home. In spite of this fact, the Census Reports reveal a steady growth of home-born population in Bombay.

From the better rural classes, the most intelligent and the better-off migrate to the city for investing capital and for professional purposes. The younger generation from the same class of families come for education, employment, marriage or service. The glamour of city society also draws the socially ambitious people from the smaller centres. In the present article we shall deal with problems that arise from migrations of both classes of population, but mainly from migrations of the poor workman.

The villager comes to the city. The villager comes to the city as a stranger. He, however, prepares in advance to meet a caste man or resident of the same village who has taken residence in the city. A careful analysis of the composition of Bombay population reveals that members of the same communities and even castes prefer to stay near each other. Problems arising from isolation and initial difficulties are overcome in this manner. The individual, when he leaves his native village, usually has no inclination to change or modify anything except his occupation. He especially desires to remain within the old social and religious pattern of his life. Changes are compelled later by force of circumstances, whilst a large number of changes take place due to unconscious assimilation and adaptation to a new environment.

Problems of a new environment. The physical environment presents new problems on arrival in the city. In the village, the home and the work-place are closely woven into the life of the individual. Even from the point of view of distance, the two surroundings are near each other. In the city, the work-

place and the home are two different environments, having hardly anything in common. The work-place in the city is found to cause an estrangement from the home, and work greatly hampers and restricts family life. In the village, the home maintains its claim over work; but in the city, considerations of the work-place outweigh considerations of the home.

Housing. With regard to the physical environment, housing raises the most difficult problem. Details of this problem were discussed in an article in a previous issue of this Journal.²

Some important issues, however, are relevant to our problem. Most of the cities in India have grown without a plan. The pressure of population on cities was not dreamt of when these cities were born. Regulation of house construction by State or Municipality, a town planning or city improvement department, systematic construction of roads, zoning, or even ordinary sanitation were absent. It can be stated that in India mere villages gradually developed into towns and cities. Under the circumstances, congestion and overcrowding today almost defy a solution. In 1921, Bombay had 52,800 houses, of which 18,000 were unoccupied for residential purposes. There were three houses and 78 persons to the acre. Bombay being an island, with a peculiarly narrow shape, natural growth has been difficult. Building high has been attempted, and in 1921 out of 52,800 houses, 33,000 had only a ground floor and the rest had storeys. Nearly 7,000 houses had between three and five storeys. The averages given above do not tell the real story, for in certain small areas there are even 20 houses to the acre, and a population density of nearly 700 persons to the acre.³ In 1921, 66% of the population of Bombay lived in one-room tenements, without a kitchen, with an average of 4.03 members to the family. 14% more lived in two-room tenements, and only 20% occupied more than two rooms. 3,000 one-room tenements were occupied by more than two families. 237,000 persons were congested in a room in which there were between six and nine persons, while 200,000 more lived in rooms which had ten or more than ten persons.

Ahmedabad, in the same year, had 105,000 houses and a density of 14 to the acre. The population density was 38 to the acre. Sholapur had 17,000 houses, with 4 houses and 27 persons to the acre. Surat, one of the oldest cities, had 31,000 houses, with 15 houses and 58 persons to the acre. Poona city had 51,000 houses, with two houses and nine persons to the acre. Here again, averages are misleading, and low figures may be due to absence of

² Mehta, Behram H., "Housing for the Working Classes in Bombay," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, September, 1940, pp. 206-213.

³ Cf. Shikhare, V. P., "Housing in Second Nagpada, Bombay," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, September, 1940, pp. 214-220.

high buildings and the presence of rural tracts within municipal limits.

Slum life is not peculiar to the Indian city. It is a part of modern industrial civilisation. Its consequences are similar everywhere, though the degree of suffering or disorganisation of human life may differ according to the actual conditions prevailing in each slum. Its worst consequences are on health and the integration of the family. Individual and family life is demoralised, and society is disorganised; sex life becomes abnormal; and social vices enter into the core of society. It may be argued that conditions in the village are not dissimilar. This is not true. In spite of the miserable village hut in which men and animals are herded together, and the insanitary village conditions, somehow the individual is not demoralised, the family maintains its homogeneous unity, and social life is more or less organised. The village is small, climate is better, and outside the village are the revitalising and health-restoring forces of Nature.

Urban work environment. The work-environment of the city dweller is far less favourable than in the village. Manual labour, menial work, or factory labour are all performed in unnatural, insanitary, congested and ill-planned areas. Dirt, smoke, noise, congestion of a large number of male and female workers in a small place, contact with undesirable objects without protection, absence of the familiar and close human relations during work-time between worker and worker—all these present a picture which is far different from the work-life in the village. Work life in an Indian village may not be so pleasant and happy as on a farm in Europe or America; poverty may be grinding and intolerable; yet work is performed in natural and comparatively healthy surroundings, in an atmosphere which is more free, human and social. Conditions for cultivation of food and commercial crops, even for the landlord's profit, are not so bad as they are found in badly organised factories run at high pressure for the manufacture of goods and profit.

The next vital problem connected with the physical environment is the problem of health. High mortality and infant mortality rates, the greater incidence of disease, and the larger number of diseases are important evidences to prove the poorer condition of health of the city dweller. Low vitality, chronic malnutrition, bad quality of food, and bad and insanitary housing conditions are four major causes of bad health in the city. The first two are present in the village also, but lesser strain of work-life and better climate take a lesser toll of human life. The vast majority of the city working population lives in a state of chronic sub-health. Low vitality and congestion in the slums enable diseases to spread more quickly, and in spite of greater facilities for medical care and treatment in the city, a large number eventually succumb at a comparatively early age. Rickets amongst children, and tuberculosis

amongst adults, prevail extensively in the city. Infectious diseases are also permanent enemies of city health. Even epidemics, especially of cholera and plague, take a greater toll of the city population than in the village. The possibility of contracting venereal diseases is greater in the city than in the village. Unsatisfied sex life in the one-room tenement, and opportunity for extra-marital sex relations, are proving the doom of many a healthy family in the city.

Religion. The villager comes to the city steeped in faith and the simple beliefs and forms of worship that had come to him from perhaps thousands of years of tradition. His mind carries the gods of the village to the city slum. Often they are carried as images—carved stones or brass idols—and planted under some near-by tree to become seeds of some future temple. After arrival in the city, old worships are continued and beliefs are hugged till they find themselves challenged by new circumstances.

A new environment, new social contacts, and a new evaluation of life soon alter the phases of the early rural religion. Beliefs and even forms of worship gradually change. Religion becomes more formal, and "morality" is insisted upon with greater persistency than before. Worship loses the original emotional fervour and becomes a mere routine. Last of all the old "religious consciousness" becomes a new "communal consciousness." Terms like Hindu and Muslim come to be sharply defined. Details of religion come to be emphasised, leading to the formation of new water-tight compartments and eventually to conflicts. In the village the priestly order is more or less purely functional, and the line between religion and other aspects of life, especially politics, is sharply drawn. In the city there is a kind of religious leadership which is more temporal than spiritual; more political than religious.

Two important forces influence religion in the city. Social contacts with human groups whose beliefs and worship are different, bring about changes, modifications and accretions to the content of religion. Human beings and groups unconsciously adopt the behaviour, beliefs and rites of neighbours, other castes, and even other religions. The rural environment provides lesser opportunities for such assimilation than the city. Where contacts are many and various, more extensive changes are likely to take place. The very structure of religion may be altered, a new outlook on religion may develop, faith may be strengthened or weakened, and man's basic outlook on life may find the need for re-orientation. This is the unconscious process of adoption, assimilation and unification in the religious life of cities, which binds man and man together and works for unity.

On the other hand these very social contacts become the basis of conflict and division. Man is only induced to adopt and assimilate things against

which there is no unconscious or conscious repulsion. There are beliefs, behaviours and rites which do not appeal to other social groups, and which even tend to repel and produce a desire for aloofness and separation. Toleration ought to overcome such fundamental religious differences, but unfortunately at times urban leadership attempts to accentuate the differences and further extend the gulf of separation. Formal and organised religion, aided by press, platform and personal leadership, intensifies human emotions and suggests channels of activity which lead to conflict and hostility. When these activities, under the guise of religion, serve political and economic ends, the conflicts become worse, and the spirit of hostility even permeates the comparatively peaceful atmosphere of the village.

Thus with regard to religion three main factors are noticed in the city :

(1) Religion tends to become more formal, and more organised.

(2) The contents of the religious life become more numerous and more complex, due to adoptions and assimilations.

(3) Conflicts arise due to differences with other social groups, and the exploitation of these to serve political and economic ends.

Social life. The forces of assimilation and conflict that operate in the religious sphere are not absent in the purely social sphere. But the chief problem of Indian society, and especially of Hindu society, is the disorganisation and disintegration of rural society when a part of it migrates to the city. The next problem is the weakening or disappearance of social authority due to the rise of political and economic forces, mainly under the leadership of the city.

Almost throughout Indian history, social and religious authority were supreme in the village. The villager, migrating to the city, looks forward to the existence of the same kind of social authority in the city. He even sets up replicas of the old social authority as a branch of, or in contact with, the main authority in the village, in the new urban habitat. However, to his utter confusion, he finds that social authority loses all sanctions in the city, and political and economic forces nullify the power and prestige of social authority, giving birth to a new, different, often ultra-orthodox or ultra-radical social authority.

The caste, even to-day, is a very important social organisation. Characteristics of the caste system are found to prevail even amongst non-Hindus. Caste rises in the village, mainly to regulate the purity of social groups and marriage. In essence, castes maintain the social position of different economic grades of society and determine intra-caste, inter-caste and extra-caste relations. The caste appears to be a democratic and social authority, vested in an oligarchy, determined by usage. This authority is the custodian of the social position, privileges and the sacred traditions of the caste.

The city presents diverse problems with reference to marriage. In the

village, caste traditions govern almost absolutely conditions of courtship, selection, engagement, marriage, divorce, adultery, etc. In the village, sex life is not unnatural and repressed as in the city. A young man has no time to be romantic if he marries early in the village. Even when he has such experiences, he forgets them at the proper time to acquiesce in proposals of marriage according to caste traditions. In the village the field of selection is small, and the even proportion of sexes in the village and the caste do not create special problems. In the city the field of selection is wide, and the proportion of sexes is almost two to one between males and females.

This compels a large male population in the city to select brides from the village. Marriage takes place according to caste rules and the man often marries a stranger. The change of life for the girl, from rural to urban areas, from field to factory, produces marked reactions in her life. Her parents are far away and she feels isolated and insecure. Incompatibility of partners; lesser attachment of man to the woman in the city; want of harmony in the relation of the woman with her in-laws; the presence of various inhibitions in the life of the woman, all these factors lead to the demoralisation and deterioration of family life. Separations, desertions and illicit connections are much more in evidence in the city than in the village. The village caste organisation would deal severely with such cases, though not always fairly; but in the city this authority is weak, and defiance against caste authority is hurled with impunity.

At times, conditions within the caste, or defiance against the caste with regard to marriage, threaten the very existence of the caste. The presence of "Visas," "Dasas," and "Panchas", divisions formed within a caste according to the degree of purity of blood, show the inclination of the Hindu caste to persist in spite of defiance of its authority. Such sub-divisions, however, cannot continue indefinitely, and they are bound to weaken a caste to the point of extinction. Migrations of individuals or sections of a caste to another domicile have led to the disintegration of home castes and formation of new castes. Caste pollutions and breach of rules also contribute to the break up of castes. On the whole it appears that the city provides greater causes of caste disruption than the village. It is not for our purpose here to say whether this is for the good or bad of Hindu society; we are merely concerned to point out radical changes that occur in the structure of society, due to city conditions.

The city does contribute towards the birth of a truly "Indian" society, helped by close habitations of different groups, work-life, education, and other minor factors all tending to break up the old order of society, and to create a new one with entirely new foundations. In India, the caste system was the most important social force which helped to bind, Hindu society at least,

together. In actual practice the caste became a kind of trade union, or assumed some form by which it could be used for economic exploitation or political domination. It helped to maintain a religious, economic and social plutocracy in India. To a great extent the city challenges the very existence of the caste system. Old rules of caste endogamy and exogamy are crumbling down before forces encouraging inter-caste and even inter-Varna marriages; rules of caste purity are treated with contempt and inter-dining is especially encouraged; caste authority is powerless to accept the challenge because the protection of the caste is hardly necessary to the individual in the city.

The most important problem of the century facing Hindu society is whether it can permit the caste system to exist in face of the politico-economic society which is developing out of the Industrial Revolution. The city is the stronghold of political and economic power, and these two forces, directly and indirectly, are making inroads into the structure of society which has existed for thousands of years. Mahatma Gandhi is leading the greatest revolt against Untouchability, and he has been blessing and even performing marriages between the Sudra and the higher Varna. Commercial and Industrial India backs Gandhiji in his social revolution. This backing comes from the city. Gandhiji is anxious to make the village the citadel of his power, but in this effort he is practically alone. The village is only called upon to back actions which are planned, organized and led by the city. If Gandhiji could have succeeded in making the village the seat of his strength, and of national leadership, the new India that is being born would have been different. He has often sounded the slogan "Back to the Village," but this is only to *serve* the village; he has hardly ever called upon the village to *lead* the Nation. Leadership has remained with the city.

Economic life. Poverty is the chief expression of economic life, both in the village as well as in the city. Outwardly the city may be more prosperous, but this prosperity is limited to a very small percentage of the population. From the point of view of the masses, economic life is a struggle for mere existence everywhere. When the villager leaves the village to go to the city, he is unconsciously changing from one type of struggle for existence to another. He was never prepared for the first struggle; he leaves unprepared for the second. The fruit of struggle is poverty in both cases.

In the village the cultivator struggles against Nature. Economic and political conditions give him a position of perpetual inferiority in rural economy. The life of the agricultural labourer, tenant, or poor petty landlord is a series of struggles. Badly equipped in vitality, ability and the wherewithal of life, the villager fares badly against poor soil with his primitive implements. Bad irrigation, irregular monsoons, and demands of super-

landlords, money-lenders and the land administrative system add further difficulties to an already critical situation. He cultivates at a disadvantage, sells at a disadvantage, and lives a most miserable standard of life, suffering chronic malnutrition. This is his poverty.

And yet he has been accustomed and tuned to this poverty for centuries. Allied to this poverty are ignorance, a stoic belief in his fate as willed by God, and a contentment which is synonymous with stagnation. He, and generations after him, must get accustomed to this tragic situation. At the most, some political agitation may stir his stagnant life for but a while. At the end of each such struggle he is told that he has advanced, but his material conditions do not change.

Leaving such a poverty, the villager comes to the city to experience a new struggle for existence. He finds himself a commodity in the labour market, and has to make hard efforts to sell his labour, or remain unemployed. New problems of wages, of adjusting poor income to a high cost of living, of working long hours and in strange, unnatural factory conditions confront him. The money-lender is perhaps the only common factor in village and city economics.

In his routine work life, he has now to work under an hierarchy of masters who direct, command, control, supervise and regulate all his activities. He has to deal with raw materials with some skill and speed, and there are demands on his energy, stamina and capacity of endurance, far in excess of the demands made in the village. In the poverty of the village, the poor man was numb to pain. The pain of strangled desires and chronic suffering were there, but there was the absence of the aching agony that now begins in the city as a result of fatigue and pain of body and mind. The environment of the village, which was an unconscious healer and friend, is now absent. The cool breeze and the quiet family life are now replaced by the slum and domestic unhappiness. Whilst such a poverty creates certain effects on the mind, the city environment with its newspapers, cinema, hotel radios, haranguing leaders, schools and other temptations and enticements gradually creates a new mental outlook. The old stoic and stagnating contentment gives place to gnawing discontent. Irritability, anger, unsatisfied sex desires and a feeling of defeatism add to the confusion of an already unbalanced mind. In this vicious circle of toil, suffering and discontent, some dream of becoming heroes, most die defeated and without hope. There are many who leave the struggle half way and return back to the village, to the same old life, contentment, and struggle for existence. In the village at least there is less wear and tear of life, more peace, and at least a certainty of a miserable crop or a miserable meal. There was less certainty of employment and food in the city.

It is almost certain that India will be further industrialised, and cities will grow in size and number. The domination of the city, of science, and of the machine is also likely to remain. The closer the industrial and the rural world come together for understanding and co-operation, the better it will be for the country. The city has the leadership, the ideas and the organisation to approach the village in a spirit of service, without the motive to exploit; to evolve a better social structure and an economic system that will not deny social justice and opportunity to any. History has recorded the dangers of conflict between the city and the village, especially in times of disturbed political conditions. Such a conflict does not at present appear on the Indian horizon, as the country is engrossed in religious and political conflicts. Once these conflicts die out or pale into insignificance, the major rocks of urban-rural misunderstanding will remain to be cleared.

A STUDY OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS AMONG THE PULAYAS (HARIJANS) OF KALADY IN TRAVANCORE STATE

R. VELAYUDHAN

If the lot of the ordinary Indian peasant is a hard one, the lot of the Harijan colony described in this article is infinitely worse. The chains of present-day economic and social servitude are no less binding than were those which held the ancestors of these people in human bondage.

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THE one distinctive characteristic of Hindu society is the caste system. India is the only country in the world in which long-accepted social and religious sanctions support a system in which a large section of the population are by accident of birth declared to be untouchable and in certain instances unapproachable. It was Mahatma Gandhi who said: "Socially the Untouchables are lepers; economically they are worse than slaves. Religiously, they, the children of God, are denied entrance to places which all call houses of God. They are denied the use of public roads, public schools, public hospitals, public wells, public taps and public parks and the like. They are relegated for their residence to the worst quarters of cities and villages where they practically get no social services. In some cases their approach within a measured distance is a social crime. The wonder is that they are at all able to eke out an existence or that they still remain in the Hindu fold. They are too downtrodden to rise in revolt against the oppressors." ¹

The "touch-me-not spirit," started by the higher castes, has permeated into the "Untouchables" and resulted in the division and subdivision of these unfortunate members of the Hindu fold. Not that the condition of any section of Untouchables is appreciably better than any other. They are all equally socially and economically a disinherited class. But the natural psychological reaction to repressive treatment on the part of high caste Hindus has been to encourage similar superiority and inferiority complexes among themselves. Even as there is no inter-dining, inter-marriage and such other social intercourse between the high caste Hindus and these Untouchables, there are sections of Untouchables between whom there is hardly any social intercourse. It is quite common to find one Untouchable priding himself on his superiority to another Untouchable belonging to another group. Again the sub-divisions among the Untouchables are not common in all parts of India. Each Province,

¹ *My Soul's Agony*, p. 9.

sometimes even each District of a Province, has a different grouping of the Untouchables.

One such group, among the innumerable sub-sections of Untouchables, is the Pulaya community of Kalady in Travancore, a Native State in the southern part of India. Out of a total population of 5,095,973 (Census of 1931) the Pulayas number 365,150. They are, in certain parts of the State, called the Cherumans. The question of their origin is uncertain. The word "Pulayan" is derived from "Pula" which means pollution. The name "Cheruman" or "Cherumakkal" is said to signify "the sons of the soil." It is also said that Malabar constituted the ancient Chera kingdom. In the name Chernad, or the country (*nad*) of the Cheras, given to the district lying along the coast and inland south-east of Calicut, we still find that the ancient name is preserved. "From traditions current among the Pulayans themselves, it would appear, that once upon a time they had dominion over several parts of the country. A person called Aikkara Yajaman whose ancestors were Pulaya kings, is still held in considerable respect by the Pulayans of North Travancore and duly acknowledged as their chieftain and lord, while the name Aikkaranad still remains to suggest that there is some truth in the ancient tale." ²

But whatever glorious past they might have had, today the Pulayas are at the lowest rung of the social ladder. After their fall from their position as a probable ruling group, they became slaves on the West Coast of Travancore. They were the absolute property of the Thampurans or Lords, who were either Brahmins, Christians or Nairs. They were not attached to the soil and could be sold or transferred in any manner that their masters thought fit. Children were separated from their parents, and brothers from their sisters. Their market value was not much above that of the cattle united with them in the same bondage, while they were far below the cattle in the estimation in which they were held. Even the murder of a slave was not a punishable crime. The deed of transfer itself generally contained the clause, "You may sell or kill him or her." Hence traffic in slaves was quite common and well organized. The first attempt to abolish slavery came in the year 1792 when a proclamation was issued by the East India Company prohibiting dealing in slaves. The final blow was struck in 1862 by the Indian Penal Code.

But though legally emancipated from the bondage of slavery, the Pulayas are even now in many localities little the better for it. The extreme orthodoxy of their masters and their bigoted adherence to caste, coupled with the primitive customs of the people, and the physical characteristics of the region, which prevent them from having easy intercourse with the outside

² L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 88.

world, has caused utter degradation. Their name is still connected with everything revolting, and they are shunned as if infected with plague. The high caste men view their presence with a mixture of alarm and indignation and even towns and markets would be considered to be defiled by their approach. Though slavery was abolished by statute, in practice there are even now landlords and farmers in the State who regard themselves as the owners of the twenty, thirty and more Pulayas who work under them and are satisfied with the two, or two and a half measures of paddy, doled out to them as wages for their hard work in the fields during the day and for watching the crops at night. Government helped the Pulaya to get rid of his legal slavery. But nothing was done to emancipate him from social and economic slavery. Hence even today the so-called emancipated slave continues to be in social and economic servitude to the landlord.

Though the Pulayas are spread all over Travancore, this particular study is concerned with those residing within three miles of the village of Kalady in North Travancore, eight miles south-east of Alwaye, on the banks of the Periyar River. In April 1939 there were 792 Pulayas, living in 152 families, within this area. The following table shows the distribution according to age and sex:

	Age	Male	Total for group	Female	Total for group	Grand total
Children ... {	Under 3	38	} 157	34	} 162	319
	3-6	43		56		
	7-13	76		72		
Adults ... {	14-25	69	} 168	91	} 193	361
	26-35	59		60		
	36-45	40		42		
Old age ... {	46-60	33	} 48	31	} 64	112
	60 and over	15		33		
Total ...		373	373	419	419	792

Analysing the above figures we find that within the community there are 319 children, 361 adults and 112 old persons. The number of women of

child bearing age is roughly 193 as against 168 men of the same age group. This group—a total of 361 or 46 % of the total—are also the working population of the community, as against a total of 431 dependants, consisting of 319 children and 112 old people. Thus the economic burden of the community rests upon 46% of its members.

Housing. The great majority of the 152 Pulaya families live in small huts, which are designated by the word *Maadam*—a derivation of the word *Maada*, which means “hole.” These huts, which resemble bee-hives, or a half-closed umbrella, are about 12' by 12', thatched with straw, grass or cocoanut-palm leaves. The people are too poor to thatch their huts yearly and so it is difficult to find a hut which has no holes through which the water leaks in during the rainy season. The average Pulaya family in Kalady has 6 members, though the number of family members ranges from 2 to 13. During the winter and the monsoon all these men, women and children have to huddle together in the single small room, drying themselves and warming themselves as best they can. The children sleep on small mats made of palm leaves, but the adults simply stretch themselves out on the bare ground. In the summer the adult members of the family sleep outside the hut, and the cooking is also done outside.

There is little incentive for the Pulaya to build a better hut for himself, for his residence in a given place depends upon the will of the master. It is his duty to plant and cultivate such crop-producing plants as the jack tree, arecanuts palm, cocoanut palm and plantain tree. When these plants have grown sufficiently to yield some income, he is sent to a new place to begin cultivation there. Hence a more permanent type of hut is not always practical.

Economic Condition. It has been pointed out already that the main burden of the community falls on the men and women between the ages of 14 and 45. However, in actual practice the older adults and younger children accept whatever work is offered them. In every family of 5·2 members, 2·8 persons are partially employed. Since agricultural labour is seasonal, there is regular employment for only about five months of the year. The principal off-seasonal occupation is bringing fuel and grass from the forest to be sold in the market.

The average wage of the employed male is one anna per day; that of a woman 10 pies and that of a child 6 pies. But the wages are usually paid in kind, rather than cash. Strange as it may seem, this scale of wages has persisted for the last hundred years. Recently, however, the masters have begun to give the labourers some paddy from the field or some food at noon. The following table showing the monthly income of the 152 Pulaya families of Kalady makes an interesting study:

Monthly income per family in rupees	Number of families
20	1
18	1
17	1
10	0
9	4
8	7
7	8
6	10
5	25
4	18
3	46
2	15
1	12

The table shows that 30 % of the families have an income of Rs. 3/- per month, and that 116 families, or 76 % of the total number of families in the community, have an income of Rs. 5/- or less per month. The real economic condition becomes clearer if we realise that 152 families have a total income of Rs. 680/- per month, which works out at about Rs. 4-7-7 per family of 5·2 members per month. In other words, a community of 792 members lives on Rs. 680/- per month, or on less than 6 pies per head per day. The average daily per capita income in India has been calculated to be 1 anna 7 pies—which itself is a starving wage. But imagine the condition of an individual who has to live on less than 6 pies per day !

The Pulayas of Kalady have little debt. A debt implies that someone was willing to trust the debtor with money. But these people live such a hand-to-mouth existence that only an incurable optimist would ever run the risk.

The table on the following page gives the monthly expenditure of two families—one having the highest income in the study, and the other in the lowest income group.

The first family of 11 members spends Rs. 20-13-0 per month and the second, having 2 members, spends Rs. 1-9-0 per month. In other words, the monthly expenses of an individual in the first family are Rs. 1-14-3, whereas those of each member of the second family are Rs. 0-12-6. The wealthiest member of the community is thus unable to spend more than one anna per day, while the poorest lives on 5 pies per day.

Items	First family with 11 members in it	Second family with 2 members in it
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Rice ...	9 11 0	1 4 0
Clothing ...	2 8 0	0 1 0
Salt ...	0 8 0	0 1 0
Oil ...	0 3 0	.....
Kerosine Oil ...	0 8 0	0 0 6
Chillie ...	0 2 0	0 0 6
Chewing ...	0 8 0	0 1 0
Drinking ...	2 11 0	.....
Soap ...	0 8 0	0 0 6
Vessels ...	0 2 0	0 0 3
Marriage ...	1 0 0	.....
Death ...	0 8 0	.....
Shaving ...	0 2 0	.....
Religion ...	1 0 0	0 0 3
Ornaments ...	0 1 6	.....
Medicine ...	0 12 0	.....
Match-box ...	0 0 6	.....
Total ...	20 13 0	1 9 0

Is it any wonder then that the Pulaya literally lives on Kanji water with a little rice boiled in it. There are Pulayas who have never tasted milk, butter-milk or ghee; who have never had a full meal with curry and rice, but satisfy themselves with a green chillie to bite while swallowing the rice or rice kanji. Tea and coffee are used by a few persons in the morning, but the majority have nothing for breakfast. It is charged that the Harijan spends too much on toddy, but toddy helps to satisfy the cravings of hunger and is cheaper than food. It at least helps to keep the body-machine going.

Among the 152 families studied there are only 12 tax payers. These 12 land holders have not more than half an acre of land per head. The remainder of the people live on the land of the landlord, who allows each family sufficient ground on which to place a hut. In three or four families I found regular independent cultivation. These people had their own ploughs and oxen and cultivated paddy. But upon calculating the expenses against the income I found that they were actually working at a loss. They continue because there is no other work in the village,

In spite of the fact that Government is willing to give three acres of land per family free of all charges, 95 % of the Pulayas are landless. Many do not realise the importance of land ownership. Others who want land, cannot obtain it in their own districts and it is difficult for them to leave their work and go to the forest to clear new lands. They have no capital for this.

The freedom of the Harijans is dependent in large measure on independent land holdings. The people cannot be emancipated from their economic and social bondage without having a place of their own for the building of their huts. Otherwise, oppression will continue in some shape or form.

Literacy. In spite of the fact that Cochin and Travancore have the highest percentage of literates in India, the Pulayas are substantially illiterate. This is not due to indifference to primary education on the part of the Government, but rather to the fact that the people have feared to take advantage of opportunities offered because of the opposition of the caste Hindus.

It must be admitted to the credit of the early Christian Missionary Societies that it was they who first started educating the Harijans in Travancore. The result of this policy is seen in the following table which gives the relative literacy figures among the Christian converts and the Hindu Harijans in Travancore:

Caste	Population		Percentage of Literacy	
	Hindu	Christian	Hindu	Christian
Pulayan ...	233,982	168,573	4'0	13'0
Parayan ...	706,648	71,680	4'9	15'1
Kuravan ...	87,071	8,158	1'5	9'7

There are graduates and under-graduates among the Christian Harijans, whereas there is none among the Hindu Harijans. The better condition of the converted Harijans is due to the fact that the missionaries had personal contact with the people and looked to their needs. The Hindu society and the State rested content in opening schools for the Harijans, unmindful of the fact that mere legal permission to go to school is no guarantee of social uplift.

The following comparative table of literacy in some of the higher castes of the State as compared with literacy among the Hindu Harijans is illuminating:

High Caste Hindus	Percentage of Literacy		Untouchables
Nair	45	4'0	Pulayan
Malayalam Brahmin ...	61	4'9	Parayan
Malayalam Kshatriya...	73	1'5	Kuravan

As for the Pulayas in Kalady, I found that out of the 792 persons, only 16 were literate. 12 of these were inmates of the Sri Chitra Orphanage and studying in the Harijan school connected with it, conducted by the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Only three adults knew how to write their names.

The State provides free education to the members of the Depressed Classes. But freeships are not enough to pull them out of the mire into which society has pushed them. How can a family whose income is one anna per day, at best, afford to buy books or find clothes or sufficient food for a school-going child? The non-school-going child has at least the possibility of adding a few pice to the family income or receiving some food from the landholder. It was the policy of giving free education, books and stipends from the Department of Public Instruction that enabled the neighbouring State of Cochin to produce several graduates from among the Harijans of Cochin.

The Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh carried out an experiment in the education of the Harijan children in Travancore which merits duplication. The Sangh started day schools in thickly populated Harijan areas on the one teacher and one class in a school system. The teacher was not there to teach just the three R's, but was to be a friend and servant as well. The basic idea was to inculcate such habits and knowledge as would help the child to make a satisfactory later adjustment in the public school. Stress was laid on subjects of general education, but also on cleanliness and habits of life.

This practice of exclusive schools for the Harijans was objected to by some. Though they were right in theory, in practice, conditions demanded the beginning to be made in this way. For, in the separate schools the shy, dirty, backward and oppressed Harijan child had a chance to be introduced to learning in the midst of like-children. He did not start in the school with that initial inferiority complex which is the inevitable result of allotting separate seats for the Harijan children in the common village and town schools. On the other hand it was found that left to study in his own environment he got a chance to prove that he could learn as well as any other child. In fact when these children joined the public schools it was found that they were quite the equal of the caste children studying in the same standards.

Health Conditions. Having seen the abject poverty and the low standard of literacy among the Pulayas, it is not difficult to realise that these people are a ready prey to disease. Their dirty habits, developed owing to environmental and circumstantial conditions; their inability to secure food that will help them resist illness; their poverty, which prevents them from getting adequate medical treatment,—all combine to make them easily susceptible to the slightest attack of illness and epidemics. In the 152 families, there was not a single family without disease of some kind or other. Itches, boils, common fevers, colds and coughs are a common feature of their daily existence. Periodic epidemics like small pox and cholera account for a goodly number of deaths. Though there are occasional facilities for vaccination, the Pulayas are afraid of vaccination. The people are caught up in a vicious circle—poverty, starvation, illness, starvation and poverty.

The infant mortality rate is high. Child care is an impossibility for the average Pulaya. The pregnant mother works in the field right up to the period of delivery and is at work again within fifteen days after confinement. The tender infant is usually left to the "care" of a girl or boy of 5-7 years of age while the mother is away in the fields working for the day's bread. The infant suffers from ill-feeding, and more often from no-feeding. It is only at night and in the early morning that the mother can attend to her child. The sanitary habits of the Pulayas of Kalady are abominable and bear a direct relationship to the sickness and mortality rate.

Some social vices in the community. Drink is a common habit among the untouchable classes. But the Pulayas of Kalady, being agricultural labourers, have little money to spend for drink. One cannot say that drink is a curse to these particular people.

A more pitiable vice in the community is prostitution. Kalady, being both a place of pilgrimage and a summer resort, attracts many outside male visitors. It is very easy for these men to bargain with the starving Pulaya women for the use of their bodies. Six pies or one anna for a few minutes' indulgence represents a whole day of hard work in the fields. Unfortunately, however, the male visitors succeed in presenting the women, not only with money but with venereal diseases also. But while the rich gentleman returns to town and gets his costly treatment, the Pulaya woman is doomed to a miserable sickly existence.

The principal "crime" in the community is the unlicensed removal of fuel from the forests. The forest officers are very lenient towards such "culprits," for they recognize their difficulties. I could find records of only five such convictions. These five persons were fined Rs. 10/- each, which they could not pay, and consequently underwent one week's imprisonment.

Religion. The religion of the Pulayas is not unlike that of any other primitive group in India—the fear and worship of nature—a simple animism looking towards good crops, good children and freedom from disease.

Marriage. There is no child marriage among the Pulayas. The young man of twenty or thereabouts marries a girl of 14 or 15, and with his new wife leaves his father's home and establishes his own little home. Generally the Pulaya marries without any debt, as it is the custom of the invitees to give presents to the new couple in kind and cash. Usually these presents cover the expenses of the simple marriage ceremony. Monogamy is the order of the community, except in the case of a Pulaya engaged in industrial work, for whom it is an economic asset to have more than one wife. The agricultural Pulaya finds even one wife too much of a burden. And the majority of the people are agriculturists. Divorce is easy. All the husband needs to do is to send the girl back to her father's home, when and if he is not satisfied with her. But such divorces are rare in the case of women who have children.

Conclusions. Analysing the causes of the unenviable condition of the Pulayas I am convinced that the basic need is economic. Their poverty, their supposed lack of culture, their vices, their dirty habits, their ill health—and in fact their whole psychological make-up—is a direct result of their economic condition. Raise them economically; give them decent houses to live in; supply enough food to fill their stomachs; provide them with sufficient clothes to cover their bodies, and you will get a community as “respectable,” as “good,” as “useful” and as “educated” as any other community in India. But to do all this is not easy and needs a strong will and the backing of a powerful, determined agency.

1. The first thing the Pulaya wants is a permanent land holding. No welfare programme can have a lasting effect without this base. The State does not have enough land to distribute among the people. The landlord who employs the people must also help. A practical scheme should be adopted.

Thus, a Pulaya family which has worked under the same master for ten years might be given one third of an acre of land in its name. The State could legislate for this. If the landlord is not willing to give land, he should pay a remuneration to the family.

2. The next important question concerns wages. Wages are low if the worker is a Harijan. A non-Harijan is paid higher for the same work. The State regulates the wages of industrial labour. The same policy should be adopted in the case of agricultural labour. This may appear a difficult problem, as agriculture is not permanent or fixed. But all problems are difficult to solve unless there is a will to solve them.

3. In addition to the existing forms of employment, the State should

revive the decaying cottage industries, either through the organization of co-operative societies or by some other means. If adequate facilities are provided for the Harijan to take to cottage industries, he will be greatly benefited.

4. Special attention should be paid to the education of the Pulayas. There should be both day schools for children and night schools for adults. The State should overcome the common excuse that even if there are schools, the people will not take advantage of them. I have already pointed out that the experiment of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, of having special schools in the midst of Harijan localities and giving a special education according to their particular needs, was a great success. The children need to be taught the three R's, but they have also to be given special lessons in personal and social hygiene and sanitation. They must be given an intelligent understanding of their own religion so that they are rid of the fear of evil spirits. They must be given sufficient general knowledge to stand up against the oppression of the caste Hindus.

5. We have seen the deplorable health conditions of the people. Since they have no money to pay for medicines, adequate medical treatment should be provided by the State and private social agencies. Most of their diseases are preventable and so an effective programme of prevention and cure must go side by side. All, and any such medical help, of whatever magnitude must be given absolutely free of charge.

To do all this work efficiently the community will have to be treated as a compact unit, with all medical, social, economic and educational work organized on the lines of a social settlement. The State will have to take up the idea of the Neighbourhood House and develop the community on wholesome lines as one single unit. The ancient idea of "uplift" of the Harijan must yield place to a penitent-service conception. The wrong done to the Pulaya for centuries must be atoned for by present society and the State. True it is that Travancore is the first State in India to throw open the gates of the temples to the Harijan. I recognize all the psychological and social implications of this act of courage. But we must not forget that this is only the beginning of solving the vast problem of untouchability. Admission of the Harijan into the presence of the gods is no substitute for granting him all that the gods intended for him. The orthodox Hindu has stood between him and all nature's bounties for him for ages. But now the tide is turning. Society, whether it likes it or not, must undo the wrong that has been done to the Harijan and has been perpetuated in the name of religion. Every step taken in the direction of redeeming the unfortunate Harijan will result in re-weaving into perfection the damaged texture of that ancient religion of a casteless Hinduism.

ATTITUDE THERAPY IN CHILD PSYCHIATRY : CHANGING PARENTAL ATTITUDES

K. R. MASANI

The modification of faulty parental attitudes can, in a limited number of cases, be achieved by direct education. But it is largely to interpretative types of therapy that psychiatric workers must turn.

Dr. Masani, who is Lecturer in Psychiatry in the Tata School and Director of the Child Guidance Clinic of the School, discusses in this article both the limitations of attitude therapy and its possibilities.

IN the preceding issue of the *Journal*, an attempt was made to indicate the significance of parental attitudes for the behaviour of children, particularly in the production of behaviour deviations of the attacking or withdrawing type. In the discussion of the problem of parent-child relationships it was seen what a large part inter-parental disharmony and undesirable parental attitudes towards children in the nature of parental rejection, over-protection, over-domination or undue frustration of the child, play in the production of behaviour and personality deviations.

In the treatment therefore of behaviour and personality deviations, it is not surprising that more and more importance has come to be attached to the problem of alleviating marital discord in the parents and altering injurious parental attitudes. A group of studies by Helen Witmer and her students¹ lend support to the validity of the growing importance attached to the problem of altering parental attitudes. In her researches, a group of 197 children from the Institute of Child Guidance were studied over a period of several years in order to determine the factors associated with the success or failure of clinic treatment at the time the case was closed, and degree of failure or success several years after closure. The greater part of the findings were negative. Such items as the age and sex of the child, the size of the family, the ordinal position of the child, the child's intelligence, the nationality or religion of the child and the economic status of the family, showed no significant relationship to the outcome of treatment. But marital discord, the emotional atmosphere of the home, or the parents' behaviour and attitudes towards the children, were found to have considerable significance for the success or failure in eradicating the child's deviation. In homes where there was a minimum of quarrelling and friction between the parents; where the parents were finding satisfaction in

¹ Witmer, Helen L. and students, "The Outcome of Treatment in a Child Guidance Clinic," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, vol. 3, (June, 1933).

each other; where there was a genuine and secure affection for the child, the Clinic was successful in removing the child's difficulties in an overwhelming majority of cases. Where the conditions in the home were the reverse of what has just been mentioned, the results were consistently poorest. Some statistical findings in this connection may be of interest.

Miss Witmer and her students found that among clinic cases where the parents had no affection for the child, or an extreme lack of it, there was no improvement in spite of other treatment in 64 % of cases. In contrast to this, in a group of children where a healthy degree of affectional relationship existed between the parent and child, in only 3 % of cases was there no improvement and 97 % were improved. These remarkably striking figures would seem to indicate that of the different types of parental attitudes affecting the welfare of children, in all probability, by far the most significant factor, is the factor of complete parental rejection. Frequently, however, it was found that poor results were obtained where one parent rejected the child and the other parent was indulgent. For example, in a group where the mother rejected the child and the father was indulgent, 53 % showed no improvement. Then again, in a group of children where there was maternal over-protection and the mother found an outlet in the child for her own emotions, 43 % were failures.

Of recent years corroborative evidence has been forthcoming. In another study carried out by Smith College students,² a group of 125 cases of marked maternal rejection, from five different Child Guidance Clinics, was studied. 51 % of the 125 children were failures at the time treatment ended. With reference to the parents of the cases that were failures, the attempts of the clinic staff to alter the undesirable parental attitudes towards the children, were found to be unsuccessful in a very large proportion of cases. Similarly, attempts on the part of the clinic staff at minimising parental discord were found to yield no results in a large proportion of cases. In only 18 instances was the parental attitude of maternal rejection greatly modified. In 24 cases there was only partial improvement; with 83 mothers (66 %), no alteration was brought about in regard to the injurious attitude of rejection.

Healy³ worked with 123 delinquents from 3 clinics, where parental attitudes seemed to be an important factor, and where therefore attempts were made to alter these attitudes. His findings were that in nearly half of the cases (47 %), the parents were not essentially modified in their attitudes. In about 23 % of the cases, some modification of parental attitudes was achieved, whereas in 30 % only, was there much parental modification. While Healy's studies deal with all types of faulty parental attitudes and were not restricted

² *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, vol. 7, (December, 1936), pp. 164-65.

³ Healy, William and Bronner, A.F., *New Light on Delinquency and its Treatment*, p. 156,

to a definite kind, they indicate that in more than half the number of cases, parental attitudes were not essentially modified.

Having noted the great importance of parental attitudes in shaping behaviour and the difficulty of altering these for the better, in spite of intensive attempts by skilled workers, one is forced to the conclusion that since parental attitudes are not alterable in such a large proportion of cases, clinic treatment is of limited value only. This being so, the problem of perfecting ways of altering parental attitudes has been engaging the attention of clinic workers for some time past. It may be stated, however, that the inference need by no means be as disappointing as may appear on first thought. While frankly facing the fact that in a large proportion of cases attitude therapy is unsuccessful, one can derive comfort from the knowledge that other measures of treatment are available, where parental attitudes cannot be altered. More intensive and individual psychological treatment of the child; the provision of special facilities to meet the child's individual needs, and the provision of suitable parent substitutes, undoubtedly reduce the number of failures. But despite its known limitations, the direct and rational method of attitude therapy remains a very important avenue in child psychiatry.

Let us consider the reasons for the stubborn resistance which parental attitudes display and what methods may be employed to change the attitudes of parents towards each other and towards their children. Naturally the methods employed vary according to the individual circumstances of the case, and to some extent according to the preference of the worker. Broadly speaking, three main types of method are available, but from the point of view of the social worker, the first two will be of most significance. The methods include direct education of parents; interpretation of the individual to himself, particularly in respect of his attitude towards the child, and what amounts to psychiatric treatment in the nature of a psychotherapeutic course of treatment. In regard to any of these methods, the closer the relationship between the parent and the therapist, the greater will be the prospects of success, but it will be readily appreciated that the factor of such a relationship or bond plays a less significant part in the method of direct education than in the other two methods.

In view of the important and determining role of parental attitudes and behaviour in the production of the child's behaviour deviation, direct education would seem to be the most rational method of tackling the problem, and indeed the beginner in clinical work invariably pins his hope on this method. Such education could be imparted to a group of parents in parent-education classes—the aim being to cover as many aspects as possible of the problem of child

training and child upbringing, and the problem of marital adjustment. Or again, direct education takes the form of individual education during interviews with the therapist, so that the latter, after arriving at an understanding of the causation of the child's problem, may impart to the parents this understanding of the child's difficulties and may instruct the parents in the modification of their behaviour and attitudes. Even a small amount of clinical experience, however, indicates that the method of direct education has very great limitations. It is a fundamental characteristic of human beings unconsciously to avoid becoming aware of anything which does not fit in with their emotional desires or sense of well-being. For example a woman who finds no satisfaction in her marital life, showers her love and attention on her only child, and gains some compensatory satisfaction in this way. Even if the evidence is overwhelming that the maternal over-protection is responsible for the behaviour or personality deviation of the child, it is very difficult by the method of direct education only, to make her see the role of the over-protection in the production of the difficulty and to alter her attitudes. She is not able to, nor does she desire to let her child grow up normally, as she would then have to give up even the compensatory satisfaction which comes from keeping him tied to her apron-strings and over-protecting him. In this connection it often happens that not only does the imparting of information, or direct education of the parent regarding the causative factors, without adequate preparation, prove useless, but it may make the parent so resistive that she may completely break off clinic treatment to the detriment of the child. But despite the limitations of direct education and its restricted applicability, its frequent use is easy to understand, even though it may be felt that its success is not certain. For one thing, it is the most simple of all methods of altering parental attitudes. Again, it often happens that the parent, realising that ignorance or lack of information may be causing behaviour deviations, actively seeks information, and direct education then has a high value. Then too, even if the parent is not actively motivated to seek information, if the information does not go counter to the emotional trends or the emotional wishes of the parent, there is every likelihood of direct education succeeding materially in altering the behaviour deviation.

Provided then favourable conditions exist, direct education has an important place in attitude therapy. Where parents seek help as regards marital friction, and when it is found that lack of knowledge or information in some sphere is causing such friction, much can be done by instruction in the sphere concerned. For example, if bad housekeeping on the part of a mother is creating marital friction, instruction in housekeeping to the mother may greatly relieve the tension in the home. Similarly, where sexual relationships

between the parents are unsatisfactory, through lack of knowledge on the part of the parents, much improvement often follows in the home atmosphere by sexual enlightenment and education. Then again, in many cases marital relations are seriously undermined by insecurity and anxiety in regard to being over-burdened with too many children. In such cases, direct education in the methods of sound and healthy contraception greatly influences for the better the atmosphere in the home. Successful as are results in the types of difficulties just mentioned, it must not be naively supposed that the majority of cases of marital discord are to be helped in so simple a fashion, where deeper motivation of friction than lack of knowledge on the part of parents is responsible. Such direct educative measures would then be of no avail and a deeper type of therapy would be necessary.

Turning our attention now to parental attitudes towards children, even better possibilities are presented of successfully altering them by direct education. Where parents are handicapped by lack of information in regard to child training, and where this lack of knowledge causes doubt and diffidence in the mother, the situation will be greatly improved by the simple expedient of educating the mother in such matters as correct habit training in regard to feeding, elimination and sleeping. Similarly faulty ideas regarding disease and the inheritance of diseases or character traits, may be removed.

The parents may also be helped by giving them a constructive programme of daily activity for their child and by advice regarding the provision of play facilities and of suitable toys and material. Faulty parental attitudes based mainly on the factor of ignorance or wrong ideas regarding child nature in general or a particular deviation may often be altered by direct education.

As an illustration of a successful result by direct education, the following case from the Child Guidance Clinic of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work may be cited :

F, a little girl of 5, was brought to the Clinic by her mother, who was distressed because her daughter did not mix easily with other children and because she was extremely shy of strangers. In addition to this the child was reported as being very obstinate in her relations with her mother. Particular difficulty was experienced in encouraging the child to eat at meal-times. She would start crying if she was crossed and on rare occasions would even slap her mother. F was an only child. Her father had died when she was still an infant. Her mother had promised the father, on his death-bed, that she would look after the child well, and so she was always full of anxiety whenever there was the least trouble or difficulty.

Talks with the mother resulted in the diminution of her over-anxiety, and instructions for the proper handling of crisis situations had a very helpful

effect. At her first attendance at the Clinic, F refused to leave her mother and enter the playroom, but on the second or third day she slowly made friends with the worker and began to play by herself. In two or three weeks she had lost her shyness and her fear of strangers to such an extent that for the first time in her life, she spent a whole week-end away from her mother without complaining. Admission into school, which gave her opportunity to mix and play with children resulted in still further improvement. This freedom from shyness was found to be maintained a year after F stopped coming to the Clinic, and a recent enquiry revealed that she is now the monitor of her class and a good mixer.

To sum up the value of direct education, we may say that in regard to matters where the parents seek information actively, or again, even without this active seeking, when the education provides them with information regarding matters that are new or about which they do not have fixed opinions, the chances of altering undesirable attitudes are very good. When attempts are made in regard to matters where the parents have fixed and established opinions, and particularly when the information given goes counter to their emotional trends or threatens the vicarious or compensatory satisfactions they seek and obtain in the life of their children, the chances of influencing parental attitudes and behaviour by direct education are indeed poor and deeper methods of approach have to be adopted.

The applicability of direct education being limited, let us turn to a consideration of other methods of altering parental attitudes, wherein attempts are made to interpret to the parents the meaning of their behaviour and attitudes. It is found that such behaviour has varying degrees of depth of meaning. The more deeply hidden the motives of the ~~parental~~ behaviour or attitudes, the greater is the difficulty for the parent to understand and evaluate the meaning. But the degree of hiddenness or depth of motive is by no means the only factor making for difficulty in comprehension by the individual of the meaning of his behaviour. Where the parents have a genuine desire to understand their attitudes so as to alter them for the sake of eradicating the child's behaviour deviations; or again where they are able to face the giving up of the compensatory satisfactions derived from their behaviour or attitudes towards the child, they are then able to accept and understand the true meaning of their behaviour and the connection between their attitudes and the child's difficulties. But in many cases, severe frustrations in the real world around them and the non-utilisation of legitimate and healthy outlets for their emotional needs, make it very difficult for parents to give up these compensatory satisfactions.

For example, where a mother is over-indulging a child because she has

no love for her husband and cannot get any satisfaction in her married life, it is very difficult to alter her attitude, for she is very loathe to see any connection between her over-indulgence and over-protection, and the child's difficulty in the nature of protest reactions on his part. Whereas a child may like being over-indulged in one way, the same child has a very keen desire to be free from an oppressive over-protection and desires strongly to emancipate himself from being a molly-coddled and delicate creature and to become a robust and independent youngster. Unless the mother is provided substitute outlets for her emotions, in the nature of constructive interests, or is enabled to find satisfaction in her married life through improvement in her relations with her husband, and unless she is made receptive for the interpretation of the meaning of her behaviour, she is not likely to be able to, or want to understand, the connection between her over-indulgence and the child's problem. Not only is she not likely to be benefited by a hurried interpretation, but the goal of removal of the child's difficulty is often obstructed by the parent getting resistant and unco-operative or by breaking off treatment for the child. Hence if techniques of interpretative therapy are to be effective, it would be well to make it a general principle never to interpret to a parent till he or she has been prepared for it by the development of a friendly relationship or positive rapport between the parent and the therapist, and by the provision of substitute gratifications, in addition, where this is called for. With such a preparation of the parent, and according to the individual circumstances of the case, the parent is gradually made aware of the inner causes of his behaviour and attitudes and the connection between those and the child's behaviour problem. It is needless to say that interpretations should be given in the manner that one uses in stating a fact and that the parents should not be made to feel that they are being blamed for their attitudes or that a moral stricture has been passed on their behaviour.

If parents feel that they are being held responsible for the child's behaviour deviation and that the therapist blames them for it, they naturally resent the implication, and the chances of co-operation are greatly reduced. If, however, their confidence is gained; a positive relationship is established; the substitute gratifications or outlets are provided where necessary, and the interpretative process is regulated according to the individual needs of the case, the therapist has a very wide range of cases he can effectively help by interpretative methods of treatment; and interpretations which would never be believed otherwise, are often readily accepted and parental attitudes modified accordingly. In giving interpretations it would be well to give these in terms of the facts as narrated by the parents and in terms of their own actual words. It is of very little use to give interpretations in a generalised

way. Constant use must be made of the parents' own words to show them how in particular experiences or incidents which took place—perhaps a day ago, perhaps several years ago—the motivations of their actions were unknown to them and how they came to adopt parental attitudes such as over-indulgence or over-strictness, or how they sought satisfactions of their own emotional needs in their child. Even in this way the goal of making the parents aware of themselves, of seeing themselves in a new light, cannot be reached hurriedly. Ample time must be given to bring about such insight, step by step, at a rate which would vary according to the individual needs and resistances of the parents. It would be needless to say that in the usual way, nothing would be gained by attempts at forcing interpretations on a parent who is unwilling or unable to accept them. It would be useless on these occasions to argue the parent into accepting such interpretations. Acceptance means really a spontaneous realisation of the situation, and has as much an emotional aspect as an intellectual one, if not more. It is found more useful to work with the parents in such a way that they themselves are enabled to see the meaning of their behaviour. Once this has happened the worker needs tactfully to reiterate and reinforce this insight by illustrations from their behaviour. It happens often enough that without such restatement, reinterpretation and re-explanation, real insight is not gained, or where it has begun to be gained, it may be lost. As mentioned before, perhaps the important individual factor in making the parents accept the interpretations of their behaviour is the factor of a positive friendly relationship or bond between the therapist and the parent. This is well illustrated by the case of A of the Child Guidance Clinic of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work :

A, aged 12, was referred to the Clinic by his parents because of attacks of trembling of the hands during meal times. His father complained also that A was unable to use his hands satisfactorily in carrying out movements essential to the occupation for which he was preparing (an occupation which needed skilled movements of the hand). The father stated that the boy was very clever, but just did not seem to understand what he was trying to teach him in regard to the use of hands. This naturally exasperated the father.

On interviewing the child, it was found that he was very keen to learn the movements of the hand and to try and please his father, but that he was frightened of his father as he was apt to lose his temper. A said his father had never beaten him, but he was afraid that he would scold him about not being able to use his hands. The situation—that the boy really wanted to learn and please his father, but that he was frightened of him—was explained to the father. The father's quick temper and irritability were largely due to a long succession of misfortunes and to the fact that the nature of his work

involved great physical strain and bodily privations. Having failed to maintain his success in his profession on account of adverse circumstances, he had grown to pin all his hopes on to his son A, and was over-anxious for his success in life, with the result that he tended to seek absolute perfection in his son in regard to the hand movements so essential to his future profession. In spite of the son's real excellence, the father tended to be very critical with the son, through having identified himself with him, and he expected too much from a 12 year old child.

The father developed an exceptionally good rapport with the therapist in a very short time and interpretations were given to him regarding the meaning of his behaviour. The father was also asked to be particularly kind and gentle during his efforts to teach the child the movement of the hands and not to lose his temper or be irritated, even if the child appeared slow in understanding his instruction. The father himself volunteered that he would curb his temper at home generally, in addition to being gentle while instructing A. A in the meantime played on the sand tray, where he created a scene which gave expression to his fear of his father, and to his unconscious aggression. A week after admission, his father reported that A was a different boy altogether. His trembling of the hands had diminished very appreciably; but the two things which pleased the father most were that on the one hand, the boy was able to understand his instructions and was able to use his hands in the correct manner, and on the other, that he opened out to him and began to talk to him, spontaneously for the first time after many years. The conditions in the home also improved very markedly as the father controlled his temper.

This rapid improvement in A was brought about mainly by the father understanding the meaning of his behaviour and modifying his own attitude towards the boy, and in the household generally, so that the child became progressively less frightened of him. On questioning the child a few days after admission, he said he was a great deal better, as the tremors had practically disappeared; he was no longer frightened of his father; he liked to talk to him and he was able to carry out the hand movements to his father's satisfaction. He stated he felt better "by about 15 annas in the rupee." This improvement is maintained to date—about 2 years after closure of the case and the child is a great success in his profession.

This case illustrates that a practically complete cure or very marked improvement can occur after only one or two attendances in some cases, and that the important measure of modification of parental attitudes plays a very decisive roll in bringing about rapid improvement not only in physical and mental symptoms, but also in promoting harmonious relations between parent

and child and in the family as a whole. The degree of friendly relationship between the therapist and the parent and the rapidity with which it developed, enabled the father to alter his behaviour in about a week's time,—a process which usually takes much longer.

It will be appreciated that the range of parents to whom the interpretative approach can be applied is very great. One of the outstanding discoveries in the field of Child Guidance is that the attitudes and behaviour of parents towards their children are to a very large extent determined and shaped by the childhood experiences of the parents themselves. Whether a particular parent was dominated and bullied as a child; whether discipline was of the military type or not; whether the parent had felt neglected or discriminated against, or whether he or she was rejected or neglected—such experiences influence present behaviour and attitudes. The connection between the childhood experiences of the parents and their later attitudes as parents is not a very simple one, and the individual life experience during childhood, adolescence and later life, and the parent's satisfaction or non-satisfaction in marriage, all play important contributory parts in regard to the final outcome of parental attitudes. It is the work of interpretative types of therapy to unravel these complicated cause-and-effect relationships, and from what has been just said it will be readily appreciated that this process requires considerable time. Herein lies the disadvantage of such methods as compared to direct education. But in view of the limited applicability of direct education, it is largely to interpretative types of therapy that workers have to turn in order to bring about alterations in parental attitudes, and the fact must be frankly faced that no worthwhile results can be achieved with such methods unless the worker is willing and able to spend a considerable amount of time.

To sum up then, in view of the importance of parental attitudes for the behaviour of children, attitude therapy plays a very important role in Child Guidance procedures, but it has to be accepted that the different methods of altering parental attitudes, successful as they are in many cases, are powerless to bring any real change in about half the number of cases. However, by the utilization of other methods, such as more intensive psychiatric treatment of the child, the provision of avenues of expression of the child's needs through play and other constructive activities, and the provision of healthy parental substitutes during their treatment, even where parental attitudes are not essentially altered, a good deal of improvement is brought about in the child. In the ordinary way, of course, work with the child and work with the parents goes hand in hand, but where the latter is specially difficult or impossible, increasing utilisation of the former does much to get over the limitations of attitude therapy.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES FOR AMERICAN FARMERS¹

FOR several years instructors of vocational agriculture in the public schools of the United States have organized and taught classes for out-of-school young men and adult farmers. During the fiscal school year which ended June 30, 1939, 2,894 classes for out-of-school rural youth were conducted by agriculture teachers, with an enrolment of 51,804. In the same year, 181,037 adult farmers were enrolled in 6,223 federally aided classes.

The part-time schools for rural youth are ordinarily organized to attract students 15-25 years of age, who are not regularly enrolled in school and who are living on farms. The classes meet either during the day or in the evening for an indefinite period throughout the winter season, when farm work is least pressing. Helping the young men become established in farming is a major objective of the instruction. To this end, the programme of studies includes at least one course in technical agriculture, supplemented by units in related areas such as farm arithmetic, practical English, or rural social problems. The young men are also interested in social and recreational activities which are scheduled in connection with class sessions or as special gatherings of the group.

The classes for adult farmers are held one or more nights each week for a period of three to four months during the fall and winter. The procedures used in organizing these classes are quite democratic. The farmers themselves have a large part in the selection of courses and in planning the instruction. The classes generally deal with specific phases of farming, such as poultry production, corn growing, soil conservation, farm mechanics, horticulture or dairying. Discussion is encouraged and the members exchange experiences and decide upon practices which may improve the efficiency of their farming operations. Outside speakers may be brought in to discuss technical problems and visual aids are used to good advantage. Educational tours are made to market centres and group observations are made of farming practices in the local area. Social and recreational programmes are encouraged.

The major criterion of successful instruction is based upon the action programme growing out of the course work. The course is arranged to meet

¹ The materials in this Note are a condensation of an article by G. F. Ekstrom, entitled "Adult Education in Vocational Agriculture," in the April issue of *Rural America*.

definite needs of the farmers enrolled and follow-up meetings and individual visits attempt to assure a maximum carry-over of the instruction. Typical activities growing out of the instruction are: culling unprofitable producers from poultry flocks, vaccinating hogs against cholera, testing seed grain for germination, keeping farm accounts, repairing machinery and equipment, painting buildings and planting ornamental shrubs. The supervised follow-up work also involves a certain amount of group activity, such as the organization of cow-testing associations, the co-operative purchase of seeds and fertilizer and the pooling of different commodities for selling purposes.

LAND SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

IN November, 1938 the Government of Bengal appointed a Land Revenue Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Francis Floud, K.C.B., K.C. M.G., for the purpose of examining the entire land revenue system, with special regard to the Permanent Settlement. "Is it practicable and advisable," asked Government, "for Government to acquire all the superior interests in agricultural land so as to bring the actual cultivators into the position of tenants holding directly under Government?"

By the Permanent Settlement of 1793 a system of land tenure and taxation was laid down for Bengal by which the zemindar was to pay a fixed revenue to Government from the rents which he received from the cultivators. The result has been that though the land in Bengal, as in other parts of India, has increased in value, Government's share has been limited to the income fixed a century and a half ago, leaving the increases to be utilised by the landlord or his tenants or both. The Commission is unable to give an exact estimate of the loss to Government because of this arrangement, but places the figure at "anything between two and eight crores."

Furthermore, as a result of the Settlement, a system of sub-infeudation has grown up, until in extreme cases there are as many as 50 stages between the man who is actually working the land and the zemindar who pays the revenue. As a result the land is too often nobody's concern and the zemindar entirely fails to discharge the natural obligations of a landlord towards his tenants.

The majority of the Commission recommend that since the receipts of Government in Bengal are considerably less than in those Provinces where there is no Permanent Settlement; that since the assessment bears no relation to the productivity of the land and so perpetuates inequity; that since the limit placed upon the revenue demanded from the landowners throws an undue burden on other and poorer taxpayers; that since capital has been

drawn into investment in land rather than industry, thus slowing up industrial development in the Province,—the Permanent Settlement should be abolished and that the State should purchase all superior rights in land.

The Commission recommends that all interests in land between the State and the actual tillers of the soil should be purchased by the State and the actual cultivators turned into tenants of Government. To accomplish this end it is suggested that the zemindars be compensated at a flat rate of ten times the net annual profit, to be paid, preferably in cash, but if necessary in bonds redeemable after sixty years. Arrears of rent should be computed and half of these added to the amount of compensation. Mining royalties and fishing rights should also be acquired by Government. It is suggested that as a transitional measure an agricultural income tax should be levied, the proceeds of which would be devoted to the improvement of agriculture.

It could not be expected that proposals of so radical a nature would receive the full support either of all the commission members or the general public—for in the long period of its operation the Permanent Settlement has become interwoven in a complex way into the life of Bengal. The zemindars naturally feel that the recommendation is a violation of a promise given by Government in 1793 that the Settlement then arrived at would not be changed. Others feel that the principal evils attending agriculture in Bengal can be attributed to factors other than the Permanent Settlement. Government has as yet not committed itself, but has the matter under study. Certain it is, that when and if the Report is taken up for consideration by the Legislature, it will provide ample material for discussion over a long period of time.

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS

RECENT investigations regarding the fragmentation of holdings in India reveal that steps are now being taken in the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province and in the States of Baroda and Jammu and Kashmir to deal with this problem.

Consolidation Acts have been passed in the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Baroda. In the Punjab the work is carried out by co-operative societies and in the Central Provinces and Baroda by the Revenue Department.

The outstanding example of consolidation through the revenue staff is in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. Up to April, 1938, over 1,100,000 acres had been repartitioned in 1,172 villages of Drug and Raipur districts, the average size of a plot being increased from half an acre to three and one-fifth acres, and the total number of plots brought down from 2,370,000 to 354,000. The average size of a rice field in these consolidated

villages is now six times the size of the former rice "*dolis*." The removal of bunds between small fields and straightening of field boundaries have added about two per cent to the actual area under rice crop. The gross produce of crops in the consolidated area is estimated to have increased by about five to ten per cent.

The average cost of consolidation is four annas an acre and the work in most instances is done by persuasion.

CENTRAL AGRICULTURAL AND LIVE STOCK ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

THE Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, at its annual meeting in late August, decided to establish small compact committees for each important commodity in order to correlate the needs of research with the practical economic need of the country in respect of each commodity.

As a measure of further co-ordination, it decided to set up a Central Agricultural and Live Stock Economic Committee, which will examine proposals regarding different commodities in the first instance before these proposals go to the Governing Body. The Committee, which is to consist of eight members, will endeavour to strike a balance between the needs of research and the application of the results of research to agricultural practice with due regard to the agricultural economy of the country as a whole. The Governing Body decided to set apart a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 for the work of the Committee.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

THE importance of teaching the younger generation of Indian cultivators to keep simple accounts has recently come to be recognized. Although illiteracy is still a drawback, the number of agriculturists who can keep elementary accounts of income and expenditure is increasing, and efforts are being made to encourage this practice. Surveys in the Punjab and Bombay have revealed that results of far reaching importance can be deduced from a study of simple farm accounts.

The plan is to develop agricultural account keeping to the point where the farmers' accounts will be a reliable guide to the financial conditions in different areas and for the Province as a whole from year to year. The information gained from the accounts will be used as a basis for crop planning and to bring about a more efficient use of labour and materials. Light will also be thrown on such subjects as the relations between landlords and tenants, indebtedness and the general standard of living.

IMPROVING INDIA'S CATTLE

AS a result of the interest which His Excellency the Viceroy has taken in India's livestock, steady progress has been made in improving the quality of the nation's cattle. Speaking at the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar last year, Lord Linlithgow said: "The more I travel round India; the more I reflect on the deeper and more intimate problems of her rural economy and the physical well-being of her millions, the more am I confirmed in the importance I attach to raising the quality of her cattle and animal population. To the great mass of the inhabitants, good animals mean better and more profitable farming and more nourishing food."

When His Excellency first issued his appeal for stud bulls, soon after he assumed office in 1936, there were about 10,000 approved bulls in the whole of India. By the end of March, 1939, the number of approved bulls at stud in India had increased to 12,800—an improvement of 28 per cent.

In the first enthusiasm following His Excellency's appeal, the provincial livestock departments experienced some difficulty in accepting the large number of animals offered, and hence the policy was adopted of accepting only those bulls that were accompanied by a grant for maintenance. At the end of 1939 there was a balance of Rs. 1,31,842 out of cash donations for the purchase or maintenance of bulls. The total of donations received to the same date was Rs. 3,55,200.

DISCOURAGING THE USE OF FERTILIZER AS FUEL

ACAMPAIGN has recently been inaugurated by the Rural Development Department of the United Provinces to decrease the amount of cow-manure consumed as fuel by planting trees for fuel purposes.

In a letter to the District Associations for Rural Development, the Rural Development Officer states: "The actual calorific value of cow manure cakes is about half of wood-fuel. Four maunds of cow-manure is equivalent to about half a maund of fuel in heating value. Thus every maund of fuel available in the villages diverts about eight maunds of cow-manure from village hearths to agricultural fields.

"The difference between the manurial value (i.e., the rise in crop returns) and the fuel value of a maund of cow-manure has been estimated at its lowest at two annas a maund. Guessed roughly, we burn about 15 crores of maunds of cow-manure every year in these Provinces, thereby losing about two crores of rupees per annum.

"If we succeed in establishing a chain of fuel plantations all over these

Provinces, not only our returns from well manured crops will increase, but also erosion will be controlled."

The species of trees recommended are *babul*, *sisso*, *jamun*, *jamoya* (in Meerut District), *dhak* (in waste lands), *shaktut*, *neem*, *khair*, *imli* and mango (deshi).

PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

ALTHOUGH widespread efforts are being made in India to improve the agricultural yield and the quality of livestock and poultry, the cultivator is unable to reap the full advantage from these improvements because of faulty marketing conditions. The abridged report on the marketing of eggs in India and Burma, published by the Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India, presents some significant facts regarding the condition of the egg industry.

The report states that India produces about 33,648,00,000 eggs annually, while Burma produces another 1,636,00,000. The total value of eggs sold in the course of a year amounts to Rs. 5,25,00,000.

The loss in the course of marketing, due to breakages, staleness, etc., amounts to as much as 25 per cent at some periods of the year and is estimated to amount to over Rs. 57,00,000 per year. The loss due to breakages alone is estimated at Rs. 15,00,000 a year.

The report stresses various methods of eliminating this wastage and thus increasing the return to the cultivator.

TRAVANCORE'S FOOD PROBLEM

IN his address to the Travancore Legislature in late July, the Dewan stressed the importance of the State taking a more active part in furthering agricultural and industrial development.

"We are," said the Dewan, "more or less in the same condition as England, unable to produce all our food, depending on imports for our daily sustenance and able to make both ends meet only by a lively commerce between this country and other countries. . . . In an area of about 7,600 square miles . . . only about 4,500 square miles at most are open to cultivation and development. In this area a population of nearly six millions. . . have to live and move and have their being. Unless, therefore, new methods of cultivation are devised and new sources are tapped and unless a process of active and immediate industrialisation is started enabling this country to make enough to buy its food, there is very little hope for the future. . . ."

“The agricultural department has been charged with the task, not solely of relying upon rice, but of trying to cultivate other crops like soya beans and tobacco and also of introducing scientific methods and terraced cultivation. Much can be achieved if the co-operative department also come into the picture and concentrate upon producers’ societies and marketing organisations.

“This Government attach a special importance to fisheries. In fact I must be considered to be a fish fanatic. The food of the country is largely rice, tapioca and condiments. Rice by itself has its drawbacks as an article of nutrition. Tapioca is filling but comparatively innutritious. Chillies and condiments as articles of food are open to serious criticism. But a combination of fish tapioca or hand-pounded rice and chilly would be a very different proposition.

“In the matter of production of fish Travancore occupies a very high place in India. But on account of lack of facilities for transport enough fish is not consumed by the people of the State. Arrangements are therefore being made to utilise fully our refrigerating and cold storage plant and to facilitate transport so that fish can be taken in perfect condition from village to village and from town to town for consumption and the people’s health and strength may be enhanced by their obtaining a more nutritious diet.’

MYSORE AGRICULTURAL COLONY FOR EDUCATED YOUTH

FOR some time past the Mysore Government has been considering the question of starting an agricultural colony for educated young men in the Irwin Canal area. A committee was appointed to investigate the question and their scheme has now been accepted by Government.

Persons who have read up to the S. S. L. C. standard and who are either graduates in agriculture or have passed out of the Agricultural School may be taken as colonists. In the beginning, 10 colonists may be selected. The colony will be under the direct charge of the Manager of the Irwin Canal Farm and its general supervision will be vested in a Committee consisting of the Director of Agriculture as Chairman, the Deputy Commissioner, the Executive Engineer, Irrigation Division, Mandya, the Secretary of the Mysore Sugar Company and two non-official members, one from each of the Mandya and Maddur Taluks.

Each colonist will be given 15 acres of land on lease for a period of six years, the amount of lease being nominal and equal to the assessment on the lands.

If the colonists succeed, the land will be conveyed to them at the end of

six years at a fair upset price which may be fixed at the present market value of the land—the price being recovered in ten annual instalments from the date of sale.

Government will advance to each colonist a sum of Rs. 1,500/- for capital expenditure—a house and cattle shed, bullocks and ploughs—, and Rs. 500/- annually for meeting current expenses. The amount required for current expenses will be advanced on the security of the crops to be grown on the land and will be recouped every year as soon as the crops are harvested. The advances for capital expenditure will carry no interest for the first four years, but will bear interest at four per cent per annum thereafter. The balance of advance after adjustment of the deposit will be recovered in five equal instalments after the fourth year. But if the colonist elects to purchase the land, the purchase price will include the balance of advance that may be due by him.

The scheme is estimated to cost Rs. 20,000/- and necessary provision will be made in next year's budget.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COCHIN

THE programme of rural development, as outlined for the next year in Cochin, will pay special attention to the encouragement of cottage industries. It is planned to give impetus to the bamboo mat and basket industries and to prevent the exploitation of the workers engaged in these occupations by organizing co-operative or other sales depots at important centres. Grants will be given to ex-students of industrial schools who have been unable to follow the trades which they have learned for want of capital to procure the necessary implements. Research will be undertaken for the purpose of introducing labour-saving appliances in cottage industries and for founding new industries. Five thickly populated villages are to be made model villages, with Government grants for the improvement of sanitation, communications, water supply and the like.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN HYDERABAD

A FAIR measure of success marked the efforts to enlist the co-operation of the villager in revitalising village life, according to the report of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government Rural Reconstruction Department for the year 1348 F. (1939). An encouraging feature of the work during the year was that all nation-building departments tried to co-ordinate their efforts with a view to promoting the moral and material progress of the selected villages.

During the year the number of Rural Reconstruction Societies increased from 91 to 107, and the number of Taluka Councils from 84 to 92. Membership increased from 6,219 to 9,588 and subscriptions collected from members rose from Rs. 9,404/- to Rs. 10,100/-.

Particular attention was paid to the operations of societies pertaining to better business, better farming and better living. In 1938, 42 out of 91 selected villages had credit societies working in them. In 1939 the number was doubled. The Department is exploring the possibility of developing good credit societies into rural banks to function as financing centres for groups of villages lying within a radius of 7 to 10 miles. Grain banks have been started in 50 villages.

Distribution of improved seeds and improvement of live-stock were undertaken. Villagers were also advised to supplement their income from land by taking up industries subsidiary to agriculture, such as ghee-making, poultry-keeping and gardening.

BOOK REVIEWS

Crime and Criminal Justice. By ABUL HASANAT, I. P. Dacca: The Standard Library, 1939. Pp. 768+138. Rs. 5-8-0.

Criminal Behavior. By WALTER C. RECKLESS New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. Pp. 532. Rs. 18-12-0.

Crime and Society. By NATHANIEL F. CANTOR, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. Pp. 459. \$3.00.

The Dilemma of Penal Reform. By HERMANN MANNHEIM, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1939. Pp. 238. 7s. 6d.

The above four books present a very interesting cross section of current thinking in the field of penology. It is a matter for congratulation that a Superintendent of Police in active service has had the desire and has found the time to plan and carry through an elaborate study such as is found in Hasanat's *Crime and Criminal Justice*. At the same time, the very scope of the book is its weakness. The author states his purpose to be that of studying "the important problem of crime in all its aspects." Again, he states that the book is "a comprehensive but concise view of what has been thought about crime in all ages." The task which he has set for himself is obviously impossible. Hence it is, that though the book shows a wide acquaintance with the classical literature in the field, the net result is in large measure a mass of unintegrated material, which serves to confuse rather than guide the reader.

The author himself does not appear to have any consistent philosophy of penology. He makes many pertinent and very useful suggestions relative to understanding the criminal and looking towards the modernization of criminal justice. But the arguments by which the conclusions are reached are devious and far too often irrelevant.

The major value of the book is the light it throws on Indian conditions, and not the least important section is the appendix devoted to a "Comparative and Critical Appreciation of the Law Relating to Crime."

A far more lucid and reliable guide to the same general field is Reckless' *Criminal Behavior*. Reckless starts with the proposition that because of the lack of verified knowledge, a dogmatic, authoritarian treatise on criminology is at present quite unwarranted. He therefore adopts the comparative approach, i.e., he endeavours "to consider the variations, in time and place, of criminal behavior itself and of the methods used to combat it."

While crime is usually considered to be a violation of the criminal codes, the definitions of what constitute offences will vary according to the customs and values of various societies. Crime does not exist apart from a social medium.

Reckless discounts the hypothesis that crime is due to the existence of a "criminal constitution," believing rather that "the attitudes, drives, techniques, and philosophy of life characterizing a career in crime, are developed from contact and association." (p. 162) He feels that valid substantiation of the claims for the hereditary, constitutional and endocrine determination of crime has not yet been made. Neither does he regard feeble-mindedness and insanity as important causative factors. He finds the principal situational causes of anti-social behaviour in family and community conditions and economic conditions.

If the utility of the ordinary methods of punishment is to be judged by the results of punishment, the limitations of punishment as carried out at present are perhaps more apparent than the values—a condition which should at least supply food for thought.

The present trend in punishment is towards individualization and the substitution of treatment for punishment. We have methods at hand for measuring results, and it should be possible to determine the relative superiority of the older and newer methods by an appeal to actual achievement.

Whereas, Reckless adopts the comparative method of approach, Cantor in *Crime and Society* makes definite suggestions for dealing with the problem. He states his point of view clearly when he says:

The general theses presented are as follows: What we are attempting to do today with crime, criminals, and criminal justice is the result of certain traditions which we have inherited, plus certain ideas and practices which we have developed only recently and which in large measure are inconsistent with the traditional beliefs. Our basic ideas concerning the criminal law and criminal procedure, crime, criminals, and the treatment of prisoners which we have inherited clash at many points with the ideas about these things which science compels us to accept. We want to have our cake and eat it too. The attempt to put the traditional and scientific views together results in confusion. If the inconsistencies are recognized we can stop doing certain things which are unsound; we can, if we will, do things differently and, finally, we shall recognize the limits of our attempts to control crime and not try to do that which cannot be done. (p. xiii)

Part One of the book deals with "Perspectives"—discussing the field of criminology and the present state of our knowledge concerning criminals. Part Two discusses current practice in dealing with criminals. Part Three is concerned with the conflicts which arise from the meeting of the old and the new. Part Four describes the evolution from punishment to treatment. Part Five discloses the limitations of attempted crime control.

Cantor advocates separating the function of determining guilt from the function of imposing sentence. "The criminal trial is concerned with discovering guilt. For this purpose we need a legal definition of the facts of a crime. A fair or just disposition of the offender requires a scientific analysis of the facts of a crime." (p. 205) The method of treatment must be selected in the light of the individual delinquent. This shifts the emphasis from the crime to the criminal and his present needs. Hence though the determination of guilt should be left to the courts, the determination of the sentence should be placed in the hands of a disposition tribunal, consisting both of lawyers and non-lawyers. Cantor supports the absolute indeterminate sentence based upon satisfactory proof of reformation rather than lapse of time.

Cantor's approach to the problem of crime is in line with modern psychological theory. Human behaviour can only be understood in terms of the interaction of the individual and his total environment. If crime is to be prevented "individuals must acquire a sense of security and/or adequacy." (p. 413) Institutional treatment of crime fails because the institution sets up its programme in terms of its own goals and not in light of the psychological needs of the offender.

While all efforts looking towards the prevention of crime should be supported, "the attack upon crime prevention in any fundamental sense involves radical modifications of the profit-centered society. The fundamental question is whether emphasis on the accumulation of profits or the development of personalities will be the dominant motive of organized community life." (p. 427)

The great amount of interest aroused by the publication of the Criminal Justice Bill of 1938 led the London School of Economics and Political Science to invite Dr. Hermann Mannheim to deliver a course of lectures on penal reform. *The Dilemma of Penal Reform*, which is an enlargement of the original lectures, discusses the dilemma of prison reform created by certain fundamental problems which are difficult of solution by legislation or administrative expedients.

Though the basic principle of modern penology is that punishment, in order to be effective, must aim at reformation, there are tendencies and traditional prejudices which work in a direction entirely opposed to individualization. This opposition may come from social and economic sources, but it may also have its origin in considerations of a legal and political character.

Dr. Mannheim considers the principle of "less eligibility" in its relation to penology, i.e., the theory that the condition of the prisoner should

be "less eligible" than that of the lowest grade of independent labourer. Since all prisoners are not from the lowest social and economic strata, the attempt to reduce all prisoners to the minimum economic level is not compatible with the principle of individual rehabilitation. The population outside the jails have a margin of personal freedom that remains after their daily work is done. In prison, as this is completely taken away, some substitute must be supplied to prevent wholesale deterioration.

The author considers the losses in social status resulting from the various prevailing methods of penal treatment and argues the case that it is the wrong type of morality that needs the backing of social stigma and that every attempt should be made to reduce the disabilities which now follow the man who has been released from institutional commitment or has completed his period of probation.

Regarding criminal procedure, Dr. Mannheim feels that with the new interest in the person of the criminal and his reformation, the excess of formalism and aloofness which now mark the process leading to the determination of guilt may be detrimental to the ends of criminal justice as they are now conceived. "Even if it be true that the present strictly formal methods of criminal procedure are ideal ones for the first stage, up to the finding of guilt, whilst they have rightly been relaxed for the sentencing stage—then the problem arises whether it is psychologically possible for the Court to switch over from its previous attitude of aloofness and impersonality to an entirely new one of personal contact and interest." (p. 172)

As a possible solution Dr. Mannheim suggests leaving the first stage of the trial largely as it is and establishing for the following stage "a Treatment Tribunal consisting of the same judge or magistrate who conducted the trial, but now assisted not by lay jurors or justices, but by experts taken from the ranks of psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, etc., according to the special needs of individual cases. . . . An inevitable consequence of a Treatment Tribunal would be a considerable widening of the applicability of the Indeterminate Sentence." (pp. 207-8)

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the section dealing with the difficulties arising from the English conception of Juvenile Courts as criminal courts. "The treatment of juvenile delinquency in Court," says Dr. Mannheim, "has now reached the stage where the young offender is dealt with very kindly and with the greatest consideration. What is still missing is to treat him not—as at present—as an *adult in miniature*, but as a child—in other words, to admit that the difference between a child and an adult is deeper than merely one of growth." (p. 190).

The author also advocates a much needed reform of raising the lower

age of criminal responsibility from eight to twelve, or—still better—to fourteen years, with a corresponding extension of Juvenile Court Jurisdiction up to eighteen years.

The Foreword to the book states that the present volume is in the nature of a first instalment. Certainly it whets our appetite for a larger study.

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

Parole with Honor. By WILBUR LA ROE, JR. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1939. Pp. 295. Rs. 13-14-0.

Parole is one of the most misunderstood subjects in the field of penology, for it is too often regarded as leniency mixed with sentimentality, rather than as a thoughtfully conceived system by which certain prisoners are released under supervision before the expiry of the maximum sentence. Save for a relatively small number of prisoners condemned to die or sentenced to life imprisonment, all prisoners do come out of prison. The question is whether they shall simply be turned loose on society or whether a serious attempt should be made for their adjustment.

The State cannot impose restrictions on an individual after he has been released from custody. But if a prisoner is released on parole before the expiration of his term, it is possible to prescribe the conditions under which he shall live until the expiration of his maximum sentence.

"Parole," says Mr. La Roe, "goes into the home and endeavours to make adjustments there. It consults with friends and relatives in its effort to throw safeguards around the release of the prisoner. It makes an attempt to keep him segregated from the bad companions who contributed to his downfall. It studies his capacity for work and endeavours to find employment that is suitable for him." (p. 32)

The author discusses the subject of parole in both its theoretical and administrative aspects. Though the language used is very simple and though the style is popular, the book is a reliable guide to this important subject. The appendix describing various parole systems and the author's comments thereon is valuable.

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

The Training of Prison Guards in the State of New York. By WALTER M. WALLOCK. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1938. Pp. 396. \$2.75.

This report from Dr. Wallock will have great immediate value and usefulness in modern correctional procedures and administration. The

prisoner is increasingly becoming the centre of attention in India. As early as 1889 the Indian Jail Commission laid great stress on the importance of training all the staff in the Jail Department. The Indian Jails Committee of 1919-20 recommended the establishment of training schools for the jail staff. A similar recommendation was made by the expert committee in the United Provinces in 1938. The United Provinces Departmental Jail Committee of 1939, presided over by Mr. Gopinath Srivastava, was mainly responsible for giving the training scheme a practical shape. And the first Jail Training School at Lucknow, for the training of jailors and warders, came to be established in our country. This book will be of significant help to the Inspectors-General of Prisons and those responsible for initiating training programmes for prison personnel in India.

The contents of the book are brought under five parts. In the first part the author sketches the theoretical basis on which the "new penology" is founded and emphasises the demand for trained prison and reformatory officers. Dr. Wallock builds a very strong case for officer-training by pointing out that in large measure, the success of a correctional programme depends upon the active and intelligent co-operation of all the members of the prison staff. These are the men, he says, who have the closest and most frequent contact with prisoners. It is this group which is most likely to affect the social organisation of the prison community. They are the men best in a position to offer personal guidance to individuals—and Dr. Wallock rightly believes, that in prison work, personal guidance is a most forceful weapon. While guidance begins in the home, and extends, as the life contacts of the individual expand, to the school, church, playground, industry—in fact, the entire social environment—it is just this sort of guidance, so the author says, which most prisoners have not had at all, or have had only in part. The prisoner has so far been regarded as merely "number so and so" and not as a distinct individual.

Parts II, III and V will be found most useful to those prison educators and administrators who have to work out the details of officer training schemes. In those sections of the book are well organised statements of the structure, procedures and functions of the New York State Department of Correction Central Guard School. In Part II, Dr. Wallock outlines the organisation of the Central Guard School and the Course of Study; mentions the activities involved in the organisation of the School; defines its policy and objectives in training; and gives an outline of the curriculum of the School. In Part III the author provides an evaluation of the training in terms of test results. In Part V there is a reproduction of all the records and forms used by the School. The instructions to teaching staff, which the administrative staff

of the School employed for the improvement of instruction, are stimulating and pleasing. "What Instructors should do in preparing their courses for the Central Guard School" will serve as an excellent guide to those who have to teach in Prison Training Schools. "Teacher's Rating of Student" provides useful and helpful material for a proper understanding of the performance and personality of the officer under training. It is these sections of the book that will serve to make it a manual of procedure, and thus the recorded experience of the State of New York will certainly aid India in avoiding early mistakes resulting from lack of information.

Part IV is devoted to Special Lectures and is perhaps the most interesting and informative section of the book for the student of prison management. All heads of institutions in the Department either taught courses or lectured at the School. These lectures vary in length and form. Some speakers use a question and answer procedure; others give a brief introduction to their topics and then open the meetings for questions, while the others deliver the conventional type of lecture. All speakers give the group an opportunity to ask questions. Many of these question periods, says Dr. Wallock, are spirited and lively. The State of New York was fortunate in being able to bring to the Central Guard School a wide variety of lecturers to speak on special problems to the guard candidates. These speakers ranged from practical administrators of the New York State Prisons to Professors of Sociology and Education of Columbia and Buffalo Universities.

As Dr. Wallock points out, these lectures are "straight from the shoulder" presentations, stenographically recorded as delivered. They are therefore, lively, personal, spontaneous remarks from men personally enthusiastic about their work. Commissioner Mulrooney of the Department of Correction, Dr. Cantor of the University of Buffalo, Dr. Engelhardt of Columbia University and many Wardens and Superintendents of Prisons in the State are among the seventeen contributors to this section of the book.

Considering all five parts of the book together, Dr. Wallock has combined many sources of information within his division of Education in the State Department of Correction. It is a new contribution to the field as it combines the points of view of the professional worker and the practical administrator. It contains a mine of information and makes interesting and instructive reading to students of Criminology and Penology. To the Inspectors-General of Prisons in India it will serve as an indispensable jail training manual. All Superintendents of Jails should read it. Those who have anything to do with teaching in Jail Training Schools should possess it.

Education and Village Improvement. By I. W. MOOMAW. Bombay : Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. 160. Rs. 2/-.

The Wardha Scheme of Education. By C. J. Varkey. Bombay: Oxford University Press, Second Edition, 1940. Pp. 176. Rs. 1-12-0.

The above two books deal with important aspects of educational reconstruction with special reference to rural India. If education is to be a dynamic force in village improvement, it should utilize the villager's past experience, take account of his present attitude and cultivate his self-esteem. Much effort and money have failed to bring about the desired result in rural uplift only because the villager, who is himself the rural India, has been left out of the picture. Rightly therefore does the author of *Education and Village Improvement* maintain that village life must be put into the curriculum of the rural school to provide such educational experience as will prepare boys and girls for a more abundant life—economic, civic, social, moral and spiritual.

It is, no doubt, true that the child's immediate environment offers a natural starting point for his school work. Instruction should indeed be centred around the home environment of the children and the experience already gained by them before entering the school. And attention should be given in the school studies to the occupations prevailing in the locality. All this should be done, of course, in an order that prevents confusion in the minds of the pupils, and that results in skills and information which are reasonably accurate.

Apart from imparting education to its pupils, the rural school should assume the function of creating the type of environment in which children can develop. This the rural school can do only if it touches life as a whole and quickens the desire of the villager for improvement. "Village life in India today," observes Mr. Moomaw, "requires that teaching in rural schools should undergo a vital change. In addition to being an institution for mental training, the school must become the channel through which new life may flow into the village." Mr. Moomaw devotes several chapters to showing how education may flood the village with new life by helping to improve rural health, decrease indebtedness, revive cottage vocations, increase agricultural produce, cultivate the spirit of co-operation and thrift, and uplift the village family.

The author treats these aspects of rural improvement with authority as he has not only an adequate theoretical knowledge of agricultural science but also years of practical experience in an Indian agricultural school where he has been putting into effect the very thing he is advocating in his book. In fact, the various chapters represent in brief form the content of courses in Rural, Social and Economic Problems conducted by him during a period of

seven years at the Agricultural and Vocational Training School at Ankleswar (Gujarat). Therefore the worth of the book lies in the fact that it embodies the practical experience of the author in utilizing education for village improvement. The book is well got up with illustrations and is written in simple English with a genuine background of rural life and thought. It contains detailed suggestions as to how the school can be related to the village community and how it can be used to improve the various aspects of rural life.

The problem of educational reconstruction has engaged the attention of thoughtful men during the last two decades or more. Recently Mahatma Gandhi laid down the principle that the future education of India must so develop as to meet the needs of rural India, since India's civilization is rural and her population mainly rural. To correct the defects of the present system of education and to bring into being a system better suited to the needs of the country, he adumbrated certain ideas on the reorganization of elementary education. Out of his ideas has developed what is known as the Wardha system of education, the underlying principle of which is teaching through a craft.

Though the Wardha school is craft-centred, it is not the "production school" with manual training as basic occupation; neither is it the "activity school." The Wardha school has some aspects of both of these, and also some features which differentiate it from them. It is so planned as not only to make the pupil's hand skilled and sure, sharpen his eye, refine his taste, and develop his feeling for form and space relationships, but also to furnish excellent training in thinking, self-discipline and citizenship.

Nevertheless, this plan of basic national education has come in for a good deal of adverse criticism. The main purpose, therefore, of Mr. Varkey's book, *The Wardha Scheme of Education*, is to examine and expound the whole scheme so as to clear the misconceptions which have given rise to criticism and controversy. To this end, the author deals with the history of the scheme, explains Gandhiji's ideas on education, and then points out the fundamental and secondary features of the scheme. Then in the chapters which follow, he proceeds to answer the main criticisms of the scheme which appeared in the press from time to time, and to point out the progress it has made in the provinces where it has been introduced.

Since the book under review is the second edition of the original volume, the author has taken the opportunity to revise and recast several of the chapters in the light of practical knowledge gained and the actual results achieved in the working out of the scheme on an experimental basis. As this is the first attempt not only to bring together the essentials of the scheme but also to deal with it in all its aspects, the book will be of great use to all those

interested in educational reorganization in general and in basic national education in particular.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Rural Community Organization. By DWIGHT SANDERSON & ROBERT A. POLSON.
New York : John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; London : Chapman and Hall, 1939.
Pp. 448. \$ 3.

The Indian Renaissance demands the rebirth of the Indian village. This requires the two-fold reconstruction of the structure of the village and the creation of a profitable village economy, and the creation of a new human society. Experiments for the same purpose in other countries ought to prove instructive and useful. The volume *Rural Community Organization* deals with the treatment of rural society in America. The Social Settlement, attempting the reconstruction of human life on a regional basis, is well established in most important cities of the U.S.A., but the extension of the settlement idea to rural society opens out new fields for a planned reconstruction of human society, which ought to increase the efficiency and promote the welfare of vast human populations.

Rural community organization in America follows non-partisan and non-sectarian lines. "It is a new form of social grouping, without legal status and dependent wholly on the association of country people and villagers in their common interests." The birth of such communities ought to prove a blessing to India, threatened as it is by communal dissensions. The whole life of such communities is planned to secure the maximum welfare and social efficiency of the maximum number.

The book opens with an historical survey of the area of Waterville. In later pages there are case studies of community organization in other rural areas. The aim of community organization is defined as "an attempt to develop relationships between groups and individuals that will enable them to act together in creating and maintaining facilities and agencies through which they may realise their highest values in the common welfare of all the members of the community." The aim suits well a natural communistic society, practising in its daily life the principle of mutual aid and the virtue of co-operation. To an Indian who knows America to be highly plutocratic in spite of her democracy, the aim appears to be somewhat Utopian.

The authors explain that though systematic endeavours to organise rural society in America date from 1910, the concentrated interest in the problem is only post-war. This is therefore a new trend in American rural society, following the original chaotic occupation of vast rural areas for the purpose of exploitation.

The American is practical, and after defining the ideal, the specific objectives of rural organization are clearly laid down. They are—

- (1) To make the individual community conscious.
- (2) To satisfy unmet needs like roads, schools, etc.
- (3) To obtain social participation as a means of socialization.
- (4) To provide social control.
- (5) To co-ordinate various sections of the whole community, and the various activities.
- (6) Community protection from anti-social elements.
- (7) Development of leadership.

The above are ideally suited, with modifications and changes, to become the functions of an Indian Village Panchayat.

The types of community organization discussed in the volume are democratic. All participants are members; in some cases the community as a whole elects a council. The authors give byelaws for these organizations, which are simple and practical. Standing committees for agriculture, home-making, education, civic improvement and social life perform special functions. In addition to the general organization, examples are given of Farmers Clubs, Village Improvement Societies, The Grange which concerns itself with all forms of community welfare, Parent-Teacher Associations, Farm Bureaus, Commercial Clubs, Service or Luncheon Clubs, and Consolidated Schools, rendering service in particular fields.

Illustrations of the practical working of some of these organizations are interesting. The details of organization, programmes and surveys, differ according to local requirements. The rural community organizations sponsor multifarious activities, such as agricultural demonstrations, music schools, health and dental clinics, playgrounds, swimming pools, libraries and community houses. Social life is energised by observance of National Holidays and the holding of Fairs and Harvest Festivals, Field Days, Dramas, Pageants, Flower Shows, and such events.

India needs an immediate, well-thought-out, rural reconstruction programme. Books like *Rural Community Organization* help to point the way, and emphasise the need of clear aims, planning, a proper methodology, and efficient organization.

B. H. MEHTA

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THE INTER-COMMUNAL CONFLICT IN INDIA

E. ASIRVATHAM

In the opinion of many there is little hope for any real progress in India until a satisfactory solution is found to the communal problem. In this article Dr Asirvatham, who is Reader in Politics in Madras University, analyses the primary and subsidiary causes of communal conflict and suggests steps which may be taken towards developing a healthy nationalism.

IN the national life of India to-day there is no problem which calls for a more immediate and lasting solution than the problem of the inter-communal conflict. Even the problem of British Imperialism, or of the princes, or of the federation-to-be pales into insignificance when compared with communalism.

Mahatma Gandhi is considered the greatest living Indian to-day because he has given us a profound sense of national self-respect. But the man who can find a permanent solution to the problem of national unity will be considered even greater than he. Posterity is certain to regard such a man the greatest saviour of India in modern times. National self-respect becomes a mere sentiment, devoid of all reality, if it is not augmented by national unity. So long as national unity is lacking and communal strife is rampant, we shall continue to be a subject people and an object of derision to the outside world.

The problem of communalism is on the whole peculiar to India. It is true that many of the smaller European countries, South Africa, the United States, and Canada have their problems arising from the presence of minorities in their midst. But these minorities are linguistic, racial, religious or political. In India, on the other hand, the communal problem is all these and something more.

The chief communal problem in our country is between the Hindus and Muslims. In the Madras Province, however, it is between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, although it has never reached such proportions as the Hindu-Muslim problem in North India. A further communal problem all over the

country, and particularly in the southern province is the problem between the caste Hindus and the so-called Depressed Classes. The Christians of India as a whole have not been much affected by communalism, although it must be said in the interest of truth that in some parts of India, Indian Christian leaders have at times tried to make common cause with the Muslims and Depressed Classes against the Hindus. In some instances they have joined hands with Anglo-Indians for purposes of social intercourse and the securing of employment.

The Hindus form the bulk of the population of India. According to the 1931 census, out of a total population of 353 millions, fully 68 per cent are Hindus, 22 per cent are Muslims, 1·7 per cent are Christians, and a still slighter percentage are Sikhs. Statistics show that the Mohammedans increase faster than the Hindus. Further, Hinduism not being essentially a missionary faith, has been steadily losing its numbers to both Christians and Muslims. The Sikhs, being confined largely to the Punjab, do not constitute a serious problem for the rest of India.

The Hindus largely predominate in the centre and south of India. In the Madras Presidency they are no less than 88 per cent. They are in the majority in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, the United Provinces, the Central India tracts, Rajputana and Bombay. The Muslims practically monopolise the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, and Kashmir and are considerably in excess in the Punjab, Eastern Bengal and Sind. They form about 32 per cent in Assam, 15 per cent in the United Provinces and 11 per cent in Hyderabad. There are more Hindus living in Indian States governed by Muslim Princes than Muslims living under Hindu Princes.

Seriousness of the Problem. There is no doubt that the inter-communal problem is becoming more and more serious every day. It threatens to lead to a permanent civil war. The present generation of Indians have the responsibility of either making the future of India or of marring it for years to come. A wrong step taken at this juncture will lead to such awful results that one shudders even to think of it.

At the bottom of the inter-communal problem is a profound sense of fear and suspicion and gross misunderstanding. The Muslims do not trust the Hindus and the Hindus in turn distrust the Muslims. The Muslim fear is that the Hindu is very clever, and possibly cunning, and that by the art of palaver, will keep the Muslim down as a hewer of wood and drawer of water. The Hindu fear is that the Muslim is fanatic and bigoted and that, with the help of the sword, he will strive to establish military supremacy over the whole of India, making it a part of the larger Islamic world. Both these fears are ill-founded and are based on old prejudices.

CAUSES OF COMMUNAL CONFLICT

The primary causes of communal conflict are economic, political and psychological. The secondary or subsidiary causes are social, cultural, and religious. Even to-day the communal conflict is confined largely to the educated classes living in town and cities. But a good many selfish political leaders are dragging the masses into the picture in order to advance their own interests.

(1) *Economic.* In many parts of India, the Muslims occupy an inferior economic position to that occupied by the Hindus. In the Punjab and Bengal, where the Muslims form a comfortable majority, we are told that, from the point of view of wealth, Muslims are behind the Hindus, many of the landlords and money lenders being Hindus. In Bengal the Hindus pay more than half the taxes, although they form only 43 per cent of the population. In some forms of business, however, the Muslims are the *entrepreneurs*, while Hindus work for them. This is particularly true in the leather industry, tanning, and *beedi* manufacture. In towns and cities a good percentage of Muslims are shop-keepers and traders. In the skilled trades, arts and handicrafts, the Muslims have on the whole a better showing.

In many of the Government services, the Muslims are behind the Hindus both as regards numbers and influence. This disparity is due largely to the fact that Hindus took to western education much earlier than did the Muslims. In competitive examinations for Government Service the Muslims have made a poorer showing than the Hindus. One possible reason for this is that the Muslim on the whole is not such an apt pupil as the Hindu, the high caste Hindu having had a much longer tradition of book learning. To remedy this inequality the Government of India introduced some years ago a system of communal representation into the central services, according to which 25 per cent of the posts were reserved for Muslims and 8½ per cent for Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, etc. For some years now there have been nominated to the I. C. S. a certain number of Muslims who take the competitive examination at Delhi, but who do not come out in the list of successful candidates. In the provincial governments too, there is the communal rotation and nomination to such posts as those of the Naib-Tahsildar and Deputy Collector.

Of late the problem of communal representation in the services has taken a very serious turn in Bengal. Implementing a resolution of the Legislative Assembly that 60 per cent of Government appointments hereafter should be given to Muslims, 20 per cent to the Depressed Classes, and 20 per cent to the rest, the Bengal Ministry decided to reserve 50 per cent of Government posts to the Muslims. The Muslim argument in support of this position is that the Muslims hitherto have had less than their share of the loaves and fishes of office and that, in the name of efficiency and under the guise of com-

petitive examinations, many incompetent Hindus have been appointed to responsible posts. It is further argued that book knowledge is not everything and that what is required of an administrator is capacity to understand human beings, to enlist their co-operation, and to execute orders. While all this may be true—and there is no proof that any community has a monopoly of these qualities—, as Macaulay and Trevelyan foresaw nearly a century ago, nothing can really be an effective substitute for a right type of competitive examination. The real position appears to be that the Muslims of Bengal, finding themselves in a strong position, want to turn the tables on the Hindus.

The economic struggle is so keen that certain forms of business and petty industry are monopolised by members of one community or another, and no one from outside is given a chance to get into the close preserve. Not long ago the *beedi* manufacturers in a certain city put considerable pressure on their workers to change over to the faith of their employers, if they wanted to continue in employment. Disputing the oft-expressed claim that the communal problem is essentially a religious one, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab, has recently said: "The communal problem is not a religious problem, but is really a mundane, material problem."

(2) *Political*. The successive instalments of self-government, granted from time to time, have not been an unmixed blessing. They have accentuated communalism and whetted the selfish desire to grab all that one can for one's self and one's community. The Muslims have been quick to realise that political power is passing from the hands of the British to Indian hands. They contend that in the present circumstances of education, wealth, and general progress, self-government really means government by the Hindu majority. Because of this fear, the Muslims have been anxious to safeguard their position by such devices as separate electorates, weightage, and nominations to district boards, municipal councils, etc.

The pernicious system of separate electorates was first introduced as an experimental measure after the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. But the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the Government of India Act of 1935 have widened and strengthened it. The Macdonald Award of 1932 was really a reward to the faithful. As things stand at present, a progressive individual who wants to cut across the artificial communal barriers fixed by separate electorates cannot do so without altogether foregoing his civic right to exercise the vote. An Indian Christian, for instance, has to vote in the Christian constituency, and for a Christian, whether he likes it or not. He is not allowed to vote in the general constituency. Nor is a non-Christian permitted to seek election from a Christian constituency.

Separate electorates which are in existence to-day for elections to the

provincial and central legislative chambers are spreading even to local and municipal elections. Very recently separate electorates have been re-introduced into the Calcutta Corporation on the plea that the Muslims, who form only 25 per cent of the city's population, require special protection. Strange as it may seem, in the Province, too, where the Muslims form a majority, separate electorates are in existence. In the city, the minority is to be protected against the majority, but in the Province the majority is to be protected against the minority. Surely a case of, "Heads we win, tails you lose!"

Separatism is fast becoming the bane of Indian politics. It has spread from the legislatures, district boards and municipal councils to administrative services, and now threatens to invade even the cabinet system of government. It is argued by some that, in the place of a homogeneous ministry representing the majority party in the legislature and the country, there should be a composite cabinet, representing the different religions and other such interests in the Province and the country, holding office for a fixed term of years. Such a change, we are afraid, will not serve the true interests of minorities any more than communal representation has served their interests in the legislative field.

At the present moment there is very little of nobility or magnanimity in Indian politics. It is supercharged with selfishness of the worst kind. The situation has reached such a pass that vociferous minorities are able to hold up the progress of the whole country by threats of sabotage. It is a clear case of a tyranny of the minority over the majority. It is easily forgotten that if minorities have their rights, so has the majority. Majorities and minorities have a meaning only in reference to genuine differences as regards social, economic and political principles, policies, and methods. But majorities and minorities based on religious, caste, and class affiliations have no abiding place in politics.

(3) *Psychological.* Some of the minorities suffer both from an inferiority and a superiority complex. The inferiority complex arises from the realisation of the fact that they are not so clever and nimble-witted as some others, particularly the Brahmins. They are not so good as their rivals as regards book learning, capacity for hard routine work, and ability to please superiors.

The superiority complex in the case of the Muslims arises from the fact that some centuries ago Muslim kings ruled India, although with the help of both Muslim and Hindu ministers and administrators. The Muslims sometimes argue to themselves that from the point of view of physical strength and prowess they are superior to the Hindus, and, therefore, there is no reason why they should be deprived of their innate right to rule.

To sum up, the primary causes of inter-communal conflict are the instinct of self-preservation, lust for power, and determination to find a place in the sun. To these are added certain subsidiary causes.

SUBSIDIARY CAUSES OF COMMUNAL CONFLICT

(a) *Social and Cultural.* The social and cultural cleavages between the communities are becoming wider every day. Till a few years ago the Muslims, who on the whole do not observe caste restrictions, had no hesitation in accepting food and water at the hands of the Hindus. But now the division is becoming more and more clearly marked, as one can see in separate restaurants for different communities, particularly in the railway stations. For this state of affairs the Hindus are largely to blame. Whatever merits caste may have had in the past, caste as meaning anti-social restrictions has no right to exist to-day. One can understand the feeling of a vegetarian in not wanting to eat with a non-vegetarian. But distinctions other than vegetarian vs. non-vegetarian are meaningless.

Even in such matters as dress and the style of dressing one's hair, the communities are drifting apart. Comparatively insignificant matters such as cow slaughter and music before mosques, which can easily be kept under control, provided there is commonsense and goodwill on both sides, are allowed to become the occasions for bloody communal riots. Hindu participation in Muslim festivals and Muslim participation in Hindu festivals is becoming less and less frequent. The Hindi-Urdu controversy is made to do service to communalism. Inter-marriage between the communities is rare. Relatively speaking, there are more inter-marriages between Hindus and Christians and between Muslims and Christians than between Hindus and Muslims. There is a fundamental social equality among the Muslims which is not so clearly marked among the Hindus.

(b) *Religious.* Instead of being a unifying factor, religion in India is on the whole a divisive factor. The Muslim looks down upon the Hindu as an idolater and polytheist. Hindu pantheism makes no appeal to him. The Hindu, on the other hand, looks upon his own religion as highly philosophical and exceedingly tolerant, and so broad-based as to include every religious faith and sect in India. Mohammedanism, he believes, was well suited for the nomadic conditions which prevailed in Arabia in the early days, but is too elementary to suit modern times.

Hindu worship is mostly individualistic and at times noisy. Muslim worship, on the other hand, is corporate, quiet, and orderly. Sacrifice of cows and goats which forms a part of Muslim worship is repellent to the high caste Hindu.

Many a Muslim feels that Mecca is his spiritual home, and to the extent to which his ultimate loyalty is to a place and to a people outside India, he gives the impression that he is not fully rooted and grounded in India.

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION ?

Multiplication and exaggeration of differences in all trivial matters and the nursing of grievances, whether genuine or imaginary, are not ways along which communal harmony can be achieved. Our starting point should be the wholesome conviction that geographical and historical conditions have destined that Indians of all descriptions should live together in harmony and unity on a basis of mutual understanding and accommodation. Our motto might well be: Each community its own social, cultural, and religious existence within well-defined and reasonable limits; all the communities one State. We do not want a Hindu Raj, a Muslim Raj or a British Raj, or any combination of these. We want an *Indian Raj*.

If our national leaders would only realise that our very existence as a country and a people is at stake, they would not indulge in propagating such untenable propositions as "India, a land of two nations," or a "confederation of Hindu India and Muslim India." Instead of confining the area of co-operation to members of their own caste, class or community, they would extend it to include the whole country. India does not want leaders who fan the communal flame and make an amicable settlement difficult of attainment by their exaggerations and half-truths. She wants men and women filled with a passion for national self respect, unity, strength, and justice. Once the necessary psychological attitude, viz. "the will to co-operate," is adopted, problems which appear to be insoluble are bound to vanish into thin air. Emphasis on minority claims and interests is capable of endless multiplication until India becomes a congeries of innumerable tribes, sects, and self-seekers, and no majority is left. Questions such as the creation of a Tamil province or an Andhra province, protection of the rights of non-Brahmins, etc., should all be approached from the angle of national unity and solidarity.

It is too late in the day to argue that the different communities of India belong to different racial stocks and that they can never live in peace. The fact of the matter is that a considerable percentage of present-day Muslims and Christians are converts from the Hindu fold and are flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone. Even supposing that there is racial heterogeneity in India, it must be remembered that there has also been in the past a great deal of racial intermixture. What science teaches is that no race is pure anywhere in the world ; all are mongrels—except perhaps the Jews. If it be true that that the Celt, the Saxon, the Dane, and the Norman have coalesced into the

modern Englishman, and the blood of every conceivable European nationality has entered into the blood-stream of the modern American; it is absurd to claim that the Hindu and Muslim can never unite on the racial plane and form a strong nation.

In India we must cultivate the habit of mind which says that racially we are one. History shows that even assumed racial relationship has acted as a cementing factor. The psychological feeling that we are one is much more important than the anthropological proof that we are one. From whatever part of India we may hail and whatever be the religious community or caste to which we may belong, we feel more at home with fellow-Indians, than say with the Chinese, Japanese, British, Germans, or Russians. This may be an irrational and mystical feeling. But it is there, and we must make the most of it if Indian nationality is to become strong and vigorous. We shall do well to cultivate a little bit of Coueism or auto-suggestion in our daily life and contacts. We should develop that habit of mind which says: "Every Indian: the Pathan, the Punjabi, the Bengali, the Gujerati, the Mahratta, the Andhra, the Tamil, and the Malayalee is equally my brother."

A wholesome affection and love for the country which gave us birth is undoubtedly an important corrective to exaggerated communalism. No Indian child should be allowed to grow up without developing an intense love for his village, district, province, and country. Indian mountains and rivers, plains and valleys, historical monuments and ruins should rouse the tender feelings of every Indian. Indian legends and stories of heroes and heroines should become the common property of all. If it be true that a naturally defined territory or geographical unit is an essential condition of nationality, it must be confessed that we have not made full use of the existing geographical unity. Except for some cracks in the Himalayas, India forms a distinct geographical unit marked off from the rest of the world. Therefore it seems altogether futile to speak of dividing India into Hindu India, Muslim India, Sikh India, and Christian India. India is our national home and the boundaries are clearly marked. This does not mean that there are barbed wires around it or a Maginot or Siegfried line shutting out foreigners. The gates are left open to all friendly people who are willing to come and identify themselves completely with us.

Communalism can further be combated by stressing the unity of ideas and ideals which underlie Indian culture. The consciousness that we have a mission to perform to the rest of mankind can help us to forget our differences and work together for a common purpose. Greece at the height of her glory made a great contribution to art, literature, philosophy, and politics. Rome made her contribution to law, order, and practical administration. In modern

times Great Britain has contributed the immortal plays of Shakespeare, wise statesmanship, and the art of governing people through much bungling. America has made valuable contributions in the utilisation of matter for the alleviation of human suffering. India, too, can make her great contribution to mankind when she becomes the master of her soul. She can demonstrate in no uncertain terms the victory of the spirit over matter and the power of truth and non-violence in all human relations. There is already a common allegiance to the ideals behind charka—the ideals of simplicity, purity, truth, non-violence, and concern for the toiling masses. To these passive virtues we should add active, rugged virtues such as bravery, courage, frankness in speech and action, and service to others.

SPECIFIC REMEDIES

(1) *Economic.* One of the primary causes of communalism being economic, some of the ardent spirits in the country believe that socialism may be the way out of our difficulty. When the State provides for the needs of every one who is able and willing to work, it seems reasonable to hope that the present keen struggle for existence will come to be greatly modified, if not cease altogether. To reward people according to the socially useful labour performed may be the best form of social justice, but the world has not yet devised the necessary machinery for the realisation of this end. The hope that Russia may be able to lead the way has been dashed to the ground by her recent unprovoked and aggressive activities. Even if socialism may not be possible in our day, a much larger degree of social justice than what obtains to-day is an absolute necessity. Among other things, it may help to assuage communal feelings. We should work for a state of affairs in which family ethics will take the place of "jungle ethics."

A drastic reduction in salaries attached to government posts may prove to be a blessing in disguise. The huge salaries paid to our public servants are altogether out of keeping with the poverty of the country. Great Britain does not pay its Ministers and civil servants as lavishly as does India. The salary of the Japanese Prime Minister is roughly $\frac{1}{5}$ th of that received by Indian Prime Ministers in non-Congress provinces. If an all-round salary cut is brought about, it is possible that there will not be the same scramble for government posts as at present, and consequent communal squabble. Government service should become a vocation which a person takes up out of a sense of duty. The satisfaction of rendering public service should become a reward in itself.

The economic causes of communalism may be partially removed by the opening up of other avenues of making a living besides government posts.

The gradual industrialisation of the country and the revival of cottage industries on a large scale are steps in the right direction. There should be a chain of swadeshi shops and industries all through the country, employing Indians of all descriptions solely on the basis of efficiency and expert knowledge.

As regards communal representation in public services, it should be borne in mind that it is necessary to keep in proper balance the right of each community to its legitimate share of public posts and the right of the nation at large to receive its money's worth. Other things being equal, there should be a due proportion between the strength of any one community in the country and its representation in the services. But it must be remembered that the right of the citizen to be safeguarded against inefficient and worthless officials is much greater than the right of every caste and community to its exact mathematical percentage in the services.

(2) *Political and National.* It is the paramount duty of every parent and teacher to inculcate in boys and girls a healthy national outlook so that when they grow up they will instinctively place the national good above their own narrow or selfish good. Willingness to sacrifice for a common cause and mutual trust should become a part of their nature.

The majority community should give ample proof of its sincerity in striving for the welfare of the minorities. The minorities in their turn should give up their attitude of fear, suspicion, and jealousy and the habit of reading motives even into the most innocent of acts. Both the majority and minority communities should strive to abolish separate electorates which are a blight and a curse, and the futility of which even their keen advocates have come to realise. All that separate electorates have succeeded in doing is to divide India into numerous warring communities and to place a premium on fanaticism, bigotry, and personal and group selfishness. If the transition from separate to joint electorates cannot be made all at once, joint electorates with a reservation of seats may be tried as an intermediate stage. In localities where members of one community or another are found in large numbers, by a slight re-drawing of the boundaries of the constituency it is possible to obtain roughly the same representation for the minorities as obtains to-day under separate electorates.¹ The good citizen should vote for a man not because he belongs to the same caste or community, but because, in his judgment, he is the best available candidate for the office in question. Even if separate electorates are retained for some time longer, opportunity should be given to progressive individuals of all communities to vote in a general constituency. The present arrangement is such that, instead of pulling up the backward to the level

¹ A suggestion which I owe to Mr. V. Devika Char, M. A., a research student in the University of Madras.

of the progressive, the progressive is dragged down to the level of the backward.

People should be trained to realise the fact that there is a political etiquette just as much as there is a social etiquette. Party Government ought not to mean partisan government. No one has a right to sling mud upon one's political opponents. Hitting below the belt is unworthy of political parties as well as of individuals. Keeping on repeating a lie till it appears to be true is a game which even a party politician will do well to avoid. Negative criticism is not only injurious to the general welfare of the country but also corrodes the soul of the person who makes it. If a community has a genuine objection to the Wardha Scheme of education, to a national flag or a national song, it is the duty of that community to evolve something better which will meet with the general approval of thoughtful people among all communities.

To allay the fears of minorities, certain fundamental rights may be incorporated in the preamble to the constitution, remembering at the same time that the best safeguard is the mutual good will and commonsense of the communities. While fundamental rights cannot be enforced in any effective way, they can give to all concerned considerable psychological satisfaction.

Leaders of all communities should put their heads together to evolve a national dress and national headgear. This does not mean that there should be no local or provincial dress. All that it means is that one need not be tied down to it slavishly, especially in these days of rapid transport, frequent travel and abundant social intercourse. Attempt should be made to cultivate an Indian cosmopolitanism as regards food, drink, and social customs in general. In all these matters, the guiding principle should be, "Prove all things and hold fast that which is good."

A national language is undoubtedly an absolute necessity. Seeing that spoken Hindustani is the nearest approach to a national language, every effort should be made to popularise it. Whether the Urdu or the Devanagiri Script should be used is immaterial to most of us. Perhaps both scripts might be used; or better still the Roman script might be adopted. The use of a national language does not mean the destruction of the principal provincial languages. Every Indian child should be given a thorough grounding in his own mother tongue and a working knowledge of a national language as well as of an international language like the English. Such an accomplishment is not difficult of realisation when we remember that Indians are good linguists and that children in many of the smaller European countries learn three languages with great ease and are able to write and converse in all of them.

Voltaire once boasted that the French language and literature had made

more conquests than Charlemagne. National language and literature make for pride and reverence. A well-known English Professor, J. H. Rose, considers common language to be the most powerful political influence. According to another authority, Joseph, language is the most obvious element of nationality. More than any other factor of nationality, a common language can break down the barriers of sectionalism in India.

(3) *Psychological*. Reference has already been made to the necessity of cultivating that frame of mind, especially among the educated, which looks upon every Indian as a brother and fellow-worker in the national cause. Sectionalism and communalism will die an instantaneous death if our communal leaders possess a vivid realisation of the low status to which they have reduced themselves and their country in the eyes of the outside world. Whether we belong to the martial north or the "benighted" south, whether we belong to the "Hindu nation" or the "Muslim nation," we are all given the position of helots once we leave the shores of India. We are looked upon as "a brand of niggers" or a mere appendage of Great Britain; and for this state of affairs we have none to thank but ourselves. No nation on earth will stand the humiliating position assigned to the countrymen of ours in South Africa, Kenya, the Fiji Islands, Ceylon, and even Burma. Yet we stand helpless because we are disunited and are unwilling to think and act in terms of nationalism, even when Great Britain has declared her willingness to set us on the road to freedom.

To perpetuate communalism—whether practised by a majority or a minority—is to brand ourselves as an inferior and semi-civilised people for all time to come. There can be no doubt that communalism is a negation of nationalism. We cannot be both communalists and nationalists. Communalism means a perpetuation of fissiparous tendencies. So long as communalism takes the form of a healthy family pride and means greater effort for the educational, social, and cultural uplift of the members of one's community, without standing in the way of the development of others, there may be no objection to it. But if it means, as it often does, the dividing of India into warring communities, each community trying to secure as much as it can for itself at the expense of others, and each one sticking its tongue out at the others, there can be no justification for it. Communalists often draw a false analogy between family devotion and devotion to one's community. It is conveniently forgotten that those who benefit by communalism are often the most selfish and bigoted members of their community who use their communal cloak for the advancement of their own ends.

(4) *Social and Cultural*. It is the duty of every educated Indian to encourage social intercourse and inter-dining between members of all com-

munities and no community. It is high time that Hindu '*cha*' and Muslim '*cha*' were replaced by wholesome Indian '*cha*.' There is no justification in this day and generation for such exclusiveness as indicated by "For Brahmins only" in cafes and restaurants.

Strenuous attempts should be made to bring about a cross-fertilisation of cultures. Those who study Urdu as their mother tongue might be compelled to study a little Hindi and *vice versa*. Hindus should be encouraged to study the great Muslim poets and writers and the Muslims to study the great Hindu poets and writers. Popular lectures should be arranged emphasising the nearness of Islamic and Hindu cultures as they have developed side by side in India.

While not actively encouraging inter-communal marriages, we should not do anything to discourage them so long as they are rooted in a unity of mind and spirit and take place under proper auspices. Until the whole of Indian society becomes *inter-marriageable*, caste and communalism in some form or another are likely to continue. More than other countries India needs a practical demonstration of the Brotherhood of Man rooted in the Fatherhood of God.

The policy of segregation in streets and wards and the setting up of parallel institutions are most deplorable. The various communities of India, through the centuries in which they have lived in close proximity with each other, have so interpenetrated one another that it is both undesirable and unworkable to separate them geographically, socially or culturally.

Communal schools should be replaced by national schools. If, during the transitional period, it is necessary for communal schools to continue, such schools should receive no government grants unless they are willing to admit at least 25 per cent of their total strength from other communities. Indoctrination of pupils in any religious or sectarian creed should be prohibited in all State-aided schools—the proper place for such teaching being theological schools and colleges. When special grants are given for the education of backward communities, the children should, as far as possible, be required to study in public, as against separate communal, schools.

Attempt should be made to stamp out communal riots by strong action, knowing as we do that such riots quite often begin in a lie of false propaganda. Unfounded rumours of kidnapping or stabbing are frequently the cause of communal riots. It is necessary that those who bring about such riots should be given an exemplary or deterrent punishment, while, as a matter of fact, they are often let off easily in order to allay communal feelings. Goondas, or organised bands of rowdies, in every community should be liquidated.

For the prevention of communal riots and the promotion of communal

harmony, there should be standing committees of men and women belonging to different communities whose chief business will be not to act as advocates of their respective groups, but to keep the contending parties in good relations with each other. These committees may be co-ordinated under a provincial department of administration on communal harmony. Members of these committees should be people of wide sympathy, free from prejudice, commanding the confidence and goodwill of every one in the neighbourhood. They will be the "bridge-builders" between the communities, solely concerned with the creation and maintenance of a neighbourhood spirit.

If communal riots are to be kept under check, it is very essential to curb the propaganda press. While a certain amount of latitude may be allowed as to where facts end and propaganda begins, restraint must be placed upon newspapers which make scurrilous attacks upon individuals, distort facts, and fan the communal flame.

(5) *Religious*. There can be no doubt that for the most part religion, as it is practised in India to-day, is a divisive factor. This does not mean, as is often supposed, that religion is the curse of India. The curse is irreligious and unworthy views of religion. Religion "true and undefiled" brings men together. But religion meaning shibboleths and catchwords, outworn rituals and ceremonies, drives people apart. The true meaning of religion is that it is a perpetual reminder of man's imperfection. We as a people cannot be said to make any progress so long as we fail to distinguish the essentials of religion from non-essentials—the essentials being love of God and love of man or, to state it a little more concretely, a passionate devotion to brotherhood, justice, freedom, truth, and non-violence. What God requires of every one, whether he be a Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or Parsi, is "to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." It is obvious that cowslaughter and music before mosques are not such heinous crimes as murder or theft. Righteousness and brotherhood are more essential than ceremonial correctness or conventionality.

In the interest of national unity and communal goodwill, it is time to call a halt to proselytism, but not to genuine conversion which is the fundamental right of every individual. Although law cannot prevent or regulate proselytism, sound public opinion can and should. Hinduism's difficulty should never be regarded as the opportunity of Islam, Christianity or Sikhism. The Hindus, in their turn, should set their own house in order as regards caste, untouchability, temple entry and social customs in general which do not fit into modern conditions, remembering that caste and untouchability are the parents of communalism.

We should learn to use commonsense or rational methods in studying

Scriptures and in approaching religious questions. Blind partisanship and bigotry have no justification to-day. We have no right to reject religion just because some religious people have been bigots or fanatics. God requires not outer conformity but inner surrender. He calls for circumcision of the heart, and not circumcision of the flesh. The different Scriptures of the world contain the Word of God in varying degrees, but it is high presumption to claim that God's revelation is found closed between the covers of any single book. The common cry "Religion in danger" has no meaning. It is not religion which is in danger, but the so-called religious people who are in danger of losing their souls. Any religion which has truth and vitality in it and meets the deepest desires of men's hearts can be trusted to defend itself.

The educated and cultured people of India can do much to promote communal harmony by a respectful and sympathetic study of each other's religions. It is their business to arrange for periodical inter-religious gatherings and conventions where the best in all faiths can be studied and pondered over. Only by such methods can true tolerance be promoted—not tolerance which is another name for indifference, but tolerance born of mutual sympathy, study, and understanding. The French proverb says "To know all is to forgive all."

If within living memory, Hindus have endowed Muslim mosques and Muslims have endowed Hindu temples, is it impossible to expect such fraternisation to-day?

An enlightened priesthood in all the communities is a paramount necessity of the day. Special attention should be paid to the proper training of priests, moulvis, and pandits in view of the fact that half-educated and fanatical priests can easily rouse people's passions into a frenzy.

While sectarian and religious indoctrination in schools is to be condemned, children should be given the best possible moral and spiritual training. For this purpose the various Scriptures and songs and devotional literature of India along with the lives of the great men and women of all communities should be freely used.

Every enlightened Indian will do well to avoid the specious argument, "I am a Hindu, Muslim or Christian first, and afterwards an Indian." In ordinary circumstances the two loyalties—loyalty to one's religion and loyalty to one's country—do not clash. If and when they do clash, the good citizen should prefer the higher loyalty to the lower. When the highest principles of one's religion come into conflict with the claims of one's family, caste, community or nation, one should undoubtedly decide in favour of the former. One should obey God rather than man. But there is no justification for the wide-spread belief that a good Hindu, Musalman or Christian should consider

every public question first from the point of view of his own community and only secondarily from the angle of the nation. It is a shame that in recent months even fresh taxation measures in the legislatures have been examined exclusively from the point of view of the members of one community or another and supported or criticised solely from that point of view.

Communalism and provincialism are two of the greatest stumbling blocks in the path of India's national progress. In whatever constitutional changes that may be made in the near future, special care should be taken not to abandon the degree of centralisation which we enjoy to-day. To substitute confederation for federation, as some suggest, is to undo the good work of the past and to open the flood gates of separatism—sectionalism and communalism. Mere condemnation of communalism and provincialism will not destroy them. We must study and ponder over them in order that we may remove their root causes and substitute for them a healthy nationalism which has for its motto "live and help others to live" as well as a healthy feeling of racial integrity which will enable us to look upon all Indians, irrespective of their physical, linguistic, and religious differences as equally our brothers.

It is fortunate that Indian nationalism, even to-day when the nationalist fever is high, is not the aggressive type of nationalism found in the Western world. It is midway between the European concept of aggressive nationalism and the federal concept of world citizenship. The problem for the future is to reconcile the claims of legitimate nationalism with the demands of internationalism. This task can be undertaken only by those who are absolutely free from communal inhibitions and national and racial prejudices.

THE FAMILY IN CHILD WELFARE

J. M. KUMARAPPA

"The family," says Dr. Kumarappa, "is a basic institution. As such its services are most important to national welfare. In view of its importance, we can ill afford to follow much longer the policy of leaving the family to shift for itself. In other countries, national governments have already done much to protect the family, and through it the child which represents the future. We, in India, must not lag behind in this important task of bringing about our racial regeneration through the conservation of the family."

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THE doctrine of natural rights which provided the philosophical foundation for the French declaration of the Rights of Man, led in the nineteenth century to the recognition of the rights which belong to women. And now society is becoming more and more conscious of the rights of childhood; rightly therefore does Ellen Key describe the present century as a "The Century of the Child." The educational writings of men like Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel, the ethical idealism of Kant, the social principles advocated by the utilitarians, the recent discoveries of sociology and psychology have all contributed much to making the modern social welfare movement more child-minded.

Historically speaking the term child welfare was restricted to social efforts to aid children who were specially afflicted by outstanding handicaps like homelessness, neglect, blindness, deafness, crippled bodies, feeble-mindedness and delinquency. Even today we in India think of child welfare in this restricted sense. The preventive measures adopted by American social workers during the last three decades led them to search for the essentials of welfare upon which children of normal opportunities thrive, and this, in turn, has led them to the adoption of the principle of extending such essentials to all children. As a result, the term child welfare has come gradually to comprehend the welfare of all children, both normal and handicapped. Naturally, therefore, the importance of nurture in the growth and development of the child came to be emphasized.

Further, the discovery in the field of biology, that acquired characteristics are not transmissible, gave a new impetus to efforts to control the environment. And Freud's discovery of the significance of early childhood years in the development of personality brought about a new awareness of the importance of family relationships of the father and the mother, of the parent and the child, and of the siblings to each other—to the normal growth of the child. Under the influence of social economists emphasis shifted so far to the

side of social responsibility that the child welfare movement has now become a movement largely for improving the social conditions under which the child lives.

The environment in which the child lives is the home, and it is here that he gets his first and most important social experiences: it is here that his whole personality is to a large extent shaped during his early years. Tendencies to worry, fears, sullenness, shut-in-personality, temper-tantrums, jealousy, lack of initiative and independence, as well as the more desirable character traits, have as their basis the influences by which the child is surrounded during the years from infancy to school age. And these influences come primarily from the family of which he is a member.

Since the all important responsibilities of supervising his physical and mental growth, directing his moral and emotional development, and guiding the formation of his social habits and attitudes rest upon the parents, the family is looked upon as not only a biological agency but a paramount social influence in the life of the child. Thus the experience of social workers and the contributions of the social sciences, which made the social welfare movement more child-minded, have also resulted in making the child welfare movement more family-minded. In consequence, there has come about a realization that children can often be helped effectively by providing social aid to solve their families' problems. In other words, problems of child welfare have thus come to be regarded as secondary to the more fundamental problems of family welfare.

This broader view of the child welfare movement has led to a classification of its activities into three main groups. The first group consists of all those services rendered to the handicapped children in need of special care and treatment. The second covers all those services intended for children living in their own homes, which are incapable of providing them the necessary advantages without outside help. The third comprises all those activities which are meant mainly for the benefit of parents, to enable them to discharge their parental responsibilities. In this article we shall confine ourselves to this third aspect, that is, family conservation and guidance as a fundamental item in a programme of child welfare.

I

Though the family problems created by modern industrialism are more or less the same here as in the West, yet India differs from the West in that its population is mainly rural and so also its civilization. The progress of urbanization has been very slow in our country, and the percentage of the urban population to the total is only 11. Compared to this, the urban population in

France is 49 per cent, in Canada 53·7 per cent, in the United States 56·2 per cent and in England and Wales 80 per cent. Table Number I shows the distribution of population in rural areas and in groups of towns of various sizes.¹

TABLE I: *Distribution of Population in Rural areas and in groups of Towns of Various Sizes*

Class of Places		1931	
		Places	Population
Total population	...	699,406	352,837,778
Urban areas	...	2,575	38,985,427
Towns having			
1. 1,00,000 and over	...	38	9,674,032
2. 50,000 to 1,00,000	...	65	4,572,113
3. 20,000 to 50,000	...	268	8,091,288
4. 10,000 to 20,000	...	543	7,449,402
5. 5,000 to 10,000	...	987	6,992,832
6. Under 5,000	...	674	2,205,760
Rural areas	...	696,831	313,852,351

The industrialization of Western countries in the nineteenth century resulted in a phenomenal growth of the urban population but in India the urban population has been more or less stationary. The rural families are therefore by far the largest. As regards child population, it may be pointed out that out of every ten persons living in 1931, six were children under 10 years of age, and out of every five persons two were between 10 and 20 years of age. Of all the countries, India has the largest proportion of children under 10 years in spite of the high rate of infant mortality. And of these a very large per cent lives in rural areas.

Among the factors which determine the size of the population, the birth-rate and death-rate are the most predominant in India. In reference to both these factors, our country occupies a position of unenviable pre-eminence among the civilized countries of the world. The annual birth and death figures per thousand are among the highest in the world, being 34·3 and 24·9 respectively. The English birth-rate has been dropping steadily from 35 in 1871 to 14 in 1933, since when it has risen slightly to 15 in 1935. The present Indian rate is the same as the English rate of seventy years ago. And the general death-rate at its lowest is double the English rate. The death-rate in India was 23·6; but this is supposed to be the lowest on record since 1900, and the average rate of the decade 1923-32 was 25·5.

¹ *Census Report* (1931), Vol. I, part I, p. 46.

The Indian birth-rate, however, is to a large extent neutralized by the heavy mortality both of infants and of mothers in child-birth. The proportion of infant deaths to a thousand live births was 164 in 1935, as against the English figure of 57; but high as that figure is, it is lower than earlier rates. Between 1921-30, for instance, the average rate was 180, and in the previous decade it was 211. How unfavourably India compares with some of the other countries of Western Europe is seen in Table Number II.

TABLE II : *Reduction in Infant Mortality Rates, Years 1915-1934*

Country	1915	1920	1925	1930	1934
United States ...	100	86	71·7	64·6	60·1
England & Wales ...	110	80	77	60	58·6
France ...	142	90	89	78·2	77
Germany ...	168	131	105·2	84·6	76·6*
New Zealand ...	50	51	40	34·5	32·1
Norway ...	68	58	50	45·6	47·6*

* This figure is for 1933.

While there has been a slight improvement in the reduction of infant mortality rate in India, the highest rates are found in the towns.

Table Number III shows the rates from 1925 to 1930 for presidency towns.

TABLE III : *Infantile Mortality Rates per 1,000 live-births*

City	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Bombay ...	357	255	316	314	301	298
Calcutta ...	326	372	340	276	259	268
Madras ...	279	282	240	289	259	246
Lucknow ...	260	287	256	301	269	329
Lahore ...	222	241	201	204	214	117
Nagpur ...	258	302	254	299	291	270
Delhi ...	183	238	201	210	259	199

According to the estimate of a Public Health Officer some 22,000 babies are born every day in India, and nearly 30 out of every 100 of these die before they are a year old, whilst at the least 20 per cent do not survive even the first four weeks of birth. This means that out of 22,000 born daily, 6,600 die, whilst no fewer than 138,000 out of the infants born every month of the year do not survive. These figures clearly point out the tragic waste in human life.

The evils of such high mortality do not end with the permanent loss of the equivalent man-power of the country because the causes which bring about the death of some infants weaken and injure others. Thus not only the energy and affection of those engaged in the production of children is wasted, but children who survive are often sickly and under-developed, and grow up to be incompetent citizens.

The factors which bring about the high birth rate are social—the universality of marriage, early cohabitation, and that powerful desire for male offspring which leads to a complete absence of prudential restraint. In spite of the advance of modern knowledge and the efforts of reformers, these factors have lost little of their influence, especially among the masses. The high death rate, on the other hand, of infants is due to child-birth taking place before the mother is physically mature and this, combined with the primitive and insanitary methods of midwifery, seriously affects the health and vitality of the mother and through her of the child. If the child survives the pre-natal and natal chances of congenital debility and the risks of childbirth, it is exposed to the dangers of death in the early months of life from diarrhoea or dysentery. By far the greater number of infantile deaths, observes the Executive Health Officer of Bombay city, are due to infantile debility and malformation, including premature birth. Respiratory diseases come next, then convulsions, diarrhoea and enteritis. These and other causes account for the great number of deaths annually among children below the age of one year, which exceeds a million and a half. It has also been established by medical authorities that barely half the number of children born in this country reach the age of ten, as against a 12 per cent rate of mortality in the same age-period in Britain.

Maternal mortality renders some 2,50,000 homes motherless annually. Though there are no accurate statistics of maternal mortality, indirect evidence is available in the fact that (1) the female death-rate is much higher during the age-period 15 to 30 than it is during the preceding ten years; and (2) the female death rate exceeds the male death-rate only during the age-period 15 to 40. For instance, while the number of male deaths in Central Provinces and Berar in 1938 was 31,254, the number of female deaths was 39,587 in the age-period 15 to 30. On the other hand, in the age-period of 5 to 15, the number of male deaths was 28,359 whereas the number of female deaths was only 24,365; so also while the number of male deaths in the age-period 40 to 60 was 45,940, the number of female deaths was only 36,662.² 15 to 40 is the age-period when women bear children and it is during this period that mortality among women is highest.

² Compiled from the *Annual Report of the Public Health Department* in the Central Provinces and Berar, 1938, Appendix A, pp. 2 and 3.

On the basis of an inquiry made in 1933, Sir John Megaw declared that the maternal mortality for the whole of India was 24·05 per mille, and that in Bengal it was nearly 50 per mille. Because of early marriage cohabitation begins far too early, and causes many premature deaths in childbirth of adolescent girls. Even if the girl wife survives, she is exhausted by the strain of bearing children too early and too often. A Census Superintendent of Baroda rightly remarked that numbers of child-wives "march from the nuptial bed to the funeral pile. Nervous debility, consumption and the uterine diseases create havoc among them." Though the female infant is definitely better equipped by nature for survival, yet in India the advantage she has at birth is somewhat neutralized in infancy by comparative neglect, as female life is undervalued not only by men but by women themselves, and in adolescence by the strain of frequent child birth. Furthermore, women workers are seldom in a position to enjoy the necessary period of rest before and after delivery, and the strain of over-work inevitably impairs their physique.

Maternal mortality deprives a large number of children of the mother's love and protection, and leaves them to shift for themselves when they are too young to do so. For lack of proper care and guidance, many children become under such circumstances dependent and delinquent. Therefore, among deaths from preventable causes, the most disastrous, as far as the child is concerned, is maternal mortality. Though accurate data are not available, it is estimated that about 25 mothers die to every 1,000 children born. In other words, since some 10 million babies were born in the year 1936, about 250,000 mothers, or a quarter of a million of the mothers, lost their lives in giving birth to them. And many more of those who survive child-birth are either weakened or maimed in some way. So the number of deaths in themselves do not indicate the seriousness of the consequences to the family, particularly to the children. To them the mother's death or illness at this critical stage means dependency and neglect. According to the Report of the Public Health Commissioner, there were in 1937 some 99,000 deaths from cholera, a little over 54,000 deaths from small-pox and about 28,000 from plague. But maternal mortality is greater than deaths from any of these. In view of this fact does it not seem strange that our efforts to protect motherhood should be so insignificant compared to the sums spent on the campaign against cholera, small-pox and plague ?

Some of the most important economic and social causes which contribute to infantile and maternal mortality are poverty, ignorance, bad housing, venereal diseases, early marriage and immaturity of mothers, untrained *daïs* or midwives, employment of mothers during pregnancy, neglect of children

owing to the absence from home of mothers who have to work to supplement the family income. While these causes are intricately related, they indicate the specific lines on which our preventive campaign should be directed in order to conserve the family and enable it to function effectively in the interest of the child.

Another important factor in the well-being of the child is the family's health. Unfortunately public health has never been considered by those responsible for formulating policies in India as of major importance to national welfare. While there have been commissions and committees, as Mr. B. Shiva Rao points out, on every subject: political, educational, social and economic, there has been none on health since 1863—the plague commission of 1896 being a solitary exception to the general rule of neglect. The history of public health departments in India goes back for about sixty years. During this period some improvements have been effected in the sanitary conditions of towns, in the control of infectious diseases and the provision of medical facilities. But much more still remains to be done.

Rural areas, however, have been sadly neglected and given a stepmotherly treatment. Naturally, progress in rural sanitation, medical relief and the control of infectious diseases has been extremely slow. The village house is still badly ventilated and over-populated; the village site dirty, crowded with cattle, choked with rank vegetation and poisoned by stagnant pools; and the village tank polluted and used indiscriminately for bathing, cooking and drinking. No wonder therefore if the incidence of sickness and death is very high. The main classes of disease from which the people of India, both urban and rural, suffer are cholera, small-pox, plague, fevers, dysentery, diarrhoea and respiratory diseases. The actual death records from the above diseases for 1936 are shown in Table Number IV.

TABLE IV : *Number of Deaths from the Principal Diseases in British India*

Disease	Deaths	
	1936	1937
Cholera ...	159,720	99,054
Small-pox ...	104,805	54,810
Plague ...	13,021	28,169
Dysentery & Diarrhoea ...	281,666	267,479
Respiratory Diseases ...	493,441	487,319
Fevers ...	3,593,497	3,569,590
Other causes ...	1,729,581	1,695,954
Total...	6,375,731	6,202,375

Among fevers, malaria continues to be the gravest menace to the health of India's families. Colonel Sinton, of the Indian Medical Service, pointed out not long ago that at least one hundred million individuals suffer yearly from malaria in British India alone, and of these only about a tenth receive treatment in hospitals. Major Bently, also of the Indian Medical Service, made a special study of malaria in Bengal. According to his estimate, some eighty thousand villages in the province were stricken with malaria. He reckoned that some 30 million people suffer from the disease in Bengal alone. It has been calculated that deaths from malaria during 1936 amounted to 1,567,084, or about 44 per cent of total recorded 'fever' deaths. Malaria is more common in rural areas than in towns, though it is bad enough in the latter. Malaria causes more sickness and loss of working-power than any other disease in India. The problems presented by it are perhaps the most difficult of the many public health problems demanding solution.

Another enemy of the masses is tuberculosis, and it is rapidly growing into one of the worst scourges of India. Unlike malaria, tuberculosis is far more common in towns than in the country. But the disease is spreading to rural areas owing to the infection being carried by industrial workers on their return to their villages. While it is being successfully brought under control in the West, it is increasing year by year in India in an alarming manner. From a detailed survey made in 1937 in connection with Lady Linlithgow's anti-tuberculosis campaign, the number of cases in India was estimated at approximately five million. The population of India is considered to be highly susceptible to this disease, and among most people, especially in rural areas, it takes a virulent form and runs a rapid course. Every town is known to be very heavily infected and the mortality rate is quite high in the urbanized and industrial areas because of poverty and bad housing. Sir John Megaw observes that tuberculosis is very widespread even in the villages throughout India and that it is specially serious in Bengal, Madras, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa. It is estimated that in Bengal about 100,000 workers die every year of this disease. On the assumption that for every death there are ten cases of the disease, Bengal alone has one million persons infected with tuberculosis.

While most diseases are to a very considerable extent influenced by economic conditions, tuberculosis is pre-eminently a disease of poverty. The death rates are much lower among the well-to-do than among the poor. Studies made of the relation of housing to tuberculosis show a very definite connection between bad housing and tuberculosis. Unsanitary conditions and overcrowding are the outstanding characteristics of our system of housing the working classes in our cities and industrial areas. In Bombay, for instance,

almost a quarter of the total population live at the rate of 6 to 9 persons per room, while one-seventh lives at the rate of 10 persons and over per room. Conditions are not very different in the rest of the industrial towns. Apart from bad housing, improper food, over-work and worry are also factors in changing the latent disease into an active one. Sanitary housing, good food, proper rest and recreation, and freedom from worry are essential for the control of tuberculosis.

Still another menace to the well-being of the family is venereal disease. Though syphilis and gonorrhoea are distressingly common in many parts of India, we have not yet begun to tackle them with the energy which is demanded by the gravity of the problem. In Bombay and Madras some steps have recently been taken to organize modern treatment but what is being done is really insignificant compared to the nature of the problem and the social consequences of the disease. As regards its prevalence; the estimate for all India is 13 million. Though it is common in cities and towns, urban congestion and mobility have made it a real menace to the rural population also.

The evil effects of venereal diseases entail great loss not only to the community but also to the family. In addition to those who contract the disease through sexual immorality, there is a large group of innocent people who become infected; this group consists largely of wives and children of infected husbands and fathers—husbands infect their wives directly and they, in turn, pass on the disease to their children. Syphilis, and particularly gonorrhoea, cause considerable suffering to individuals who get infected with them. But apart from individual sufferings, these diseases are responsible for a large proportion of all cases of sterility in men and women, which must have an adverse effect on the birth-rate. This is still further affected by the very large number of still-births due to syphilis. These still-births contribute in some measure to an increase of infant mortality, and among the unfortunate victims of congenital syphilis who escape early death, are the very large number who, by reason of blindness, deafness or imbecility, impose such a heavy burden on society.

The fact that the disease is transmitted by the mother to the child before birth gives syphilis an unparalleled power to damn an unborn child to a life of untold misery, idiocy or insanity. In this respect, it is quite different from any other sort of disease. Similarly, gonorrhoea is responsible for many chronic diseases and irreparable physical defects. It is not only the common cause of sterility but also of infant blindness. It is estimated that between 50 and 60 per cent of all blind children owe their blindness to maternal gonorrhoea. The wastage and mortality caused by these diseases among the adult population are by no means insignificant. In their physical,

biological, mental and social complications, the effects of both syphilis and gonorrhœa on personal and family welfare are, indeed, very extensive. Apart from the deaths caused by them, there is the great economic loss, resulting from the long periods of disability, chronic invalidism and industrial inefficiency.

In view of the ravages they bring in their train and of the serious effects upon the family, the prevention of both these diseases is worthy of our serious consideration. Since venereal diseases originate from sexual immorality, the most effective method of prevention would be through the reduction of the amount of such immorality, or ideally through its complete elimination. Prostitution must therefore be either suppressed or regulated. If complete suppression is not possible, prostitutes must be segregated and compelled to undergo periodical medical inspection. An important prophylactic measure is compulsory notification of infections to public health authorities. But notification in itself is of little value unless it is supported by a system of compulsory treatment, and perfect secrecy is maintained so as to encourage sufferers to undergo treatment and continue it till cured and rendered non-infective. Legal steps must also be taken to control the marriages of infected persons. Another line of attack is education of the public not only as to the nature and effects of venereal disease but also as to the moral and spiritual considerations involved in the question of sex relations. Education should not confine itself to disease prevention alone but to an adjustment of the relations of the sexes which will make prostitution and illicit sex relations far less a factor in social life than they are at present.

In the interest of children's welfare, another problem which needs to be tackled is that of deaths from preventable causes. It is estimated that the number of deaths in the country every year from preventable diseases alone amount to 5 or 6 million. The number of days lost by each worker for the same reason is estimated at 2 to 3 weeks in a year and the loss of efficiency from preventable malnutrition and disease at not less than 20 per cent. When death occurs in early adult life, young widows and orphans are often left to the none too tender mercies of the world. It is not merely the resultant death which makes disease the most dreaded enemy of the family, but even more the evil effects of sickness on the structure of the family. Frank Bruno describes the latter aspect thus:

The frequent consequences of illness to the structure of the family itself are significant in an understanding of its relation to dependency. If the father is ill, the mother is often forced to find work away from home, children are taken from school and are put to work without the preparation they might have enjoyed in longer schooling, children of school age are forced to take odd-time employments to an extent which interferes with their necessary recreation and rest, or the family becomes partially or completely dependent. If the mother is ill, the home is more likely to be broken up than when the father's health is impaired.....Illness of father or mother may be followed by delinquency of children due,

probably, to lack of the customary oversight as well as to the discomforts and disorganization of a home in which either parent is seriously ill.

Serious illness of either a breadwinner or of the homemaker lowers the family standards of living. This often means moving into a poorer neighbourhood, living in a less desirable house with fewer rooms, less light and open space, disposing of some of the better or more salable articles of furniture, and curtailing recreation, and variety and supply of food. These are circumstances and conditions which entail danger to physical health, and, even more, tend to break the morale of the family and increase overwhelmingly the sense of failure and inferiority characteristic of dependency.³

Sickness disables the individual, reduces his vitality, increases expenses, decreases the family income and disorganizes the family itself. The burden of sickness falls more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich as the former have little or no surplus financial resources to meet the crisis. Unfortunately easy medical relief is not available to the masses. In British India there are about 6,700 hospitals and dispensaries with 69,300 beds, of which 8 per cent are controlled by private organizations, the rest being maintained by provincial governments, local bodies and railways. About 4,300 of these institutions are in rural areas, and each serves on the average some 62,000 persons, many of whom live some 10 or 20 or more miles away from the hospital or dispensary.

In the whole of British India there are only about 146 whole-time officers holding a public health diploma. These figures clearly indicate how woefully inadequate are the medical facilities for the protection and improvement of the health of the teeming millions of India. A few years ago Sir John Megaw issued a questionnaire to the doctors of rural dispensaries, and the results of the survey, embodied in Table Number V on the following page, give some idea of public health conditions in rural India.

Though the figures in Table V cannot be accepted as reliable, they throw some light on the health problems of the rural population.

Preventable diseases and defects are responsible for enormous losses of life and money every year. Pain, bereavement, poverty and other ills are concomitants of these losses. Sickness is not uncommon in the life of every family but it is more frequent and more disastrous among the poor; and its burden falls most heavily upon women and children. It often results in the premature death of a parent, leading to incomplete homes, loss of bi-parental influence in the training of children, juvenile dependency and delinquency. It must be obvious therefore that all measures which lessen the sickness and premature death of parents are important steps in the promotion of child welfare.

Among the causes of preventable diseases are ignorance of health

³ Bruno, Frank J., "Illness and Dependency", *Publication No. 9*, Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, Washington, p. 9.

TABLE V: *Some Public Health Aspects of Life in Rural India.*⁴

	No. of villages surveyed.	Total population dealt with in the survey.	Average number of acres cultivated by each family.	Average number of members of each family.	Percentage of "well nourished."	Percentage of "poorly nourished."	Percentage of "very badly nourished."	Average daily consumption of milk by each adult in ounces.	Average percentage of the people who take alcohol.	Number of cases per mille of population.								Average age at which males begin to cohabit.	Average age of mother at birth of first child.	Average age of child at weaning.	Infant mortality during last year (per 1,000 births).	Maternal mortality (per 1,000 births).		
										Rickets.	Night-blindness.	Syphilis.	(Gonorrhoea.	Leprosy.	Tuberculosis of lungs.	Insanity.	Congenital mental defect.						Blindness.	
Assam	48	22,552	6.9	5.6	53	38	9	2.3	24.3	7.2	3.4	3.1	12.1	1.5	2.7	1.5	1.7	3.5	21	15	17	1.8	250	26.4
United Prov.	88	52,055	9.6	5.4	40	39	21	5.0	3.0	2.5	25.3	7.8	18.0	1.4	1.9	0.7	0.6	12.8	16	14	16	2.0	303	18.0
Central Prov.	82	85,351	16.5	5.0	32	50	18	0.8	8.4	2.6	2.2	10.8	13.5	2.3	0.9	0.4	0.2	2.8	17	13	16	1.6	296	8.2
Madras	95	278,377	6.3	5.0	46	36	18	1.7	20.4	3.0	2.2	30.5	35.0	3.5	6.4	1.2	0.4	1.7	20	14½	16	1.8	198	13.2
Bengal	69	93,921	5.0	5.5	22	47	31	2.0	10.5	21.5	12.8	28.2	38.3	2.8	7.3	1.2	2.2	5.4	19	14	16	1.6	189	49.2
Bihar	37	35,748	5.7	5.8	42	40	18	3.0	22.5	3.2	14.4	8.0	14.1	2.0	4.8	0.6	0.8	4.5	17	14	16	1.9	242	26.6
Punjab	83	108,813	17.3	6.2	42	38	20	10.0	7.7	1.6	3.9	2.6	3.1	0.1	5.1	0.5	0.6	5.1	17	13½	17	2.0	106	18.7
Bombay	69	68,700	13.8	5.2	45	44	11	4.0	8.9	3.4	0.8	6.5	4.9	0.7	1.7	0.5	0.3	2.1	18	14	16	1.9	214	20.1
Average for British India			8.4	5.4	39	41	20	3.5	12.3	6.6	10.4	15.6	21.5	2.1	4.4	0.8	0.9	5.5	18	14	16	1.7	232	24.5

⁴ Blunt E., *Social Service in India* p. 215.

matters, unsanitary housing, inadequate recreational facilities, defective school training, insufficient income, unhygienic working conditions and backwardness in public health work. These causes are largely beyond the control of the individuals affected, but must be eliminated mainly through community action. The proper treatment of public health problems demands a well considered programme. In recommending the provision of adequate medical facilities, the development of welfare schemes, and the construction of working class houses, the Royal Commission on Labour persuasively remarked : "There are few directions offering such great opportunity for profitable investment on the part of the State. The economic loss involved in the birth and rearing of great numbers of children who do not live to make any return to the community, in the sickness and disease which debilitate a large proportion of the workers and in early death, with the consequent reduction of the earning years is incalculable. Even a small step in the prevention of these ills would have an appreciable effect in increasing the wealth of India ; a courageous attack on them might produce a revolution in the standards of life and prosperity."⁵ And this was a decade ago. Things move pretty slowly in India as the Government's policy is what is known as "gradualness" ! The time for inaction, delay and snail's pace is past. To those who assert that India cannot afford to spend more on public health, we would reply, in the words of the Royal Commission, that she can no longer afford to do otherwise.

III

We must not, however, ignore the fact that the state of health of a family does not depend wholly on the control of preventable disease. It depends equally on its state of nutrition and general economic standards. The low standard of physical development of the majority of the population of India is associated with malnutrition. So also lowered resistance to many of the diseases, such as dysentery, tuberculosis, leprosy and pneumonia, is caused by malnutrition. The family's income, therefore, has a very direct bearing upon health. Income conditions nutrition; nutrition is important, not only as a therapeutic agent but also as a means to providing power of resistance to disease. Income influences housing and housing has an important bearing on health. Income determines also the amount and quality of medical service. But the family income of the masses is hopelessly inadequate to provide even a bare subsistence.

In fact, the outstanding feature of Indian economy that is bound to arrest the attention of any observer is the appalling poverty of the masses. Among the causes responsible for the low standard of living, poverty and

⁵ *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, 1931, p. 243.

indebtedness must be given a high place. Indebtedness is common among not only the industrial population but also the agricultural folk. "The majority of industrial workers," reports the Royal Commission, "are in debt for the greater part of their working lives. Many, indeed, are born in debt and it evokes both admiration and regret to find how commonly a son assumes responsibility for his father's debt—an obligation which rests on religious and social but seldom on legal sanctions. It is estimated that, in most industrial centres, the proportion of families or individuals who are in debt is not less than two-thirds of the whole. We believe that, in the majority of cases, the amount of debt exceeds three months' wages and is often in excess of this amount." ^a

If we turn our attention to rural indebtedness, we are struck by the chronic and hopeless indebtedness of the cultivators.

Table Number VI on the following page shows the extent of agricultural indebtedness in the various provinces.

The burden of debt is aggravated beyond all proportion by the rate of interest which has to be paid. The various enquiries made into this matter reveal that the commonest interest rate is 75 per cent per annum without allowing for the effect of compound interest. In some cases the interest was found to vary from 150 to 325 per cent annually. The seriousness of this problem lies in the fact that the greater part of this debt is unproductive. In view of this terrible plight of the agricultural population, the various Provincial Governments became exceptionally active during the decade following the Depression of 1929 in adopting legislative measures for improving the condition of our indebted peasantry, and various forms of debt relief legislation were enacted, but we need a comprehensive programme to tackle the problems of the cultivator from different angles.

The causes of indebtedness are indeed many, but the most important among them are the smallness and fragmentation of the holdings, the loss of livestock through famine and epidemic, the insecurity of the crops, the destruction of cottage or subsidiary industries, unemployment and extravagant expenditure demanded by caste customs or social and religious ceremonies. However, as matters stand, indebtedness takes a high place among the causes responsible for the low standard of living of the working population of India. The high death-rate is in the last resort due to general poverty which makes the people peculiarly non-resistant to diseases like malaria, tuberculosis and influenza.

The low vitality of our people explains the fact that the expectation of life at most ages is lower than in the countries of the West, as may be seen from Table Number VII on the following page,

^a *Ibid.*, p. 224.

TABLE VI : *Estimates of Agricultural Indebtedness by the Provincial Inquiry Committees, 1928-29*¹

Provinces	Extent of Debt
Bombay including Sind ...	Rs. 81,00,00,000
Madras ...	Rs. 150,00,00,000
Bengal ...	Rs. 100,00,00,000
United Provinces ...	Rs. 124,00,00,000
Punjab ...	Rs. 135,00,00,000
Central Provinces & Berar...	Rs. 36,50,00,000
Bihar and Orissa ...	Rs. 155,00,00,000
Assam ...	Rs. 22,00,00,000
Central Areas ...	Rs. 18,00,00,000
Coorg ...	Between Rs. 35 and 55 crores

TABLE VII : *Statistics Relating to "Expectation of Life"*

Countries	At birth	10	20	30	60	80
M A L E S						
India ...	22'59	33'36	27'46	22'45	10'00	3'06
Germany ...	47'41	52'01	43'43	35'29	13'18	4'41
Denmark ...	54'90	55'10	46'30	38'00	15'20	5'10
England & Wales ...	51'50	53'08	44'21	35'81	13'78	4'96
France ...	45'74	49'75	41'53	34'35	13'81	4'87
F E M A L E S						
India ...	23'31	33'74	27'96	22'99	10'11	3'06
Germany ...	50'68	53'99	45'35	37'30	14'17	4'52
Denmark ...	57'90	56'70	48'00	40'10	16'50	5'50
England & Wales ...	55'35	55'91	47'10	38'54	15'48	5'49
France ...	49'13	52'03	44'02	36'93	15'08	5'38

¹ The Federation Research Department, *Publication No. 2*, "Provincial Debt Legislation in relation to Rural Credit," by N. G. Abhyankar, Appendix III, p. 101.² Brij Narain, *Population of India*, p. 34

The average expectation of life of the new-born infant in India is less than half as many years as that of the English infant. So also the average expectation of life of the Indian male and female are less than half of those of the English male and female, being 26'9 and 26'6 as against 55'6 and 59'6 respectively. According to Mr. P. K. Wattal's calculation, the Englishman has added 11½ years to his life in 30 years, that is between 1891 and 1921, whereas the Indian has in a longer period of 40 years succeeded in putting on only one year. The expectation of life in the West has been showing a decided improvement owing to 'better standards of life and a greater control of the preventable causes of death, but in India little improvement can be noted. The shortness of the average expectation of life in the case of the adult implies greater child dependency and neglect.

To increase the expectation of life, physical development and vigour of the great majority of our people, proper food is necessary. But at the root of our food problem is poverty of a kind unknown in the West. In 1930, the Commission headed by Sir John Simon declared that what struck them with peculiar force in India was the extreme poverty of the people, the average income per head of the population being estimated at £ 8 per year as against £ 100 in Britain. A year or two later, the Banking Enquiry Committee took the view, on the basis of its investigations, that the income of the agricultural population per head could not be more than Rs. 42, or just over £ 3 a year. Is it any wonder then that a large part of the population in India really lives on a single meal a day, and that the diets of the masses are grossly deficient in proteins and vitamins ?

An investigation conducted into the budgets of eight hundred working class families revealed that only two per cent contained any reference to milk or its by-products. Not only to adults but even more to children is milk an important part of diet. Dr. Aykroyd, Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratory, conducted an interesting experiment on a group of boys of eleven to fifteen years of age living in a mission boarding house in Madras. Half of the boys were given 8 ounces of dried skim milk in addition to their usual diet, while the other half had their usual food. After fourteen weeks, it was found that the average gain in weight of the boys who had taken milk was considerably more than of the others. Also, in that short time, the boys who had milk showed an average increase in height of one-third of an inch more than those who had no milk. This experiment shows clearly that the ordinary diet of these boys had been insufficient to provide for proper physical development and also that milk, even when skimmed, is a valuable addition to the diet of children. But unfortunately an adequate diet has been and is far beyond the means of the masses.

Rightly therefore does the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India point out in his Report for 1935 that the conclusion was irresistible that a considerable proportion of the population revealed malnutritional conditions due for the most part to qualitative defects in the ordinary diet of the people. Further he adds: "No preventive campaign against malaria, tuberculosis or against leprosy, no maternity relief or child welfare activities are likely to achieve any great success unless those responsible recognize the vital importance of this factor of defective nutrition and from the very start give it their most serious attention." The first essentials for the prevention of disease are a higher standard of health, a better physique and a greater power of resistance to infection. These can only be attained if the food of the people is such as will give all the physiological and nutritional requirements of the human frame."

But these conditions can be attained only by increasing the income of the family. Since the majority of Indian families live at the poverty and minimum subsistence level, one way of improving their health would be to ensure them an income considerably above the subsistence level. But unfortunately the poor, because of their helplessness, are exploited by the upper classes. The income of the family is of fundamental importance to all of its members. "The most effective way," points out Paul Douglas, "in which society can protect children is in providing their parents with sufficient income so that they can be brought up properly. It is folly to expect wage earners with unduly low income to feed, clothe and rear their children in any adequate fashion. Give a family of average intelligence sufficient money and it will not only be able to take care of its children but it will gradually learn to do so....It is the most cruel form of unconscious hypocrisy for business men to pay insufficient wages to those of their employees who are fathers of families and then by contributing to child welfare agencies to feel that they have done their duty. The child-caring agencies, for all their efforts, cannot remove more than a small fraction of the injury which the children suffer from the poverty in their homes. The most pressing obligation is for industry to put its system of wage payment upon an adequate basis and, until this is done, social reform will swim against the tide." "

The industry which underpays its workers has no right to exist; it is a parasite as it makes the wife and children work to supplement the income of the family, or makes society bear the burden of the physical and moral deterioration of the underpaid. At present the skilled worker is paid all the

⁹ Douglas, Paul H., in Bossard, James H. S., and Murphy, J. Prentice (eds.), "New Values in Child Welfare," *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia 1925, p. 16.

way from Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 2-8-0 daily in cities; Rs. 1-0-0 to Rs. 2-4-0 in towns; and As. 14 to Rs. 2-0-0 in the mofussil. The semi-skilled worker is paid As. 12 in cities, As. 10 in towns and As. 6 in mofussil. Unskilled men workers are paid As. 12 in cities, As. 8 in towns and As. 5 in mofussil, whereas unskilled women workers receive As. 8 in cities, As. 6 in towns and As. 4 in mofussil. The investigations made into the family budgets of working classes only disclose their general poverty. It is clear that we cannot long delay the matter of providing some financial relief to the working class families. The question of instituting a statutory minimum wage has received some attention, but it is maintained that while a minimum wage is desirable, it is not immediately practicable. Standardization of wages, weekly payments, the wide extension of the co-operative movement, and legislation to improve the working conditions—all these will go a long way in improving the economic position of the workers' families.

In this connection, we cannot ignore accidents and their role in physical well-being. The number of persons killed each year, the much larger number disabled permanently or temporarily, and the tremendous costs involved combine to make this problem one of outstanding importance in family welfare. With the rise of industrialism in India, accidents have also increased, though some attempts are being made to prevent accidents in industries through the safety movement. Nevertheless accidents in Indian industries are not insignificant as may be seen from Table Number VIII.

TABLE VIII : *Industrial Accidents in British India, 1925-1936*¹⁰

Year	Cases			
	Death	Permanent disablement	Temporary disablement	Total number
1925	590	633	10,148	11,371
1926	664	836	12,596	14,096
1927	783	978	13,455	15,216
1928	828	1,113	14,827	16,768
1929	888	1,345	16,632	18,865
1930	871	1,424	21,279	23,574
1931	699	1,271	15,519	17,489
1932	601	1,108	12,552	14,261
1933	526	1,037	12,996	14,559
1934	598	1,287	15,005	16,890
1935	696	1,279	21,024	22,999
1936	1,038	1,540	25,932	28,510

¹⁰ Compiled from *Workmen's Compensation Statistics*.

In the absence of adequate relief, the result in many cases is poverty and the long train of evils which arise from it. When a skilled craftsman is killed or permanently injured, the family tries to reduce expenses by lowering its standard of living, or the wife and children work to support the family, and the boys sink to the rank of the unskilled. If a similar calamity befalls a common labourer, the widow and her children eke out a living in the sweated trades. If their earnings are too meagre to support the family, their hopeless struggle too often ends in pauperism, and they join the army of street beggars. In most cases the victims of accidents are wage-earning males. This means that the loss of productive power is greater, the number of dependents larger, and that the social consequences ultimately are more serious. Accidents, therefore, are a prolific cause of orphanage and incomplete homes. The social costs of accidents fall with blighting force upon the family of the victim. Therefore accident prevention and workmen's compensation are important items in the conservation of the family.

Similarly, unemployment increases poverty. Its effects are devastating upon the family and they fall most heavily upon children. Industrial unemployment is an aspect of modern industry and the wage system. Since the post-war depression, the problem of unemployment has grown to huge proportions. It indicates such grave and fundamental defects in modern industrialisation as seriously to raise the question in thoughtful minds whether so inefficient an economic system, based on production for individual profit, can survive this period of economic chaos and human misery for which it is to a large extent responsible.

Bad as industrial unemployment is in India, it is not as bad as agricultural unemployment. Since our population is mainly agricultural, the problem of unemployment presents aspects which, while equally difficult to tackle, are somewhat different from those found in the countries of the West. In rural areas there is seasonal unemployment in agriculture for five to nine months in the year during the slack season. "But a more serious aspect of the unemployment problem presents itself in connection with the periodical occurrence of scarcity or famine due to the partial or total failure of the monsoon, leading to a partial or complete stoppage of agricultural operations over wide areas, and disengaging a vast quantity of agricultural labour and of labour employed in industries subsidiary to agriculture. This is by far the most serious form of unemployment to which India is liable." One reason why industrial unemployment does not appear quite so distressing in our cities is that workers during periods of unemployment generally return to their villages. Thus, while the distress is not relieved, it is transferred to the rural areas. And the hardship falls most heavily on the rural population. This situation makes it

imperative to work out some scheme of relief to families during periods of unemployment.

IV

No doubt, every family, whether rich or poor, is obliged to face not only unemployment but the other major hazards of life which are sickness, accident, old age and death of the breadwinner. Each of these involves an economic and social loss. Upper class families are in a position to protect themselves against these contingencies. Families with only moderate income cannot save enough, during these days of high cost of living, to ensure their permanent security. The position of wage-earning families is much worse. They live in chronic fear of exhaustion of their meagre resources from sickness, accident or unemployment, and of spending their declining years in the *dharamshala* or the almshouse. We have already referred to the evil effects of these upon the family, and the social and economic loss to society.

In view of the importance of the family to child and national welfare the progressive countries of the West have adopted several devices to eliminate poverty. One among these is social insurance. While social insurance in no way claims to put an end to the operation of the fundamental causes of poverty, it does reduce the economic insufficiency of the individual by maintaining him or his family at a subsistence level during periods of crisis. Insurance against death, old age, unemployment, sickness, maternal mortality, accidents and invalidism have become increasingly popular since the first World War, in both Europe and America.

In India the first form of social insurance introduced was Workmen's Compensation. This Act was passed in 1923. In the light of the experience gained, it was amended in 1933 and brought into full force in 1934. According to its provisions, the rate of compensation in the event of the death of an adult varies from a minimum of Rs. 500 to a maximum of Rs. 4,000; in the case of a minor, it is Rs. 200. For permanent total disablement of an adult, the rates range between Rs. 700 and Rs. 5,600; in the case of a minor, the sum payable is Rs. 1,200. For permanent partial disablement, compensation is calculated on a percentage basis of the amounts payable for total disablement. For temporary disablement, an adult after a waiting period of seven days, receives compensation varying from a full wage in the lowest class to a maximum of Rs. 30 (half-monthly), while a minor receives half his monthly wages subject to a maximum of Rs. 30. In 1936 the total number of accidents coming under the scope of this Act was 28,510, and the total amount of compensation paid was Rs. 1,464,180.

Though the Workmen's Compensation Act covers about 6 million

workers, it applies only to large factories and occupations which are hazardous. Workers in other establishments are not protected. Since the effects of an accident upon a worker or his dependants bear little relation to the nature of the establishment in which he works, it is necessary to extend the scope of the Act. Moreover, workers who are unorganized have not the vaguest notion, even if they have heard of the Compensation Act, of the procedure to be followed. Further, there is also the fear that the assertion of a legal right, while it may secure for them a few months' wages, may mean dismissal from employment. Much therefore still remains to be done to secure for the worker his human rights and provide relief for his family. It is necessary also to adopt a more constructive policy in dealing with those who are crippled through accidents. Provision must be made for their vocational re-education in order to restore or increase their earning capacities as is done at present in the United States.

To prevent maternal and infant mortality and to give protection to motherhood, several countries have introduced maternity insurance. But in India the need for such protection is much greater because of the universality of marriage, low wages, extreme poverty and the high rate of maternal mortality. Unfortunately even now there is no all-India legislation to give protection to working women in childbirth. This matter is still considered as a provincial subject. However, we have to be thankful that some of the provincial governments have passed legislation providing for maternity benefits. The first provincial legislative measure was the Bombay Maternity Act of 1929 and this was followed by the passing of a similar Act in the Central Provinces in 1930. In 1932 the Act was introduced in Ajmer-Merwara. The Bombay Act was amended in 1934 and a similar Act was passed in the Madras Presidency in 1934. The Maternity Act was brought into force in the Province of Delhi in 1937.

In view of the pressing need and the appalling suffering and poverty of our working women, it is heart-rending to think that only five provinces in the whole of British India have Maternity Benefit Acts, in force. We have, however, to be thankful that at least this much has been done in the way of a beginning. Under the provisions of these Acts, all women workers employed in factories are entitled to three to four weeks leave before, and four weeks after, childbirth, and employers are required to pay them a benefit amounting to about half their usual pay—that is about 7 or 8 annas per day, during this period. This cost is to be borne entirely by the employer. The woman who claims benefit must have been in the service of the employer for at least nine months and she must not accept any other employment during her absence from work.

In spite of these measures, a large number of women do not enjoy

their benefits because of their ignorance and economic helplessness, and because of the unscrupulousness of some employers. We need therefore a vigilant public opinion to compel the provincial governments to enforce proper observance of these measures. Though they are limited in their scope, the statistics of maternity benefit throw some light on the question of maternal mortality among women workers in the textile industry. In 1932-33, for instance, only 41 of the 5,790 benefits were paid to persons other than the persons concerned. In the light of the experience gained, we may say that the time is now ripe for the introduction of legislation throughout India making a maternity benefit scheme compulsory in respect of women permanently employed in industries and other establishments.

It is encouraging to note that some organizations and industries have set up maternity benefits voluntarily. The Bombay Municipality, for example, started a maternity benefit scheme for its *halalkhore* and scavenging women in 1928. By this scheme the classes benefited are given leave on full pay for a period not exceeding 42 consecutive days. In Assam voluntary maternity benefit schemes have been adopted by almost every tea estate of repute. Planters in Madras decided early in 1939 to pay a bonus and bear charges in connection with the free feeding of the mother for periods of three weeks each before entry into and after leaving hospital. So also many of the jute mills have adopted a maternity benefit scheme.

The double purpose of Maternity Benefit is to provide the extra money needed for medical care at the time of childbirth and to continue the mother's income during the period of her enforced withdrawal from work. Since the general standard of living of the working class family is so low, the rates of maternal and infant mortality so high, the poverty of the people so great and the medical facilities so inadequate, there can be little doubt that some form of maternity benefit would be of great value to the health of the woman worker and her child at a most critical period in the lives of both. Now that the principle of maternity benefit has been accepted, every effort must be made to extend it throughout India by legislation, and to encourage other employers who do not come under the law to adopt it voluntarily to meet both the needs of the working women and the social purposes of protecting the life and health of both mother and child. If the extension of the system is accompanied by adequate public health service, it will, no doubt, contribute much towards the reduction of infant and maternal mortality and the promotion of the health and welfare of the family.

As regards private efforts to promote the well-being of mothers and children, it may be mentioned that there is an increasing interest in the Maternity and Child Welfare Movement. Though it is now in its infancy, it

is a move in the right direction. The Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau of the Red Cross Society, which is an unofficial organization, works in co-operation with the Public Health Departments of the provinces. Its objects are to arouse interest in the subject, to employ female health visitors, nurses, midwives, and trained *dais*, and to arrange for the training of women to carry out these duties. It maintains seven schools for training female health visitors. About sixty or seventy pass out of these schools every year. There are at present about 800 maternity and infant-welfare centres in India, but many of them, as Sir John Megaw points out, are hardly worthy of the name. We need a net-work of well organized pre-natal and post-natal clinics in rural and urban areas to meet our urgent need.

By means of pre-natal clinics it is possible not only to prevent miscarriages, still-births and deaths of infants in the very early periods of their existence and reduce the deaths of unborn infants, but to improve and preserve the health of the mothers and save them from prolonged and exhausting labour. So also post-natal clinics can be of very real service to mothers and babies. The post-natal period is important because the health of both the mother and her baby depends upon the care and attention bestowed during this period. Ordinarily the plan of these two types of clinics includes examination of the expectant mother at certain intervals, giving her advice on matters of diet, work and recreation, and specific instruction as to how to prepare for the coming of the infant. Examinations are made to determine and forestall, if possible, the onset of any pathological condition. After childbirth, when the mother is able, she takes the child to the clinic for weighing and examination, and to take advice regarding its feeding and general care. The periodical weighing of infants at the clinic gives the best indication of their physical progress, and stimulates the mothers to take greater interest in the welfare of their offspring. As most of the ailments of infants are due to improper feeding, the mothers are instructed in the proper methods of nursing them. If the mother is unable to nurse her baby for some reason or other, she is advised on the best methods of artificial feeding.

In the West, the child welfare movement has advanced by leaps and bounds and there seems to be no limit to its expansion. In India, on the other hand, while some beginning has been made, we have not yet touched the fringe of the problem. Private efforts in this direction are at present very insignificant compared to the magnitude of the situation. To reduce infant and maternal mortality and promote the health of the mother and the infant, we need a great many pre-natal and child health centres in urban and rural areas; simple literature on pre-natal and infant care must be produced and circulated widely; conferences on maternity and child welfare must be held

throughout the country; mothers must be given instruction in hygiene and nutrition. Efficient work on these lines cannot be undertaken wholly by private agencies without adequate financial aid from the State. Much can be done if Government provides the necessary leadership by passing legislation for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy and gives grants-in-aid to private agencies which carry on outstanding schemes successfully under its supervision.

Turning now to the question of sickness insurance, we find that this matter was brought to the notice of the Government of India in 1928 by the recommendations of the International Labour Conference. In its reply to the Conference, the Government stated that it was not feasible just then to introduce sickness insurance owing to the migratory character of labour, the worker's habit of returning to his village at times of illness, the lack of sufficient number of medical practitioners and the opposition of workers to compulsory deductions from their pay. Since the incidence of sickness among the working classes is very high, and the worker during periods of illness finds himself destitute of resources, the Royal Commission suggested that all methods that may lead to the alleviation of the existing hardships should be explored. The tentative scheme formulated by the Commission separated the responsibility for the medical and financial benefits. The former, maintained the Commission, could be undertaken by Government on a non-contributory basis, the latter through the employers on the basis of contributions by themselves and by the workers.¹¹

And this was some ten years ago. Although illness is the hazard which strikes most mercilessly every working class family, it is not yet covered by social insurance. The medical facilities, as we have already noticed, are hopelessly inadequate, and the wages paid make it impossible for most workers to get through periods of crisis without borrowing, or making their wives and children work. The need for sickness insurance in our country is apparent. The difficulties of putting through such a scheme are no doubt formidable, but they do not absolve the Government of its responsibility of providing the worker relief during periods of protracted illness. Similarly, the Government of India were unable to recommend ratification of the 1933 Convention relating to old age, invalidity and survivors' insurance, in consequence of the administrative and financial difficulties involved in applying such conventions in a country where the number of beneficiaries would amount to 40 millions of old and incapacitated people, widows and orphans.¹²

¹¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 268.

¹² *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 23 November 1933, pp. 2083-2103; *Council of State Debates*, 14 December 1933, pp. 465-469.

In view of this unfavourable attitude, it is worthwhile to see what national Governments in other parts of the world are doing to meet the family's distressing economic situation. In addition to social insurance of various kinds some countries have worked out other systems of social aid to promote the welfare of the working class families. In some Canadian provinces, in America, Great Britain and New Zealand, Mothers' Pensions are granted to widowed mothers with dependant children. Although Australia has no such system, it has a law which provides a grant of £5 to be paid to all mothers, married or unmarried, who are residents of the country and who give birth to a living child. Then there is the system of Family Allowances which is in practice in several of the European countries. Allowances are paid for the support of children until they are 14 years old, or until 16 if they continue their education. In New South Wales where a basic wage system—that is, a wage sufficient to maintain a family of husband, wife and one child—has been set up, allowances or endowments are paid for every child after the first one. In New Zealand, likewise, an Act passed in 1926, provides for payments to workers' families of two shillings weekly for each child under fifteen after the first child. Payments are restricted to families whose income does not exceed £4 per week, and are paid from the State treasury, and not from an employers' contributory fund.

The system of family allowances has an advantage over the minimum wage scheme. The latter provides the same wage for all workers. While the wage of the unmarried worker may be enough or more than enough to meet his needs, the scheme does not take into consideration the additional expenses of the worker with a family. The family allowance is a method of protecting the family in a fashion impossible under any system of uniform minimum wages. Some may object to the introduction of this system in India on the ground that it would increase the already high birth rate. To this it may be pointed out that poverty has not been known to bring about family limitation among the working classes in our country. Along with this, it is necessary therefore to carry on a discreet propaganda in favour of birth-control, particularly among the working classes. They must be made to realize the possibility of improving their lot in life by restricting the output of children, and must be taught the safe methods of family limitation. The reduction of birth rate is necessary whether we adopt the system of family wages or not.

The different forms of social insurance and financial assistance to the working class family reveal the growing concern of governments for its welfare and their recognition of the fact that, under the present economic system, it is called upon to endure real hardships which undermine the health, security and happiness of its members. In our country the condition of the working

class family is much worse than in the West. The family is a basic institution. It serves not only as the nursery but also as the school of every new generation. As such its services are most important to national welfare. In view of its importance, we can ill afford to follow much longer the policy of leaving the family to shift for itself. In other countries, national governments have already done much to protect the family, and through it the child which represents the future. We in India must not lag behind in this important task of bringing about our racial regeneration through the conservation of the family. Our leaders must be awakened to the crucial need of social assistance by the working class family, and Government must not be allowed to shirk its responsibility by merely stressing the difficulties involved.

SOME RECENT APPROACHES TO SPEECH PATHOLOGY AND SPEECH REHABILITATION

KATAYUN E. CAMA

The Child Guidance Movement is vitally interested in all deviations from normal which influence child behaviour. The subject of speech pathology has as yet received very little attention in India. In this article, Dr. Miss Cama, who is Psychologist in the Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata School, endeavours to outline some of the more recent approaches to this important subject.

IN view of the great diversity and ever-widening scope of linguistic study and the increasing conviction of modern scholars as to the oneness of all fields of knowledge, it is surprising to note the lack of unanimity among different schools of speech correctionists. It will not, therefore, be wasting our labour to attempt to bring together in this article some of the leading theories and therapies scattered throughout the literature of several scientific groups, with a view to correlating these shifts in emphasis so as to form a body of significant data which may aid us in our efforts to understand the nature and cause of speech deviations and assist us in their diagnosis and treatment.

In recent years many new ideas have invaded the field of speech correction, but right at the outset, it will be well for us to realise that in spite of all the advances in the biological, psychological, physical and social sciences during the past quarter century, the magnitude of our ignorance concerning the more complex aspects of human behaviour, the higher intellectual processes and, in particular, those processes commonly known as "the speech function" remains colossal.

Bearing in mind, then, the woeful deficiency of our knowledge in these respects and the lack of agreement among speech authorities, let us examine some, if not all, of the theories advanced by speech pathologists and speech therapists.

BIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The theory developed in the speech clinic of the Institute of Human Adjustment in the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies and in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Michigan by Professors Clarence L. Meader and John H. Muyskens is based on two theses. The first thesis is: "The conditions of origin and growth determine the character of all developing organisms." The second thesis is: "All structures arise from previously existing structures and all processes as *modifications* of previously existing functions." For several years these two scholars have been investi-

gating the dynamic processes of language from the biological angle with reference to the evolutionary development of specificity of structure and function. They maintain that all language (including in the term both form and meaning) is an integrated series of life-serving processes, the characteristics and phenomena of which are determined by the integration of the forces of the body with each other and with the forces of the environment. Viewed from this standpoint language, or more especially speech, becomes a highly specific emergence from, and conditioning of, certain vegetative processes of the organism. Dr. Hide Shôhara has, under the direction of Dr. Meader, worked out this biological view of the genesis of articulatory movements, establishing the thesis that the speech movements of the oral and pharyngeal structures are modifications of the movements of sucking, swallowing and chewing. It is a well known fact that all parts of the organism develop in a systematic fashion: for example, the vegetative nervous system (for nutrition and reproduction) develops before the central nervous system; the back of the tongue before the lungs and larynx; the larynx before the tip of the tongue; the tip of the tongue before the palate; the palate before the teeth. Thus each develops in conformity with a definite time-space frame. It should also be noted that the organs earlier developed usually remain in a relatively lower stage of complexity, while the organs later developed attain a higher degree of specificity. The organs nearer the periphery, however, show a higher degree of development than those located deeper, because they are subjected to the modifying influence of the outside world. Each organ, once developed, exerts an influence on those which develop later, and each organ acquires in the course of its existence an increasing stability and power of resistance to harmful influences. Consequently, the youngest or latest developments offer the least resistance and hence in cases of malnutrition or progressive chronic diseases, the latest and most highly specific organs are the first to show deteriorations and are the first to succumb.

All these facts of normal development are utilized by the biolinguists in the handling of speech defects. What they have done in Michigan is to take advantage of these biological facts and base a system of diagnosis and treatment on the facts of inheritance and of normal development during both the pre-natal and post-natal periods, and on deviations from them.

Regarding speech, then, as emergent specificity and life-serving process how can we apply these data to the problem of speech improvement?

From the biological standpoint it is obvious that no system of diagnosis or treatment can be reliable that does not take into account this developmental series, for, according to this view, it is absolutely essential to determine the point in the development of the speech organs at which the trouble began.

At any time during the seven or eight years in which speech is developing, conditions may intervene through malnutrition, violent injuries, disease or other factors, which may cause a deviation from the normal development. It is important to fix the exact point of this deviation, since each developed organ exercises an influence, as soon as developed, upon the organs and processes that develop later, so that an organ that develops early may, if abnormally developed, have a distorting influence upon organs of later development, thus introducing a long chain of irregularities.

For purposes of diagnosis and therapy, then, this entire series of developing structures and processes is of considerable importance in determining the history of a particular interference. According to Dr. Muyskens, preparturitional unfolding results in the rhythm-melodic frame of language. Preparturitional disturbances thus prevent or interfere with the whole system of specificity. The next nine months add integration of sucking and swallowing and the sorting out of movements of valving in the larynx, which form the basis of accent, vowels and some of the consonants. The incidence of common respiratory ailments interferes with the development of the specificity of these elements of speech. The next two years are marked by the fixing of the relation between the sensory (particularly the auditory) process and the muscular movements. Finally, with the eruption of teeth comes the difficult and delicate differentiation between the fricative consonants.

The earlier the incidence of the disturbance in the developmental series, the more extensive is the contamination, and speech rehabilitation must in all cases begin with the earliest of the disturbed processes and structures and proceed to the later ones only after as much improvement as possible is attained on the lower level.

Since we all know that serious speech deviations arise from inherited abnormalities, birth injuries, later accidents and from diseases that afflict childhood or from malnutrition due to poverty, ignorance of dietetics, or imperfections in the alimentary system, our first duty is always to insist on a thorough medical examination by a competent physician. However, so comprehensive is the subject matter of linguistic science, that the biolinguist is required to regard pathologic conditions of speech not alone through the glasses of the speech clinician or the physician but also through those of the neurosurgeon, psychiatrist, physiologist, psychologist, sociologist and phonetician, as we shall soon see.

In cases of aphasia where a surgical type of lesion is the responsible agent (tumor, abscess, traumatic hemorrhage, cyst, cicatrix, etc.), the surgeon's aid is indispensable and efforts to restore the speech of the patient without operative intervention are likely to yield little or no improvement. Or

when a child with a speech defect appears with either a low red blood corpuscle count or a low hemoglobin percentage or a high white corpuscle count (polymorphonuclears and probably eosinophile) we know at once that the child's metabolic processes and nutrition are bad, and our first duty then is to have the patient examined thoroughly by a physician. The dentist also is of great importance, not only because malocclusion and defective teeth interfere with necessary mastication, but also because of the inadequate respiration due to obstructed nasal passages, to say nothing of the direct interference with the speech movements.

A student of the University of Michigan, Dr. Mary Helen Meader, made a study of the physiological determinants of cases of fractional speech in the Wayne County Training School (to which mentally retarded children of school age are sent through Probate Court order for one or more years) and found that out of 171 children under 13½ years of age in the institution, 34 per cent were reported as having defective speech. Some of the more interesting findings are as follows:

(a) A study of 125 reasonably complete developmental histories of speech defectives revealed only a few cases free from serious illness and developmental anomalies.

(b) Average pulse pressure was high.

(c) Fifty per cent had some deviation from normal in thyroid, pituitary or gonadal development or function. Sixteen per cent of these were diagnosed as definite endocrine pathologies.

(d) Chorea and epilepsy were also of frequent occurrence.

(e) Over one-third of these children were diagnosed as having hypertrophied turbinates. There appears to be a very high correlation between hypertrophied turbinates and deviations from the norm in blood and pulse pressure.

These facts are suggestive of a high degree of correlation between physiological conditions and the mental and physical (neuromuscular-glandular) processes of speech. The biolinguists, therefore, feel that the biological attack on language has definite advantages in that it deals with specific biological data which can be exactly measured and depended upon as accurate. Through this approach it may be possible to devise and apply the treatment without ultimate bad results. More important, it is possible to adjust more accurately the form of treatment to the conditions treated, and the knowledge thus acquired is valuable, not merely for the elaboration of methods of speech improvement, but also for explaining the phenomena of sound changes in language, development of meanings and the social problems of language which are bound up with personality.

PSYCHO-ANALYTIC APPROACH

Those who adopt the psycho-analytic theory follow the Freudian or Adlerian schools of psychology and assume that the fundamental problem in stuttering is a difficulty arising from some marked anxiety due to unconscious emotional complexes. According to the psycho-analysts the cause of stuttering may be traced to repressed infantile sexuality, in which case stuttering is regarded not as speech defect but as a fixation of infantile oral eroticism, or to the fact that the stutterer is compensating for his feeling of inferiority by demanding attention through inflicting self-punishment, to gratify his desire for superiority.

In the very common World War syndrome known as "shell-shock," physical signs and symptoms of almost every conceivable type were observed among the troops with great frequency. Some developed paralysis of an arm or leg; others epileptiform convulsions; still others blindness and speech disturbances, including word-deafness, aphasia, aphonia and mutism. It was soon discovered that this condition constituted a form of hysteria and the subsequent enquiries into the etiological factors underlying shell-shock led to the conviction that it arose from a "conflict" between the social and biological drives of the patient. The hazards of the battlefield are such as to make the normal individual flee, but the social drives built into the individual by the social group demand that he remain in the fight. If he deserts, his problem is solved; if he remains with troops it is also solved; but if no definite or immediate course of action is taken, inner psycho-biological tensions arise and these tensions within his personality determine the selection of a behaviour pattern which promises to resolve the conflict, namely, a physical disability. However undesirable the physical disturbance in itself, it served well the personality as a whole in effecting the *honourable* removal of the individual from the battlefield. It was the best way out for the soldier, and he took it.

Thus the inner conflicting needs or personality conflicts may produce in the individual the appearance of speech disturbances, which may simulate any of the organic manifestations or which may constitute disturbances such as stuttering, stammering, etc., that have not been proved to rest upon any disease of the speech mechanisms.

This ready simulation of organic disease makes it imperative for us to consider the possibility of the existence of psychogenetic factors in certain cases of speech disturbance that are referred to us for rehabilitation. Nor must we overlook the fact that functional and organic disease may coincide.

From a practical diagnostic and therapeutic standpoint few speech correctionists are qualified to use the psycho-analytical methods and many who are willing to spend even months in using such techniques as mental

catharsis or free association in reviving early emotional attitudes only succeed in getting the patient more confused and tied up than ever before. It is advisable, then, to refrain from the psycho-analytic therapy until we know more about the higher intellectual and emotional processes.

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Closely related to the psycho-analytical approach and almost overlapping it, but much wider in scope is the psychological approach. Indeed, most speech correctionists seem to fall back on it in one form or another. Dr. Smiley Blanton of the Cornell Medical College, presupposes a study of the development of the nervous system as necessary for an understanding of the physical symptoms of stuttering, but believes that the cause lies in the emotional conscious and unconscious mind of the stuttrer. He believes that the fear states of the stuttrer prevent the cortex from exerting control over the organs used in speech and that, therefore, stuttering is primarily an emotional difficulty, the physical symptoms of which can be explained neurologically. He claims that the defect is not in the organs of speech but in the emotional difficulty in the unconscious. The conscience of the individual begins its growth in early childhood and is founded upon the child's relationship with the parents or the person to whom he is attached. The principles of early training or experience remain in the unconscious. These often cause a sense of guilt or anxiety when the person, perhaps acting according to the best reasoning, goes against these unconscious patterns. The cause of the anxiety being in the unconscious will remain unknown. In any state of fear, the discriminating, inhibitory function of the cortical nerve cells, holding independent actions of the speech muscles in check, is blocked. Again there is, as a result of fear, the loss of coordinated relationship between the muscle groups, and, each of the organs used in speech acts under the influence of its lower nerve centres, serving its older biological function when the controlling power of the cortex is lessened by the emotional state of the stuttrer.

The treatment of stuttering then, according to Dr. Blanton, is to discover infantile emotional reactions and to supplant these with adult patterns conducive to greater mental health. He is convinced that the eradication of the emotional difficulty will permit the cortex to establish control over the thalamus and lower nerve cells. However, it must be noted that the discovery and removal of the emotional difficulty involves psycho-analysis which can only be undertaken by one who is a physician, psychiatrist and accredited analyst. Blanton considers individual guidance more suitable to the greater number of cases, taking it to be a practical application of mental hygiene, and feels family co-operation, involving the willingness of the parents to receive advice

on over-indulgence or over-harshness in discipline, is necessary. In Blanton's programme of treatment the family and school environment are studied to ascertain points of conflict; the patient is required to take a physical examination and the clinician arranges private conferences for the discussion of all problems confronting the stutterer. He believes that when the emotional re-education is accomplished, the speech difficulty will take care of itself. He approves of the retraining of handedness in cases in which shifts have been made, if the emphasis is not on the training but on the emotional re-adjustment. Relaxation assists in relieving tension, but the stutterer must learn to relax inner trunk muscles as well as arm and leg muscles. He advocates reading aloud, dramatics and public speaking as measures of developing confidence, but not as cures, and curiously enough he thinks that any sound or phonetic drills, drawling or unnatural tones should be discouraged, as they are detrimental in placing too much emphasis on the production of speech alone, and thus making the stutterer too self-conscious. Only those methods which relieve underlying emotional tensions are recommended. In our consideration of the important role played by the phonetician and the pedagogue in speech rehabilitation we shall soon see how limited this emotional bias is.

Dr. James S. Greene, Medical Director of the National Hospital for Speech Disorders, New York City, views the stutterer as a nervously agitated organism, demonstrating strong excitation and a tendency to quick interruption or inhibition, accompanied by a high emotional tone. He places such individuals in what he calls the "stutter-type group" as they are characterised by chronic hesitation in neuro-muscular activity, resulting in disorganized muscular co-ordination.

The high emotional tone of the stutter-type individual, with his stuttering speech and the consequent history of frustrations, humiliations and failures leads naturally to the development of an anxiety state regarding speech and a social maladjustment involving the entire personality.

As Dr. Greene regards stuttering primarily as a physical symptom of psychic conflict, with the high emotional energy of the stutterer directed toward a fear which disintegrates his entire personality, he advocates a form of composite therapy of a medical, social, psychiatric and psychological nature, directed toward the tranquilizing organization and adjustment of the personality. The stutterer's problems are worked out in a group medium which Dr. Greene terms "open-door psychiatry." This group treatment is directed toward the integration of the stutterer's personality, so that he may make adequate adjustment to the world outside. Records of his speech are made at definite intervals and personal psychiatric interviews are given. Breath control

is practised as an aid to emotional control and muscular relaxation and co-ordination is followed by rhythmical muscular exercise timed to music.

On the psychological side operating causes in the nature of conflicts, repressions and infantile attitudes are sought and a special environment is created to combat these. The treatment proceeds with sympathetic understanding and a slow and easy informality, resulting in patterns or ego-ideals of courage, tranquillity and balance.

The social life of the stutterer under this form of treatment consists of such group activities as group singing, dinners, dances and speaking clubs.

The entire treatment proceeds under strict medical supervision and the patient is given physical, psychiatric and psychological examinations on entering the clinic. The procedure as a whole seems a very balanced one and has been fruitful of good results.

More singularly and exclusively psychological is the approach of Mrs. Mabel Farrington Gifford, Chief of the Bureau of Speech Correction for the State of California, who regards stuttering as purely psychological in origin. Mrs. Gifford assumes that the child who is likely to stutter is easily excited emotionally and is inclined toward nervous instability. He is sensitive to parental maladjustment, hysterical tendencies on the part of the parents and too rigorous disciplinary attitudes. If such a child experiences an emotional shock, disease, or a vivid unpleasant experience which arouses fear or insecurity, his speech becomes disrupted and this leads him to fear speaking. If the child experiences these emotions or shocks at the period of acquiring the difficult articulatory co-ordinations, he may develop into a stutterer. The parents' anxiety toward the child's speech difficulty may accentuate its importance in the child's mind, resulting in what Mrs. Gifford terms "a word blockade pattern." This word-blockade pattern, which is present both in the conscious and the unconscious mind of the stutterer, occupies his whole attention until the conviction that he cannot speak becomes stronger than the conviction that he can.

Mrs. Gifford's methods of speech improvement involve reeducation of idea associations towards speech and emotional stabilization. After the preliminary measures of physical examination, visits by the speech clinician to the parents and teachers, and attempts to restore emotional stabilization, the more intensive treatment toward psychological rehabilitation is started.

The psychological procedure includes development of control or poise in regard to nervousness—fundamentally built on relaxation and confidence—and development of the power of positiveness to overcome helplessness and inability in relation to speech.

For body poise, exercises for conscious control are given and these are

followed by body stillness exercises. With these exercises, abstract key words such a *stillness*, *calm*, *strength*, are selected for thought. Suggestive statements, such as "I am calm," are used. Diaphragmatic breathing is also practised, to give a greater feeling of control in speech, and breathy speech, with breathy tone, half-whisper and half-voice is taught and encouraged. This breathy tone is practised on vowels, syllables, words, sentences and rhymes. In order to counteract word fear and blocking, the loose-mouth action with the jaw relaxed and mouth open, and passive-mouth action are used, and during these exercises kinesthetic learning is also induced by making the stutterer silently recall the sound of what he has said and then the feeling of making the sound.

The entire treatment takes on a completely psychological character so that word association and visualization also enter into the picture. Key words relating to confidence building are studied and the stutterer projects himself into a mental picture and assumes the desired emotion and poise, and sees himself speaking with fluency. He holds this mental image until he experiences a feeling of triumph over past fears, and thus from the old speech-blockade-image-pattern, the stutterer is trained to switch to the fluency-image-pattern which according to Mrs. Gifford consists of still feeling, body relaxation, breathy speech, passive mouth action and speaking in short phrases with pauses between phrases.

Dr. John M. Fletcher, Professor of Psychology at Tulane University, is likewise convinced that stuttering is a psychological phenomenon. Yet his approach to speech pathology and its treatment is totally different. His theory is that speech defect "should be diagnosed and described as well as treated as a morbidity of social consciousness, a hyper-sensitivity of social attitude, a pathological social response." According to Fletcher factors which determine this social mal-adjustment leading to stuttering are fear, anxiety and inferiority feelings. He points out that the stutterer's social morbidity begins in his earliest life, arises from personality relationships, and demands intellectual and emotional adjustment.

Fletcher, therefore, is of opinion that the social relations existing between the speaker and the auditor, and the feeling attitudes aroused by the realization of these relations, are the paramount factors in the causation of stuttering, and hence, must take precedence over all other considerations in any scheme of treatment.

He admits that physiological habit is involved but does not consider it of major significance. He believes that concentration upon only certain phases of speech, such as the physiological processes, has been responsible for the lack of success in the treatment of stuttering, and, therefore, advises that

correction of the mechanics of speech "should occupy the margin, rather than the centre of attention in speech therapy." It should always be carried on as incidental to the main activities prescribed for the patient. What is more important, he insists that the concept of isolated forms of treatment must give way to that of providing environments such as those of real schools for children, where actual school work, scientifically arranged with a view to its therapeutic value, will occupy the centre of attention, and the speech functions, as such, will play only an incidental role. Fletcher does not seem to approve of the method of abstracting the stutterer from the environment from which he came to suffer, and of placing him in a totally different, and for the most part artificially arranged situation as does Mrs. Gifford.

It is interesting to note that Dr. C. S. Bluemel of Denver, Colorado, who believes that speech is a conditioned or associative response and that stuttering is an inhibition which occurs before the speech reflex is securely established, like Mrs. Gifford advocates that the child should be put to bed under medical care for complete rest and isolation. He maintains that the stutterer's environment should be conducive to quiet and relaxation, and that such an atmosphere of tranquillity is beneficial at any stage of stuttering. It might also incidentally be noted that whispering and drawling speech, which are disapproved of by Dr. Smiley Blanton, as making the stutterer too speech conscious, are advised by Bluemel as temporary measures to uncondition the old associations or to give a new type of speech about which the stutterer has built up no associations. Wherever possible, the stutterer is segregated under specially trained teachers.

Knight Dunlap, formerly of Johns Hopkins University, and now Chairman of the Psychology Department at the University of California, Los Angeles, assumes that in cases of stuttering where the factors of causation have been removed and the speech difficulty still exists, the defect is a habit which can be broken. He has formulated a theory of habits which he applies to stuttering. He is convinced that certain psychological principles of learning account for the making and unmaking of habits. The old idea of learning was that a person learns by doing or becomes more perfect in an action by the repetition of that action. This Dunlap calls the Alpha hypothesis. Dunlap finds, however, that this is not always the case, for in learning to throw darts at a target, e.g., the person may miss continually. He actually repeats the missing, but he is not perfecting the missing, because finally he makes a different response by hitting the target. Dunlap, therefore, formulated the Beta hypothesis which reads: "The response, in itself, has no effect on the future probability of the same stimulus pattern producing the same response." This hypothesis is indicative of the possible negative effect in repetition. Such

negative practices, Dunlap believes, can be used to abolish a habit of response already formed. The factors which assure success when the individual makes a response to a stimulus other than the response he has in mind, are perception, thinking and feeling. He perceives the target, hand, arm, etc., thinks of his goal, weighs past successes and failures and desires to achieve success. The same factors, Dunlap claims, can be used to destroy the undesired habit.

Dunlap works on the assumption that stuttering is a habit and that it can be broken by this same negative practice described above.

As the stutterer cannot be told to stop stuttering, his undesirable habit, which he can perform well will be the very means by which he can achieve his aim of non-stuttering. Like the individual learning to throw darts at a target, the stutterer must study his specific type of involuntary spasm, copy this as much as he can, and then stutter voluntarily. All the time, however, he must clearly bear in mind the fact that this is not the action he is finally aiming at. He must anticipate reaching the goal of overcoming his habit and desire such a goal. All the three factors of perception, thought and feeling must be directed toward the future response and not toward the present habit.

Practice is an important item in the treatment, but care must be taken in voluntary stuttering that the patient does not slip into involuntary spasms as well. Word lists are made up for stuttering voluntarily, and oral as well as unison reading must be practised with the clinician. After decided improvement is noticed, the negative practice must be dropped and the positive practice of doing no stuttering must be adopted. However, in cases of relapse, the negative practice must be resumed quite intensively. This therapy, of course, is only practised after all operating causes in the stutterer's life have been removed.

THE DOMINANT GRADIENT APPROACH

Dr. Lee Edward Travis, of the University of Iowa, has built up the theory that stuttering is caused by a conflict between the two hemispheres of the brain, basing his hypothesis on the neurological fact that the right side of the body is controlled, in part, by the left side of the brain, and vice versa.

Travis believes that in any explanation of the causes of speech disorders, his theory of the dominant gradient must be taken into account. He treats psychological factors such as fear, emotional shock, exhaustion, self-consciousness, or feeling of inferiority as secondary causes, and holds that these psychological causes of stuttering require a neurological basis for explanation.

The theory, then, is that the entire central nervous system functions under a dominant gradient, located in the left hemisphere for right-handed

persons and in the right hemisphere for left-handed people. One half of the brain is stronger than the other, and the stronger half sets the rate and intensity of the nervous impulses and imposes its pattern on the weaker or less dominant half. This dominance determines our handedness. The gradient exists where metabolism is the greatest, and thus the dominant or head end develops out of the region of greatest chemical activity.

Now it so happens that the speech organs lie directly in the centre of the body, and therefore, if any disharmony of action should take place in the brain, it might result in the inability of the paired muscles of the speech mechanism to function together in time and space and we would have a stuttering spasm. That is, if neither side of the brain is dominant, a conflict in leadership will follow. Consequently, each half sends out nerve impulses at its own rhythm, and the muscles on the right side of the body receive different patterns of nervous impulses from those received by the left. As a result, the speech mechanism as a midline structure, is bound to suffer violently. In short, the muscular spasm of stuttering results from the lack of dominance in the brain.

Similarly, the change of handedness is regarded by Travis as causing stuttering as the change disrupts the natural dominance. If a left-handed person is forced to change, leadership is forced from the right, or dominant hemisphere, to the left, or weaker hemisphere, and if this is continued, the dominant hemisphere is weakened, and the non-dominant is strengthened until they both become equal in strength, and incoordination or disharmony takes place.

From the standpoint of Travis' theory, then, therapeutic measures necessitate thorough examinations to determine the stutterer's cerebral dominance, or possible lack of dominance between his brain hemispheres. Many tests have been devised to determine native handedness and eyedness, and the decision for shift of hand is made only if the tests and case history justify such a change. When improvement to a certain degree is noted, the stutterer is made to co-ordinate his speaking with writing. As writing is a one-sided activity, tending to build up the dominant gradient, and as speech is two-sided or midline activity, in the combination of the two, the strong unilateral activity will assist the co-ordination of the midline activity to build up rhythmic speech. On the psychological side, it is pointed out to the stutterer that the facial grimaces, forced speech, prolonged and laboured muscular movements, body gestures and complete block are only habits which he has developed to hide or cover his spasm. The stutterer's individual stuttering pattern is analysed, and he is told not to hide his stuttering. In fact, he is trained to change his mental set toward the defect, and is made to stutter in a forward, easy, flowing, "bouncy" pattern as in ca-ca-ca-cat. The idea is to lessen

the tension on the speech organs, to help him overcome objectionable habits accompanying the spasm and to free him of fear, dread or shame, and thus to lead to a physical and mental adjustment.

DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS AND SPEECH REHABILITATION

Dr. Russell Meyers of Brooklyn, New York, is convinced that a properly directed and rational therapy of speech disorders must be based upon a consideration of the etiology and differential diagnosis of speech pathology, and upon these two fundamental factors, he works out a beautiful classification of pathologic speech manifestations.

Thus, manifestations due to developmental anomalies and other disease processes in the "peripheral speech mechanisms," that is, in the receptor and effector organs, constitute the so-called "speech defects." Accordingly, lisping may be due to a short frenulum of the tongue or to bifid tongue. Or, other speech defects may be attributed to such factors as faulty occlusion of the nasal and pharyngeal passages, deviated septum, hypertrophied turbinates, adenoid growths, defective alignment of teeth, faulty occlusion, cleft-palate and hare-lip. The child's hearing also may be imperfect and thus because of "tonal gaps" in his hearing certain consonant sounds are never heard and therefore never reproduced.

Aside from developmental anomalies, certain disease processes arising from the "segmental speech mechanisms," may manifest themselves as "aphonia" or "dysphonia." Here, according to Meyers, are involved "either the afferent and efferent nerves coursing from and to the peripheral receptor and effector mechanisms, or the corresponding segmental structures of the spinal cord and brain stem." Thus, if in the course of an operation upon the thyroid gland of a patient, both the right and left recurrent laryngeal nerves are severed, aphonia results, that is, the person is rendered absolutely unable to vocalize speech. Surgical damage to the nerve on one side alone will result in dysphonia or partial inability of vocalization.

Similarly "anarthria" and "dysarthria" (where the smooth flow of speech is disturbed and a staccato, arhythmic, or tremulous speech manifests itself), are attributed to disease processes in the "subcortical co-ordinating mechanisms" represented by the cerebellum and basal ganglia. Again, aphasia is not a disease in itself, but a sign indicating disease processes of the "highest integrating mechanisms" involved in speech, that is, the cerebral hemispheres, including the cortex.

The principles of treatment in the rehabilitation of the aphasic patient are, therefore, based on these etiological and differential problems of pathological speech.

Practice is given in the reproduction of vowels daily. The liquid consonants and the remaining consonants are taken up later. "Whole words" of monosyllabic nature and concrete nouns such as "pin" and "ball" are practised concomitantly three times a day. All distracting objects are removed, and only one object is presented to the patient. Its utility is emphasized by the clinician and the demonstration is accompanied by frequent repetition of the spoken word which symbolizes the object. Later the object is given to the patient and he is induced to receive actively all sensory stimulation—visual, tactile, auditory, thermal, painful, kinesthetic, olfactory, gustatory—from the object. Simple two- and three-word sentences involving verbs of overt activity might be taken up next, and still later in the course of re-education, multiple choice situations may be set up. The clinician places a number of objects on the table and asks the patient to point to that object named by him and to use it. Finally, in the absence of the object the patient is asked to point to the written symbol which corresponds to the word spoken by the clinician.

From a perusal of these theories and approaches to speech pathology and speech rehabilitation it will be evident that though most of them show considerable overlapping, no two therapeutic measures are exactly alike. There is no doubt but that the contribution of these and other correctionists will prove most valuable in uncovering facts of great interest to those concerned with defective speech. These sketchy synopses of the various theories are by no means comprehensive in detail. They are merely meant to orient the reader in the various approaches to the study of speech defects. Should these rather inexhaustive and general summaries succeed in arousing in some serious students of speech pathology the desire to know in greater detail some aspects of diagnosis and treatment dealt with in any one or more of the theories, it will be best for them to consult the original sources. It is obvious that the various stuttering cases show such a wide divergence in the type of stuttering and in the physical, physiological, neurological, structural and emotional attributes that no two cases can be treated in the same manner, and each case must be analysed individually, so as to ascertain the kind of treatment best suited to the individual need.

This naturally necessitates an eclectic approach, and though because of the ever-expanding horizons of linguistic study, it is becoming increasingly difficult for any one individual to command all the resources and results of linguistic science, any speech correctionist, seriously interested in problems of speech pathology and speech rehabilitation will do well to acquaint himself with the various approaches so as to handle the subject with a broader, less biased and more integrated view of speech correction.

SIGHT-SAVING CLASSES IN THE REGULAR SCHOOL SYSTEM AS A MEASURE FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS¹

RAS MOHUN HALDER

Although there are no reliable statistics in India regarding the extent of blindness, even the casual observer cannot but be impressed by the magnitude of the problem. In this article the author approaches the subject from the angle of the conservation of sight as a recognized part of the regular school system.

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THE history of efforts for the education of the blind is comparatively recent, dating back some 150 years in Europe, some 100 years in America and about 50 years in India. Our greatest admiration and deepest sense of appreciation are due to the pioneer workers in India, but, with profound reverence for them, and in fairness to the total cause of the blind, it must be stated that only a modest beginning has been made, as the education of the blind is only a fragment of the whole problem. A comprehensive programme for the amelioration and rehabilitation of the conditions of the blind must necessarily include measures for the prevention of blindness, education of pre-school and school children, education of the young blind of the post-school stage, and activities of agencies, societies and organisations for the blind concerned with their aftercare, placement, and general well-being. In our country, only the prevention of blindness and the education of blind children of school age are receiving partial attention; the other phases are being neglected.

Prevention of Blindness. In order to make the programme of work for the blind more effective much more emphasis should be given to the prevention of blindness. Undoubtedly, in the cities and larger towns of India blindness at birth, due to *Ophthalmia Neonatorum* (babies' sore eyes), has been arrested or completely obliterated through the use of 1% silver nitrate, which has become a regular hospital routine. But, it goes without saying, that many expectant mothers are not sent to the hospital to be attended to by competent doctors and nurses, not to speak of the young mothers in the distant villages,

¹ The primary purpose of this paper is to disseminate knowledge and to propagate the results of experiments, carried on by the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Inc., New York City, U. S. A., in the field of "Sight-Saving Classes." The writer wishes to acknowledge fully his indebtedness to the Society for their publications, without which the writing of this article would have been difficult. Since the ideas are new in India and could not have been better expressed than in the Society Publications, quotations have been very freely made under some technical heads.

who have no such opportunities. A solution which suggests itself is that travelling hospitals, with qualified doctors and nurses, could help the young mothers, as well as the new arrivals, by arresting their blindness through the use of this eye-drop of silver-nitrate. They could also teach the villagers the rules of eye-hygiene and administer treatment for curable ocular diseases. These travelling hospitals could possibly stay at one place for a fortnight or so, and give one or two rounds a year throughout the districts.

Another effective method of preventing blindness amongst the illiterate and the indiscreet would be to discourage marriage between persons who may transmit blindness or any other physical or mental defect to the next generation. When dissuasion becomes ineffective these couples should be placed under the advice of competent medical practitioners and, if necessary, prevented from bearing children.

A third method of preventing blindness, to which every sighted person can contribute, is to conserve one's own sight. This can be done by every individual strictly observing the rules of eye-hygiene and by arranging for periodical ocular examinations. Prevention of blindness should be one of the fundamentals of a modern health conservation programme.

Conservation of Vision. From the view-point of conservation of sight every school system has to consider three groups of children:

(a) *Children with normal vision.*

The responsibility of the school system for this group is to make every effort to preserve normal vision by proper attention to general health, eye-hygiene, and to correct lighting, ventilation, seating and the use of well-printed text books.

(b) *Children with defective vision that may be corrected, or diseases of the eye that may be cured.*

Here, the responsibility must, of course, include the benefits provided for the first group and in addition co-operation with the parents in getting the necessary treatment that will bring the child's sight as near to normal as possible.

(c) *Children with serious eye difficulties who after treatment and refraction cannot profitably be educated in the regular class for the sighted.*

This group includes children with serious eye diseases which may result in total blindness if treatment over an extended period is not provided for. The responsibility for this group is graver and more complex. It is with the educational problem it presents that the writing of this article is concerned. Those in this group have a visual acuity, ranging from what is known as "educational blindness" to normal sight. These children are not blind but

sighted. As far as their sight is concerned, they are generally called "border line" pupils.

For a clearer understanding of the degree of vision this group may possess, some definitions of blindness should be evaluated.

Definitions of Blindness. The medical definition of blindness is "absolute sightlessness, congenital or adventitious," and added to this is the popular definition, which is that condition in which sight is so diminished that any occupation requiring the use of the eyes is impractical. This may be called a general definition.

According to economists, blindness is "being without sight sufficient to achieve economic independence, so that the person afflicted cannot engage in any occupation requiring the use of the eyes under ordinary conditions." In short, from the economic point of view, blindness means "being without sight as a means to economic independence;" and from the social standpoint, "being without sight, as a means of holding one's own in society."

From the educational point of view, blindness means "inability to acquire education in the usual way by means of sight" or the inability to read the ordinary ink-print book, after corrections and refractions have been made by use of glasses.

All these definitions seem to be subjective. For practical purposes, all the advanced countries have defined blindness objectively. A person, possessing the degree of vision, represented by 20/200 or less in America, and 6/60 or less in Great Britain, is considered blind. The visual acuity of 20/200 (read as twenty-line-two hundred) needs clarification. In order to test eye sight, the Snellen Chart is commonly used in America. The letters of this chart are of such dimensions that their images subtend a 5-minute angle in the eye at the distance indicated on each of the various lines. Ability to read the 20-foot line at a distance of 20 feet is accepted as the standard of the normal eye. A 20-foot distance is the proper testing distance. The Snellen Test is standardised to this distance. The expression 20/200, does *not* mean one-tenth of normal vision; 20 stands for the testing distance and 200 represents the top-most line on the Chart which should be read by a normally sighted person at a distance of 200 feet.

To be more lucid, a person, able to read from a distance of 20 feet the top-most line on the Snellen Chart which is read by a normally sighted person at a distance of 200 feet, will be considered educationally blind.

Similarly, 20/40 does not mean 50% vision, but merely means that at a distance of 20 feet the individual reads what the "normal" eye would read at 40 feet.

It is, therefore, obvious that the children who are defined as educational-

ly blind possess some degree of sight. The best way to describe the members of this group would be to call them visually handicapped. Some of them may have some sight, and some, though physically blind, are quite normal on the mental, social and economic planes.

In general, with the exception of children suffering from progressive eye diseases, children with 20/70 vision or more in the better eye after treatment and correction are generally sent to the ordinary sighted school. In America, children with 20/200 vision or less after treatment and correction are considered blind and are educated as Braille readers in a School for the Blind.

Children hovering between these two extremes, plus all children with progressive eye diseases are sent to a special class which is known as a Sight-Saving Class, because in this class the children are not only taught the usual subjects of the standard, but equal, if not more, importance is attached to teaching them how to conserve or save their sight under proper lighting, seating and other favourable conditions.

The urgent need of a Definition of Blindness in India. The urgency of a legal and social concept of blindness in India cannot be over-emphasised. It has been found that many visually handicapped children, unable to read the ordinary ink-print books are being thrust on the doors of the Schools for the Blind, with the result that they cannot adjust themselves to finger-reading because of their workable sight. These are pupils who should be able to read books printed in larger type.

On the other hand children with little sight, with the ability to move about, are sometimes not sent to the School for the Blind by their guardians, parents or local helpers, as they are labouring under a wrong impression that total absence of sight is the criterion for admission.

Though an All-India standardised definition may not be expected immediately, it may be easily possible to formulate an objective definition of blindness for the Province of Bombay, as the Municipality, the Local Board and the Educational Departments of the Government seem to be keenly interested in the problems of the blind. Such definition should always be formulated in close co-operation with the Ministry of Health and other organisations concerned. A move in this direction will eventually find out the group of children who will fall between the two extremes of the educationally blind and the sighted. The chief object of this article is to invite the attention of the public to the urgent need for establishing classes for these "border line" pupils, who with proper educational opportunities would remain sighted and contributive members of society; but who, if neglected, may, in all probability, increase the overwhelming blind population of India.

Eligibility to Sight Saving Classes. Studies in America, where the health

conservation programme is almost perfect, show that one child in every 500 of the school population requires the advantages of a sight-saving class. It is estimated that in the crowded cities of India, and in the distant districts and villages where insanitary conditions exist, the percentage may be much higher. As mentioned above, children possessing vision, more than 20/200, and less than 20/70 are eligible to this sight-saving class. These children, according to their eye-difficulties, may be grouped under four heads:

- (a) children having more than 20/200 vision, but not possessed of sufficient sight to enable them to read the ordinary print or to see figures or letters on the black-board.
- (b) children who may be able to read the ordinary print but only at the expense of their vision and general health.
- (c) Children with progressive eye troubles.
- (d) Children with diseases of the eye that seriously affect vision.

Aims. The aims of sight-saving classes have been admirably stated in "Sight-Saving Classes—Cleveland Public Schools":

- 1. To educate pupils with the least possible eye strain.
- 2. To teach them enough eye hygiene to conserve the vision they have.
- 3. To provide such vocational guidance as will prevent them from choosing occupations which would be injurious to their eyes.

History. Sight saving classes as a form of specialised education are a very recent movement. They originated in England in 1908, and were known as Myopic Classes. Later on, because of the comprehensive nature of their work, they came to be known as Sight-Saving Classes in the United States of America. There, the first class was established in Boston in 1913 through the efforts of Mr. (now Dr.) Edward E. Allen, D. Sc., Director-Emeritus of Perkins Institution for the Blind, and at present, Professor of Education of the Blind at Harvard University. The growth has been relatively slow, as much time has been spent in careful experimentation.

Historically, these classes grew out of the classes for the blind. After classes for the blind had been established in public schools, it was observed that there were many children, who had defective vision, that did not fit into the regular classes, yet they were equally misfit among the blind. They formed an entirely different group. They were not blind, yet they could not carry on school work in the ordinary way. The only common ground between the groups was that both were visually handicapped. The difference in the degree of handicap between the child with defective vision and the blind child was found to be so great that the sight-saving class child came to be classified with sighted children in determining the best method for his education.

Psychologically, the two types of children, namely the blind and those

in the sight-saving class are very different. The blind child is a finger-reader and his main avenue of perception is tactile. Of course, he is aided by the other senses of hearing, smell and taste; but for his educational appliances he must depend chiefly on touch. For the sight-saving class child the chief avenue of perception is visual. He receives his impressions through the eyes, almost to the same extent as does the child with normal vision, though many of his visual impressions are inclined to be faulty and indistinct. It is for the purpose of utilising this avenue of perception through the eyes to its fullest extent that sight-saving classes have been established.

It must be mentioned with real regret that so far as I am aware, no such class has been so far established in India.

Medical supervision of Sight-Saving Classes. Ocular supervision should be maintained for the majority of the children throughout the period that they are enrolled in the sight-saving class. Such care may be given by private or school oculists; in addition to the oculists, the teacher and the parents should co-operate to save sight. Every teacher should possess a record card giving the child's visual acuity, the eye difficulty, the time for the next examination, a statement whether or not glasses are prescribed, whether treatment is necessary and so on.

The sight-saving class teacher must have a good knowledge of the eye conditions recorded in the cards in order to give the child the full advantage afforded by the class. If he does not understand just what progressive Myopia may mean, he will not be able to appreciate why a child suffering from this difficulty should always work with his desk at an angle; or why he should not be permitted to join in such gymnastic exercises as are likely to cause an increase of his trouble. He will be similarly unable to appreciate the fact that an Albino child cannot work in comfort with the same amount of light as may prove beneficial to a child with Corneal scars or other static conditions. Only through an understanding of the ocular difficulties from which the child is suffering, gained through the closest co-operation with the oculist and by intensive study on his part, can the teacher hope to achieve the highest aim of the work that he is undertaking. Such knowledge is of course for the purpose of enabling him to co-operate more closely with the oculist and never for diagnosis or treatment.

Educational supervision of Sight-Saving Classes. In order to be able to establish a class for this special group, aid and co-operation should be sought from local charitable bodies, educational departments of Government and other interested persons. To be able to experiment with a class of this sort in the city of Bombay, the consolidated or co-operative plan seems to suggest the best solution. By this plan is meant the establishment of a special class, in

collaboration and co-ordination with a central sighted-school, where these partially sighted children can congregate in a separate room, ideally set up with necessary equipment, under the supervision of a teacher. The children would with advantage attend almost all the regular classes with the normally sighted children. The instruction that could not be advantageously followed in the regular grade, would be given by the special teacher in the special class. It should, however, be pointed out that a sight-saving class is not a coaching class.

I am strongly against segregated or mixed classes for children with eye defects, hearing defects, and other physical handicaps, for both practical and psychological reasons. The co-operative, or non-segregation plan, mentioned above, would provide for normal social contacts with the fully sighted children of the sighted-school. Further, this experimental class would be more economical than the mixed class, for reasons of effective administration, common establishment and rent. In fact, a hostel for children coming from the suburbs or the rural districts could be put in the neighbourhood or within the campus of the school.

Size of classes. The number of children in a sight-saving class is necessarily small, for two reasons—the number of classes or standards to be accommodated, and the individual educational problems arising from various eye conditions. When not more than four classes are represented, a teacher may successfully attend from twelve to sixteen children.

Length of the school day. In a sight-saving class the usual school day has to be lengthened in order that the children may have no home work to prepare; that they may have periods in which to rest their eyes, and that the extra time often needed by sight-saving class children to cover the assignment may be available.

The Teacher. The efficient teacher of a sight-saving class must possess the essential qualifications of any successful teacher—a natural aptitude for teaching, the necessary fundamental training, and a great deal of initiative. No amount of specialised training can be offered as a substitute for any of these essentials. If, however, such teacher has had special training for this work, it will be very helpful to him and to his pupils.

Courses for training of teachers in this special line are offered at the following American institutions:

- (a) Columbia University, Peabody College, the University of Cincinnati, the University of Chicago and University of Southern California offer courses during their summer sessions.
- (b) Teachers College, Columbia University, New York University, the State Normal School of Ypsilanti, Michigan, and the Extension

Division of the Detroit Teachers College offer courses during the regular school year.

- (c) A course in Eye Hygiene is given by the Senior Teachers College of Western Reserve University and the Cleveland School of Education.

THE SIGHT-SAVING CLASS ROOM AND ITS LIGHTING

Selection of Room. Since sight-saving classes are not required in all school buildings, a centrally located building should be selected, convenient to railway and tram-car lines. If a modern building is available with up-to-date lighting conditions and equipment, the expenses of establishing this class will be considerably lower.

In selecting a room, two essentials must be considered: ample space, and a maximum of light without a glare. The ideal classroom for children with defective vision is a large, well-ventilated room, providing ample space for the children to move about and to place their movable seats and desks in a position enabling them to secure the best light. The window space should be from one-fifth to one-fourth of the floor space. The room should be one with unilateral lighting, preferably with an eastern exposure.

Light buff walls and white or light cream ceiling in flat finish will give good reflective values without causing glare. French grey or light green are good colours for use in tropical countries.

Window shades. "The selection of window shades is important. Their purpose is to control natural illumination by securing reasonable uniformity, eliminating glare and diffusing direct sunlight. The best results may be obtained in one of two ways. Each window may be equipped with two shades operated on double rollers placed near the centre, thus permitting them to be raised or lowered from the middle without interfering with ventilation. In this case, care must be taken in adjustment so that there will be no space between the two rollers to permit a shaft of sunlight, very trying to the eyes, to enter. A single shade may be used that can be adjusted to any part of the window. Shades must be wide enough so that there will be no shafts of light from either side. Shades of a buff or greyish colour in a dull-finished translucent material will transmit and diffuse light. Excellent devices of both these types of shades are obtainable."

Artificial Light. "Artificial light is as important as natural light. It is essential that every sight-saving classroom be equipped with artificial light; that the teacher know when to use it and that he actually does use it to supplement or to take the place of natural light. The chief points to be considered, as in the case of natural lighting, are adequate light and avoidance of glare.

To these essentials of natural lighting must be added a consideration of maintenance and efficiency.

“ Experience indicates as most satisfactory, a system of artificial lighting using totally enclosing translucent globes of low brilliance. The usual class room requires 6 units, each containing a 300 watt lamp.”

SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT

(a) *Large type books.* Large type books are perhaps the most important of necessary supplies. These are expensive, but in ordering them, care should be taken that every class is supplied with some reading materials. Experiments in America with various kinds and sizes of types appear to indicate that a 24 point clear type (about 3/16 of an inch in depth) is the best for the majority of the children suffering from defective sight. The printing is done in black ink on dull finished cream coloured paper. .

(b) *Paper.* The paper ordinarily used in the sight-saving classes is of rough finish and a deep cream in colour. The general tendency is to have the paper unruled, but in some schools it has been ruled with green lines, about three-quarters of an inch apart.

(c) *Pencils, pens and chalk.* “Most of the work is done with heavy lead pencils, and any type of soft black lead is suitable. Care should be taken, however, that the lead is not so soft that the papers, in rubbing together, will cause the writing to blur. Special pens and chalk should be provided.”

(d) *Ink.* “School ink is usually very thin, and blue or grey in colour. India ink is quite satisfactory because of its colour, but is expensive and likely to get thick. Some sight-saving class teachers have found that a mixture of India ink and school ink, half and half, answers every need of the children. The quality and colour are good, and the expense about half that of India ink alone.”

(e) *Cupboards.* “The books which are used in these classes are so much larger than those in the regular grades that more cupboard space should be provided. The shelves should be so spaced that the books may be placed in an upright position.”

(f) *Blackboards.* “The blackboard is used so extensively by the pupils in the preparation of work that an unusually large area is desirable. It is suggested that when it is possible, blackboards be arranged in sliding panels, one in front of the other. This gives a decided increase in blackboard area, and also makes it more nearly possible for the child to work at his eye level.” Each child should be provided with a space on the blackboard. White or yellow chalk can be used.

(g) *Seats and desks.* “The main points to keep in mind in purchasing

seats and desks are that the seats should conform to all requirements of good posture and that the desk-tops should tilt so that work may be brought up to the child at the proper angle... Surfaces should be dull in finish; sizes should be selected which will fit the children of the various grades using the room."

(h) *Sand table*. "A sand table has been found so useful in sight-saving classes that in many places it has come to be included as a part of the essential equipment."

(i) *Maps, globes, charts*. "Maps furnished for sight-saving classes should be in strong outline and without detail. Several firms are manufacturing excellent outline maps; others will be glad to omit names and other details if requested to do so.

"Reading, phonetic, and arithmetic charts used in the primary grades are as a rule sufficiently clear for sight-saving class children, provided they are permitted to go close enough to be sure of seeing them without eyestrain."

(j) *Typewriter*. The purpose of a type-writer in a sight-saving class is to conserve vision and not to prepare for a vocation. The typing lesson should always be a period of eye rest. For this lesson "touch" system should be used.

Physical training. Almost always the sight-saving class children participate with regular classes in physical training. However, the participation should be only upon the approval and guidance of the oculist who has charge of the child's eyes. Many oculists do not wish high Myopes to take bending exercises. The idea is to avoid strain or a sudden blow to the retina. Similarly, other suggestions may be made by the oculist in individual cases.

Eye hygiene. It is not enough for the sight-saving class teacher to protect the eyes of his children in every possible way; he should so instruct them that, as they go through the school, they may learn more and more how to take care of their eyes.

High School classes. All that has been previously said refers primarily to the elementary school curriculum. In order to conduct sight-saving classes for high school pupils, work should be more closely co-ordinated with the regular classes, with the help of student-readers and with extra-preparation work. It is advisable to get a reader who is a member of the same class as the pupil with defective vision. If arrangements can be made to pay him for his services the advantage will accrue to both parties.

Vocational guidance. From the beginning the sight-saving class child must be instructed regarding his own eye condition, and must be guided to think of things which he may be able to do after he leaves the school. Undoubtedly, his scope will be much narrower than that of his fully-sighted

friend. But, a course detailing the possibilities of his future vocation is sure to be very profitable.

Records and reports. Every sight-saving class teacher should have a file for each member of his class in which he should at least keep the following: 1. Report of "eye condition"; 2. Record of his school work; 3. Record of home visits.

Annual examination by oculists. An eye record should be made each year by an oculist. This should be done regularly so that any change in the eye conditions may be noted. When improvement above the standard for admission to the class is made, the child may, with the approval of the specialists, be sent to the regular class for the sighted. When any deterioration is noted, the sight-saving class teacher must try to find out immediately where the trouble lies and try to remedy it. It has been generally found that according to improvement or deterioration in the condition of the eyes, the sight-saving class children may be constantly transferred to the regular school for the sighted or the school for the blind. This transfer of the child and of his records is very usual and helpful to the individual as well as to the school system.

In conclusion, it must be repeated that this article, with all its limitations has been written in the hope that public bodies, philanthropists and other persons interested in this handicapped group will come forward to tackle the problem in the right spirit. It is for this reason that special readings and supply stores are suggested below.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Coffin, Helen J., and Peck, Olive S.—*Sight-Saving Classes*. Published by Cleveland Public Schools, Cleveland, Ohio, 1926.

Hadley, Hazel—*Sight-Saving Classes in the Public Schools: Presenting the Ohio Plan*. Published by State Board of Education, Columbus, Ohio, 1937.

Lewis, F. Park, M. D.—*What Everyone Should Know about Eyes*. Published by the National Health Council, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y., 1928.

Posey, William Campbell, M. D.—*Hygiene of the Eye*. Published by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pa., 1918.

Seham, Max and Greta—*The Tired Child*. Published by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pa., 1926.

Numerous publications regarding Sight-Saving Classes are published

by the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Inc., 50 West 50th St., New York, U.S.A.

SUPPLY STORES

Seats and Desks. Seats with desks lifting to an angle are manufactured by numerous school furniture companies. Local dealers can be consulted.

Henderson Sight-Saving Class Desk, manufactured by The Theodor Kundtz Company, Main & Elm Streets, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.

Books. Books in 24 point type. Clear Type Publishing Committee, 36 Elston Road, Upper Montclair, N. J., U.S.A.

Window Shades. Buff-coloured, translucent shades, two for each window, rollers at centre. (Single adjustable shades are not recommended for sight-saving classes.) Shades should have protection bar between rollers to prevent glare.

Luther O. Draper Shade Company, Spiceland, Indiana, U.S.A.

Forse Manufacturing Company, Anderson, Indiana, U.S.A.

Tontine shades, manufactured by DuPont de Nemours & Company, Inc., Newburgh, New York, U.S.A.

Maps. Aero Globe, Aero Globe Company, Temple Building, Rochester, New York, U.S.A.

Pencils. Weatherproof Faber No. 6639. Faber Editor Verisoft No. 1, Eberhard Faber Company, 37 Greenpoint Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., U.S.A.

Pens. Speed Ball No. 4, C. Howard Hunt Pen Company, 377 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Esterbrook Drawing and Lettering Pen No. 1, Esterbrook Steel Pen Manufacturing Company, 97 John Street, New York, N. Y.

Chalks, Crayons, etc. Staonal No. 1 Black Wax Crayon, American Crayon Company, 130 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Old Faithful-Sterling Chalk, white and yellow, American Crayon Company.

Typewriters and Copy Holders. Bulletin Type, Pitch No. 6, Upper and Lower Case for Sight-Saving Classes, Underwood.

Bulletin Gothic No. 48, Type No. 360, Remington.

Portable No. 105 (cuts stencils) Remington.

Bulletin Caslon, Upper and Lower Case, No. 27, L. C. Smith.

Copy Holder, Theodor Kundtz Company, Main & Elm Streets, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.

Papers. Sub. 60, India Egg Shell Tichonderoga, size 9×12, lined if desired long or short way. R. H. Thomson Company, 184-190 Washington Street, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.

CO-OPERATION AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

In the December issue of the *Journal* the author discussed the subject of Rural Reconstruction, with particular reference to the constructive work being done by the Provincial Departments of Agriculture. This article attempts a rapid survey of the Indian Co-operative Movement in its relation to Rural Reconstruction. Though the problems are legion and the results often disheartening, the Co-operative Movement has definitely established itself and is a factor to be reckoned with in any programme of village improvement.

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IN a country where 66 per cent of the population is directly dependent on agriculture and where the average annual per capita income is estimated at Rs. 67'5, the problem of rural credit is very acute.

As long ago as 1884, Government passed an Agriculturists' Loans Act enabling Government to make loans for agricultural purposes at low rates of interest and repayable in easy instalments. But it was not until 1904 that a Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed. The object of the Act was to provide for the organization of rural or urban primary co-operative societies, having as one of their functions the making of small loans to their members, on the security of personal acquaintanceship and mutual confidence.

The Act of 1904 was on the model of the English Friendly Societies Act and was influenced in large measure by the early experiments of Raffeisen in the co-operative field. Unfortunately, however, in providing for the organization of primary societies only, the framers of the Act disregarded subsequent German experience which strengthened the early simple credit societies by building a supporting framework of secondary financing agencies. It was only to be expected, therefore, that the 1904 Act would require early revision, and hence in 1912 a new Co-operative Societies Act was passed, extending the field of co-operation to other than credit societies and to central agencies such as banks, federations or unions.

Under the Government of India Act of 1919, co-operation became a transferred subject and provincial governments were given the option either of passing their own legislation regarding co-operation or continuing to operate under the Act of 1912. Thus far only Bombay (1925), Madras (1932) and Bihar and Orissa (1935) have passed provincial legislation, while Sind, since its separation from Bombay, has modified the Bombay Act for provincial use.

An overwhelming majority of the co-operative societies at work in India are credit societies. Loans are granted for productive purposes, such as cultivation and trade; for essential purposes, such as securing medical attention,

education, and house building, and for customary social expenditures, such as expenditures connected with weddings and funerals. One of the features of the agricultural credit society is the unlimited liability of its membership—a system introduced in an attempt to limit membership in the societies to men of character. A Registrar of Co-operative Societies is appointed in each Province, with such assistants as may be required. The Registrar scrutinises applications for registration, arranges the annual audit of each society and for the liquidation of such societies as are regarded as insolvent or not working in harmony with co-operative principles. Societies are graded by the Registrars from A to D, according to the efficiency of management and general stability of each society. Unfortunately, the ideal of societal stability founded on the basis of individual character has not been completely realized, for many societies have broken down because more zeal has been displayed in securing members and increasing the number of societies than in scrutinising the qualities of the applicants for membership. Overdue loans are due to various factors, many of them uncontrollable, but the amount of loss due to laxness in administration is wholly inconsistent with the fundamental co-operative principle of mutual fidelity.

Since the poverty of the rural population is so acute that it is impossible for each local society to raise sufficient funds to meet the legitimate requirements of its membership at any given time, central co-operative banks have been organized at district head-quarters for the purpose of making the financial surplus of the towns available to the rural areas. At the top of the system stands the provincial co-operative bank, charged with co-ordinating the work of the central banks in each province.

This brief description of Indian co-operative organization is somewhat misleading, for it gives the impression of a closely-knit system of primary societies, central banks and provincial banks. As a matter of fact, however, there is no intimate connection between these different institutions. As an able student of Indian co-operative problems has well pointed out :¹ “Each member of the organization claims autonomy for itself and any suggestion of a central direction is viewed as dictation from outside, and resented. The central banks have no control over or integral financial association with the primary societies affiliated to them. The position of the provincial banks in relation to their member institutions is much the same.....The idea of a central association or general union to co-ordinate the activities of the numerous individual societies can thrive only on the realization of the need for it and the willingness to be guided and regulated by it. There is no evidence of this in India even today after three decades of unrelated existence of societies.”

¹ V. Ramadas Pantulu, in Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 186,

To meet the legitimate demand for long-term loans for agricultural purposes, or for the liquidation of old debts, a number of co-operative land mortgage banks have been established in the provinces. The success of these banks has been limited by a complication of systems of land tenure, incompleteness of ownership records, and by restrictions on the alienation of agricultural lands. Their effect upon the general problem of rural credit has not as yet been pronounced.

While the principal emphasis of the co-operative movement in India is on supplying credit, the idea of co-operation for non-credit purposes is gaining ground. The objects of non-credit societies include the extension of marketing facilities, increase of irrigation facilities, consolidation of holdings, the promotion of better-living and education in thrift.

A record of 28 years' progress in co-operation from the year 1906-1907 onwards is found in the publication *Statistical Statements relating to the Co-operative Movement in India*, issued in 1936 by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India.²

The average number of co-operative societies for all-India for the four years from 1906-07 to 1909-10 was 1,926. The number in 1934-35 stood at 1,06,011. The average for the four years 1906-07 to 1909-10 for Central Societies (including provincial and central banks and banking unions) and Supervising and Guaranteeing Unions (including re-insurance societies) was 17. In 1934-35 the Central Societies alone returned a figure of 626, and the Supervising and Guaranteeing Unions 789. The corresponding figure for Agricultural Societies (including cattle insurance societies) was 93,160, against the average of 1,713 for the four years from 1906-07 onwards, and during these 28 years, the number of non-agricultural societies rose from 196 to 11,436. The total number of members of primary societies during this period increased from 1,61,910 to 44,09,637, and the working capital from Rs. 68,12,000 to Rs. 96,88,52,000. In other words, during a period of 28 years, from 1906-1907 onwards, the number of co-operative societies in India roughly increased 55 times, membership 27 times, and working capital 142 times.

Speaking at the 12th Co-operative Societies Conference at New Delhi, on December 8, 1936, Sir Jagdish Prasad, Education Member, Government of

² The figures for 1934-35 are used in preference to those for 1937-38 because of the separation of Burma from India in 1937, leading to the exclusion of the statistics relating to Burma in the later report. The essential statistics for 1937-38 follow: The total number of societies of all types is given as 1,11,131 of which 95,708 were agricultural societies. The total membership of primary agricultural societies was 32,25,216 and of non-agricultural societies 16,24,086. The total working capital of the movement was Rs. 1,01,51,06,000 and of the agricultural societies alone Rs. 31,97,64,398. Ten of 609 central societies were provincial banks and 599 central banks. The working capital of the central and provincial banks was Rs. 41,41,27,160.

India, pointed out that in the Punjab, 48 out of every 100 villages had co-operative societies; in Bengal, 23 out of every 100 villages, and in Madras, 22 out of every 100 villages. Altogether 1,50,00,000 people had been touched by the movement. But on the debit side must be placed the fact that in 8 provinces over 25,000 societies had been liquidated. This means that since the movement began, one primary society out of every four had to be liquidated.

The reasons for this latter condition are both internal and external. Internally, Sir Jagdish Prasad stated that it had been found that the training of the staff and the administration of societies had been defective in a number of provinces—so much so that a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs had to be set apart by Government for training of staff. Externally, it must be recognized that India, in common with the rest of the world, has been passing through a period of depression, which has affected the co-operative societies, no less than other business concerns. While a return of better world conditions will have its effect on the co-operative movement, other problems such as provision of central facilities and facilities for large scale co-operative marketing must still be solved before the movement can really be said to be on a satisfactory basis.

The acuteness of the problem of agricultural credit was revealed more clearly in the Report of the Reserve Bank of India, Agricultural Credit Department, released in late December, 1936. The Report points out that it is only the bigger landlords who can approach commercial banks or even indigenous bankers for crop finance, for they alone can offer proper security. The financing of the millions of small cultivators lies almost entirely outside the scope of commercial banking. The majority of the agriculturists have no other financial recourse than the money lenders. It was contemplated that the organization of co-operative credit societies would supply the machinery required for financing the agriculturist for his current needs. But it is the finding of the various Provincial Banking Inquiry Committees that the co-operative societies supplied only about six per cent of the finance required for the current expenses of agriculture and it is the view of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee that the credit facilities provided by the co-operative movement to agriculturists covered but a very small proportion of their needs. The Report states that the position appears to have deteriorated even further during the last five years.

The essential difficulty is that in the popular mind, co-operative societies are too often regarded simply as agencies for borrowing money. It is but natural that the average villager who desires money—and who is seldom sure of repaying it—should approach the money lender who asks no questions. There must be much more propaganda, both by official and non-official

agencies, if the rural population is really to understand the potentialities of co-operation.

The Report further points out that even within the movement, the principle is not yet sufficiently established that the basic purpose of a primary agricultural credit society is to make small loans for short periods for agricultural or productive purposes. In far too many instances loans are made for non-productive purposes or for the discharge of prior debts. The task of debt redemption is entirely too large a problem to be tackled effectively by a rural co-operative credit society and it is not intended that this problem should be so solved.

It was stipulated by enactment that the Reserve Bank of India should, at the earliest practicable date, and in any case within three years, i. e., on or before 31st December 1937, present to the Governor General in Council a report with proposals—if it thinks fit—for legislation on the improvement of the machinery for dealing with agricultural finance and methods for effecting a closer connexion between agricultural enterprise and the operations of the Reserve Bank.

The Draft Report submitted by the Reserve Bank to the Central Government in November, 1937 considers the main difficulty to arise from the fact that in India agriculture is less a profession than a mode of living. The handicap is not so much the lack of substantial assets which could serve as security, as the uncertainty of the profits from agriculture as it is carried on in most cases. The question of agricultural finance is therefore very closely linked up with the improvement of agriculture. In other words, before credit can be made freely available to the agriculturist, he must be made credit-worthy.

In the circumstances, a suitable credit agency must have an educative side as well as a purely business side. The conclusion reached by the Bank is that the agency which satisfies the requisite conditions is the co-operative society and that if credit facilities to the Indian agriculturist are to be improved, the co-operative movement must be strengthened and revitalised so as to serve not only as an effective credit agency, but as a motive power for the improvement of agriculture from every point of view. The primary society must not be merely an agency for supplying finance, but an influence for the all-sided development of agriculture and the betterment of the life of the villager.

Although Indian co-operators have disagreed with a number of the specific conclusions of the Reserve Bank regarding the vitality of the co-operative movement and the means to be employed for improving the situation, there is general agreement that the Indian co-operative movement has not as yet realised its full potentialities. At the same time, it does occupy a unique

place in Indian life and its failures and weaknesses must not lead us to lose sight of its constructive achievements. In the following pages we shall summarize briefly the position of the co-operative movement in the provinces, with particular reference to its part in the improvement of rural life.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN ACTION

Madras. The shifting of emphasis from credit alone is revealed in the Annual Report on the Working of the Madras Co-operative Societies Act for the year ending 30th June 1939. During the year the number of non-credit societies rose from 1,146 to 1,295. The agricultural non-credit societies increased from 563 to 623. This total includes 290 tenants' societies, 134 loan and sale societies, 49 milk supply societies, 39 agricultural improvement societies, 16 consolidation of holdings societies, 15 sugar cane growers societies, and 80 miscellaneous societies. The 672 non-agricultural non-credit societies include 174 weavers societies, 126 building societies, 57 cottage industry societies and 50 better living societies. The total number of societies in Madras increased from 13,128 to 13,759 and membership from 9,49,000 to 10,42,000. The loans issued by agricultural societies, including land mortgage banks and sale societies, amounted to Rs. 307.79 lakhs. The Central Banks granted Rs. 201.08 lakhs in loans to societies, as against Rs. 142.25 in the previous year. This increase was due in large part to the demand for loans from the local societies by individual agriculturists, following the passing of the Agriculturist's Relief Act. There was an increase both in working capital and share capital and an improvement in the collection of loans.

The Committee on Co-operation appointed by the Madras Government issued its Report, containing 340 recommendations, in August, 1940. The Report suggests an increase in the number of land mortgage banks in order to provide long-term credit. The Committee, by a majority, recommend that the liability of a rural credit society should be limited, though in exceptional cases it may be unlimited. This recommendation is directly opposite to the resolution passed by the Registrars of Co-operative Societies at their conference in New Delhi in December, 1939, which held that unlimited liability should be the exception. The reason for the Madras resolution is the belief that the principle of unlimited liability has kept responsible agriculturists from joining the societies and thus has hindered efficient management. The Committee prefer renewed efforts at education toward the proper use of credit facilities rather than the statutory restriction of unproductive borrowing. They suggest methods for rehabilitating ineffective societies and present a long-range plan for extending the rural co-operative movement into every village and into every phase of rural life. There is

disagreement among co-operators regarding various technical sections of the Report, but the general programme for the extension of the movement along planned lines will find ready acceptance.

Bengal. In Bengal, during the year ending 30th June 1938, the total number of all classes of societies increased from 24,221 to 24,256 and their membership from 8,61,136 to 8,68,540. Working capital increased from 19'4 crores to 19'48 crores. Although the number of agricultural credit societies increased from 19,923 to 19,928 their membership fell from 4,46,521 to 4,38,041 and their working capital decreased from Rs. 5'90 crores to Rs. 5'68 crores. The percentage of overdues increased from 86'6 to 89'8. There are 64 purchase and sale societies in the Province, with a membership of 13,114 and a working capital of Rs. 7,29,447. There are 241 co-operative milk societies, 1,045 anti-malarial societies, and 524 rural reconstruction societies. The rural reconstruction societies have a membership of 10,924 and engage in such activities as clearing jungles, destroying water hyacinth, opening up silted canals, building roads, digging tanks, encouraging home industries and ministering to the educational and sanitary needs of their members. The idea behind the the rural reconstruction societies is to emphasize the moral and ethical side of co-operation and to harness its immense potentialities in rural uplift.

The official policy of the Government of Bengal in respect to co-operation is one of "consolidation" looking toward the expansion of the movement on "steady and cautious lines." On August 1st, 1940, the Bengal Assembly passed the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, which had aroused considerable opposition because of the increased powers which it conferred on the Registrar leading to the charge of "officialisation" of the movement. Thus the Registrar is given power to dissolve the managing committee of a society which he believes to be mismanaged. He may suspend or dismiss any member of the paid staff of a registered society. He may, after inquiry, modify the authenticated statement of accounts of a society. In other words, it is contended that the increase in the powers of the Registrar lessens the sense of local responsibility and thus actually weakens the movement which it seeks to strengthen. Government, in reply, states that there is always the right of appeal from the decisions of the Registrar, and that the Bill, if passed, will always be modified in the light of experience. There can be no question but that the progress of the co-operative movement in Bengal to date does not warrant an easy optimism regarding the health of the movement. The fact that the Co-operative Societies Bill has been discussed and studied for two years should at least focus attention on the major weaknesses of the movement and pave the way for constructive advance.

Punjab. The Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in the

Punjab for the year ending 31st July 1938, shows an increase of 471 in societies, and of 46,003 in their membership, thus bringing the total number of societies to 23,186 and the total membership to 9,14,440. Of the 12 land mortgage banks, only 1 is said to be working satisfactorily. All of the banks are experiencing difficulty in recovering their dues. The picture in respect to credit societies is not encouraging. Of the 12,865 societies of more than 10 years' standing, about 1 in 5 is in the D class and a large number are in the C class. The increase in new societies was practically cancelled by the winding up of bad societies during the year under review.

The Punjab has been outstanding for its work in the consolidation of holdings. During the year the number of co-operative societies for the consolidation of holdings increased by 179, bringing the total number of societies for this purpose to 1,360 with a total membership of 1,41,929. An area of 1,32,313 acres was consolidated during the year, bringing the total consolidated area to 9,18,823 acres. 726 roads and pathways, 174 miles in length, were constructed in the consolidated area. The Report also shows a total of 17 purchase and sale societies, 272 cattle breeding societies, 13 sheep breeding societies, 1,084 better living societies and 233 women's societies—primarily for the encouragement of thrift.

It was estimated in 1936 that the co-operative movement in the Punjab had touched over 3½ millions of the population, but when one considers that there are 34,000 villages in the Punjab, it can readily be seen that much work still lies ahead. It is worthy of note that in four districts of the province the proportion of villages with co-operative societies to the total number of villages is in excess of 60 per cent.

In the Punjab, the co-operative movement is recognized as the key to rural reconstruction, inasmuch as it provides the villages with an indigenous organization which can be relied upon for that continuity of effort so important to rural development. The Better Living Societies embrace a wide range of activities, including such diverse elements as reduction of expenditure on marriage and funerals and propaganda for village sanitation and personal hygiene. There has as yet been little progress in co-operative marketing in the Punjab.

United Provinces. In the United Provinces, for the year ending 30th June 1939, the number of primary agricultural societies increased from 8,439 to 10,026 and the membership from 2,71,520 to 4,52,865. About 16 lakhs were added to the working capital of these societies and about 3½ lakhs to the owned capital. The non-credit co-operative societies include 392 ghee societies, 42 central and 681 primary cane societies, 65 women's societies, 1,436 village welfare societies, 147 consolidation of holdings societies and 75 irriga-

tion societies. 1,114 of the village welfare societies are directly interested in improved farming. These societies in the aggregate cultivate over 1.11 lakhs acres of improved wheat, over 1 lakh acres of improved sugar cane and 31,000 acres of other improved crops. They have introduced thousands of improved implements, have constructed 1,000 wells and provided 260 wells with parapets. They maintain 2,644 medicine chests and have trained large numbers of *dais* and first-aid workers. They conducted 437 adult schools. The Consolidation of Holdings Societies consolidated 12,075 bighas during the year, reducing the number of plots from 12,822 to 1,672. This brings the total consolidated area to 67,000 bighas, and the total reduction of plots from 75,965 to 7,599.

Bombay. The number of societies, membership, share capital, working capital and reserve fund increased in Bombay during the year ending 30th June 1939—the total number of societies at the close of the year being 5,126, with a membership of 6,10,383. The share capital of all types of societies amounted to Rs. 2,39,32,118, the reserve and other funds to Rs. 2,39,42,073 and the working capital to Rs. 16,26,97,832. In Bombay, as elsewhere, it is recognised that the number of societies is no indication of the real strength of the co-operative movement and hence the policy of expansion is a cautious one.

Of the non-credit societies in Bombay, cotton sale societies have established their reputation as an effective agency for improving the quality of cotton grown and securing better prices to the cotton growers. Other types of sale societies include tobacco, gul, chilly, mango, paddy, fruits and vegetables, and eggs. Among the miscellaneous type of societies are societies for crop protection and fencing, land improvement, machinery and implements, cattle breeding and co-operative dairying.

In September, 1937, the Government of Bombay requested the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and the Managing Director of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd., to submit a report on the co-operative movement, with particular reference to reorganizing and developing the movement with a view to utilising it as an effective agency for promoting rural economic welfare. The Report was presented to Government on 30th October 1937 and in November the Revenue Minister convened a conference of leading and representative co-operators to elicit opinion on the proposals. In the forefront of the discussion was the all-important problem of dealing with the frozen assets of agricultural co-operative credit societies—a problem which is still occupying the attention of Government—and the problem of linking up the credit operations of primary societies with the sale of the agricultural produce of their members. To further this latter purpose, in the year 1938-39, seven multi-purpose societies were organized at bazar centres. These societies will

not only provide credit to their members, but also supply agricultural and domestic requirements and arrange for the sale of their agricultural produce.

During the year 1938-39 the propaganda work, hitherto carried on by the Bombay Agricultural Department, was transferred to the Co-operative Department and a Provincial Board of Rural Development, consisting of officials and non-officials was established. The new arrangement visualises the development of a programme of rural reconstruction which will eventually lead to the establishment of a new economic order in the villages.

North West Frontier Province. In the North West Frontier Province the chief emphasis is on agricultural credit. It is reported that the number of loans for unproductive purposes is decreasing, while the number of loans for productive purposes is increasing. Progress is being made in the consolidation of holdings.

Bihar. The report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar for the year 1938 shows a total of 7,246 working societies, of which 9 were in A Class, 7.5 in B Class, 66.9 in C Class, 20.3 in D Class and 4.4 in E Class, or hopeless. The paid-up share capital and the working capital both showed a decrease during the year. In an attempt to discover means to arrest the downward drift in the Bihar co-operative movement, Government, in August 1938, appointed a Co-operative Rehabilitation Committee to advise Government on all matters connected with rehabilitation. In the meantime the formation of new ordinary credit societies was discouraged. During the year under report, 31 out of 53 Central Co-operative Banks and Unions are said to have interested themselves in local agricultural improvement, reclamation of waste lands, sinking of wells, sanitation and medical relief, education and village welfare. The activities and usefulness of the cane-growers societies were considerably extended. Out of a total of Rs. 2,50,830 advanced as loans to members of agricultural societies, Rs. 37,948 only were advanced for agricultural finance—the largest figure, Rs. 87,214, being lent for the payment of rent to landlords.

Central Provinces and Berar. The Central Provinces and Berar report a further set-back to the co-operative movement during the year ending 30th June 1939, due to shortage in crops and a continued fall in prices. Since the movement is being overwhelmed with the problem of liquifying frozen overdues in order to maintain its financial stability, very little constructive work is being accomplished.

Assam. The situation in Assam, during the year ending 31st March 1939, is also reported as difficult. Out of a total of 1,551 societies, only 7 are in A Class. 67 are in B Class, 612 in C Class and 488 in D Class. The remainder are either not working or newly started. Almost all the Central Banks are

finding it difficult to maintain their credit and most of the agricultural credit societies are running at a loss. This unsatisfactory condition is attributed to the economic depression, the adverse effects of the working of the Assam Money Lenders' Act and the Debt Conciliation Act, and the keen competition of Joint Stock Banks. It is felt that any improvement in the situation is dependent upon exemption of co-operative societies from the provisions of the Moneylenders' Act and the Debt Conciliation Act, together with the provision of adequate Government finance to bolster up the movement.

Sind.—In the Province of Sind, during the year ending 30th June 1938 the number of societies increased by 111, bringing the total to 1,485 and the number of members increased from 75,685 to 77,765. Working capital decreased by Rs. 27,56,983, due in part to internal controversy, which not only threatened the stability of the Sind Provincial Co-operative Bank, but had its repercussions on the movement as a whole. 1,923 of the Sind societies are agricultural credit societies, of which 10 are in A Class, 584 in B Class, and 243 in C Class. The number of A and B Class societies decreased from 673 (73·5 per cent) to 594 (64·7 per cent), while the number of C and D Class societies increased from 242 (26·4 per cent) to 323 (35·2 per cent). Of the 29 agricultural non-credit societies, 18 were seed and supply societies, 2 agricultural associations and 11 Taluka development associations. Since about 90 per cent of the agricultural societies are working at a loss, the immediate programme is regarded as one of consolidation and the weeding-out of hopeless societies.

Orissa. The number of co-operative societies in Orissa on 30th June 1939 was 2,704, with a membership of 1,05,826 and a working capital of Rs. 1,31,96,053. In North Orissa there was a decrease in both membership and working capital and in South Orissa a small increase in both. The Report indicates that the Orissa co-operative movement—particularly in North Orissa—is in a state of stagnation and needs to be revitalised.

In pursuance of a resolution by the Government of Orissa, Dewan Bahadur K. D. Mudaliar submitted a report on the condition of the co-operative movement in Orissa, which was made public in July, 1938. Although the Dewan Bahadur's criticisms relate to Orissa, they have equal point for other provinces as well.

The present unsatisfactory position of the co-operative movement in Orissa is said to be due to a large number of influences: "the economic depression and the concomitant fall in the prices of the agricultural products and of land, bad harvests or failure of crops on account of flood or drought, very low yield of land, high rates of interest, over or bad financing, wilful default by members, indifference and apathy of Panches and office bearers, collusive disposal of lands for payment of rent arrears, deliberate withholding of payment

in expectation of remissions, propaganda by interested parties for non-payment of debts, rapid expansion, inadequate supervision and control by Government staff, the policy of the Department in the earlier years for 'full finance' of members, including the payment of all their prior debts, prolonged and costly execution proceedings—these are all said to lie at the root of the present troubles."

And yet despite all its weaknesses, the Dewan Bahadur, speaking out of a generation of experience in co-operation, still expresses his belief in the potentialities of the movement and considers "that no sacrifice on the part of co-operators and others who have a stake in the movement, and no expenditure of time and money on the part of Government will be too great for the resuscitation of the movement."

The purpose of this article is not to enter into the intricacies of agricultural finance, but to present a brief picture of the Indian co-operative movement in its relation to rural reconstruction and to make certain suggestions for increasing the vitality of the movement. Perhaps the latter end can best be accomplished in a series of propositions.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR INCREASING THE VITALITY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

1. Co-operation to be effective must still be based upon the principle of mutual trust and the integrity of the individual member. This is not equivalent to saying that the traditional policy of "unlimited liability" must be continued in all agricultural credit societies. It is possible to demonstrate in numerous instances that this policy has been antagonistic to the best interests of the local society.
2. Factionalism and politics have no place in co-operation. In co-operation, as in the wider political life, Self Government is no substitute for Good Government. Unless the affairs of the local society are handled in a straight-forward and disciplined manner, the movement is doomed to failure.
3. There is still need for education regarding the purpose of co-operation. Co-operation does not mean simply "cheap credit." It means "controlled credit." The movement, from the primary society upwards, must adopt a sound policy for granting loans.
4. There is confusion as to the proper agency for granting long-term loans. It would appear that the credit function of the primary society should be short-term only, leaving long-term credit to the land mortgage banks, who must be assisted in their task by the State—both financially and by legislation and machinery for debt redemption. The long-term loan is essential in Indian economy,

both for agricultural purposes and to assist in the payment of accumulated debts, but the proper agency for this purpose is not the primary credit society. The present situation in several of the provinces is so serious that long-term capital must be raised to help the members pay their overdues and to rouse the movement from its present dormant state.

5. It goes without saying that the rural co-operative movement must have adequate supervision. There is a need for both a large and more fully trained supervisory staff.
6. Similarly, in the interests of efficiency, the audit staff must be increased and improved. It is unfair to the movement as a whole to allow individual societies to fail for lack of proper audit. Government must adopt a stern policy in winding up bad societies and the central banks and village credit societies should be equally stern in eliminating bad debtors. A co-operative society is not a mutual accommodation society : it must be operated in accordance with sound business principles.
7. On the banking side, the movement has not yet developed a working policy which strikes a mean between excessive domination of the primary societies by the central banks and allowing the primary societies to pursue their own individualistic way.
8. It is also essential that there should be closer co-operation between the banking structure of the co-operative movement and the Reserve Bank of India.
9. While the main function of a primary co-operative society is to supply prompt and adequate credit to meet the normal seasonal demands of the agriculturist, experience has demonstrated that wherever possible credit should be linked with marketing. Several of the provincial governments have concerned themselves with the problem of marketing, but regardless of official action, co-operators can and should help themselves in dealing with this vital problem.
10. There is a debate among co-operators regarding the place of the multi-purpose society. One school holds that the sole function of co-operation is co-operative credit, while another school holds that it is the duty of the co-operative movement to touch as many phases of life as possible. Without entering into the arguments it does seem that there is a definite place in India for the multi-purpose society, looking towards co-operative supply, co-operative marketing, and the general improvement of agricultural life. At the

same time, nothing is gained by attempting to place added burdens upon small societies lacking in leadership and which cannot be properly supervised.

11. It would appear that the time is ripe for an overhauling of the whole legislative framework which surrounds the co-operative movement, looking towards a re-organization in consonance with recent experience and changing world conditions.
12. Closely related to the co-operative movement and hampering its activities are 'systems of land tenure which operate against the cultivators; absentee landlordism; impossibly high rates of rent; and outmoded and oppressive systems of land revenue. Without an improvement on these fronts, the co-operative movement cannot hope to advance in any stirring fashion.

The recent action of the Bombay Government in transferring the propaganda work hitherto carried out by the Agricultural Department to the Co-operative Department, is a clear recognition of the close relationship which exists between Co-operation and Rural Reconstruction. As the 12th Conference of Registrars, held at New Delhi in 1936, well pointed out: "The Co-operative Movement should be used for extending the Rural Reconstruction Movement to the fullest extent compatible with its principles, having regard to the fact that it is the best, and in many cases the only means, of providing organization without which the movement cannot expect to be permanent."

A STUDY OF THE MANG GARUDIES UNDER SETTLEMENT CONDITIONS AT MUNDWA (POONA)

GOVIND N. HARSHE

To designate entire tribes of people as "criminal" and to place men, women and children under restrictive settlement conditions appears to be a relic of an outworn past. In this article, Mr. Harshe (*Tata School, 1940*), who is Senior Probation Officer, Poona After-Care Association, discusses some of the more important aspects of the wider problem and gives us insight into the life of a particular group residing in a typical settlement.

INDIA is the home of certain groups of people, who for generations past, have lived on the systematic commission of crime. Particular types of crimes have become both natural and hereditary for them and they are therefore known as "Criminal Tribes." In no other part of the world is there an exact parallel to these tribes. The closest approximation is perhaps the Gypsies of Europe. The Criminal Tribes may be said to be the lowest rung on the ladder of Hindu society, though no mention is made of them in any Hindu Mythology. They are not Untouchables, and yet they are superior to the Untouchables in some respects and inferior to them in others. They have their own elaborate code of discipline, etiquette and rituals. They are dreaded by society, watched by Government and despised by the castes in India. Ethnologically they are a mystery. Socially they are a problem. Humanly speaking they deserve sympathetic study and intelligent treatment.

The population of the Criminal Tribes has been estimated to be four millions, and they are spread over almost all the provinces of India. For the most part they are nomad folk, or those who have temporary abodes from which they proceed to pursue their more or less doubtful occupations. They differ greatly in habits, pursuits, observances and methods of crime and in the language they employ. Every Province has its own "criminal," nomad tribes who wander within a definite radius. The same tribe or clan may have branches of a similar name and of the same habits in more than one Province; while the same people are often known to the inhabitants of the different Districts of a single Province by different names. The Criminal Tribes should not be confused with the settled aboriginal stock in India who inhabit the more wooded and wilder regions, such as the Bhils and the Gonds. It is probable that their origin is varied.

But whatever their origin, it is interesting to note that all these Criminal Tribes have the most primitive style of living. They are still in the Hunting or the Pastoral stage. When they reach the Agricultural stage they tend to

abandon their earlier habits. The *Bavarias* of the Punjab, who snare wild animals with a noose, or the *Kanjars* of the United Provinces and the *Phansi-Pardhis* of Bombay—who are all snarers of wild birds and wild animals—are typical examples of the criminal classes who are still in the Hunting stage. They trap deer and other beasts and gather honey. They live in secluded places and are irregular and wild in their habits. Their culture is of a low level.¹

The *Nang-garori* and *Nahal* of the Central Provinces and the *Gujjars* of the United Provinces offer striking examples of the fact that some of the Criminal Tribes in India are in the Pastoral stage. The members of these tribes are lazy, but enterprising, and are imbued with the spirit of freedom and self-reliance. They are very superstitious and practise shamanism. Cattle-thieving is common among them. It is interesting, however, to notice that these tribes, when they settle on lands and take to some higher occupation, such as tanning, leather-working, or labour in the fields, modify their promiscuous habits, give up eating unclean food, and adopt customs such as infant marriage, which are to be found in the higher castes in India.²

The problem of reclaiming these Criminal Tribes has exercised the mind of the authorities for over a century. During the early 19th Century they were treated and punished for commission of crimes, like other criminals within the provisions of the statutory law. But it was found after many years of experience that no ordinary punishment or treatment, however severe, could produce any deterrent effect on them. The whole criminal administration was perturbed and the judges, superintendents of jails, jailors and police all agreed that these people needed an altogether different treatment.

Towards the end of the 19th Century it appears that no less than one-third of the jail population in this Province (Bombay) was drawn from predatory tribes. Jail treatment, moreover, proved no deterrent, as certain tribes merely became adept, on the detection of offences, in putting forward innocent members as the accused and in protecting the principal offenders on whose criminal activity they mainly depended for subsistence.

In 1871 the Government of India passed the first Criminal Tribes Act. It was applied in Sind and nowhere else in the Bombay Province . . . The passage of this Act, however, marks the beginning of a constructive policy and subsequent amending legislation is built on its foundation. In this Act the phrase "Criminal Tribe" was first coined and the system of registration begun. The Act of 1871 is thus notable in the initiation of the registration system, but it is far more noteworthy in its clear recognition that the problem at issue was basically an economic one . . . With the passage of a short Amendment Act in 1897, Local Governments were empowered to separate children, aged between 4 and 18 years, from irclaimable parents.

In 1911 a new all India Criminal Tribes Act replaced the Act of 1871 . . . The Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 lays down four distinct, progressive stages of treatment, viz., notification, registration, restriction and internment in a settlement. The minimum age for the sepa-

¹ Haikerwal, B. S., *Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India*, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*

ration of children from recalcitrant parents was raised to six years and certain allowed exemptions from registration were specified. Severe penalties were devised for the enforcement of the Criminal Tribes Act and members of notified tribes were mainly subject to executive action and, thereby, denied the full privileges of the common law.

In 1924 an All India Criminal Tribes Amendment Act was passed. The underlying principles of the earlier measure were retained: some minor confusions were removed and the only alteration of major importance was the provision of an official inquiry, prior to the passage of an internment order. As the Criminal Tribes Act was an all India measure, each Local Government was empowered to prescribe its own administrative rules. The Criminal Tribes Act of 1924 has remained in force up to the present time.³

Under the provisions of this Act, "If the Local Government has reason to believe that any tribe, gang or class of persons, or any part of a tribe, gang or a class, is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences, it may, by notification in the local official Gazette, declare that such tribe, gang or class or, as the case may be, that such part of the tribe, gang or class, is a criminal tribe for the purposes of this Act."⁴

In thus notifying and compelling the residence of some tribes in settlements, the authorities desired to "safeguard the rights of society against anti-social influence," and secondly, they wanted to reform the Criminal Tribes into useful citizens. For the successful carrying out of these objects they had to remember that the problem of the Tribes was "mainly an economic one." To meet this economic need in a proper atmosphere it became necessary to intern the whole family, and sometimes even whole tribes, in order that family and tribal life might not be interfered with. To what extent this policy has been successful can only be judged by a careful study of the life of such settlers in different settlements. The purpose of this article is to present a brief study of the Mang-Garudies in the Mundwa Settlement, Poona, as affording some basis for a general estimate of the work and value of such restriction in settlements.

It has been pointed out already that in restricting people in settlements the main consideration has to be the possibility of employment. As far back as 1871 the Central Government laid down that the onus of providing employment facilities for the tribes rested on the Local Government. Therefore in locating settlements the Government has had to think mainly of the possibility of employment. Thus in Bombay Province there are three types of settlements: Agricultural, Industrial and Reformatory. It has been found to be difficult to establish agricultural settlements, as the wandering propensity of the tribes does not easily lend itself to the settled life required by the agriculturist. From the administrative point of view it is not easy to get suitable land in sufficient quantities, and even where this is possible, agriculture requires

³ Bombay Government, *Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee*, 1939; Chapter III, pp. 25-28.

⁴ *The Criminal Tribes Act 1924*, Sec. 3, p. 1.

capital in the form of cattle, implements, etc. Moreover, agriculture does not ordinarily yield sufficient remuneration. For all these reasons there is only one agricultural settlement, at Kumbharganir, near the Hubli Industrial Settlement, though the Bijapur Reformatory Settlement has a partial agricultural emphasis. The industrial settlements are in the proximity of industrial centres in the Province. Work in a mill, for example, is fairly permanent and there is also the possibility of the settlers settling down in the mill centre on final release.

Mundwa, a place 5 miles away from Poona, is well known for its Paper Mill, and therefore an Industrial Settlement is established there. The Mundwa Settlement has members of 11 different tribes represented. The total number of settlers in March 1939, was 506. For the purposes of effective reformatory work, this number is an ideal one, according to the opinion expressed by Mr. O. H. B. Starte, the Father of the Settlements in Bombay Province, for with too large a number it is not possible to give individual attention—which is all important—and with too small a number the cost per capita goes too high for Government to maintain the settlement without great difficulty.

At the time I studied the Mundwa Settlement (April 1939), there were 144 Mang-Garudies in custody. As it was not possible to make a detailed study of all the tribes in the Settlement, I confined my observations to the Mang-Garudies, as they formed the second largest number in the Settlement—the largest group being the Haran Shikaris, with 161 members.

The Mang-Garudies are a wandering tribe, whose members can be found all over the Bombay Province. They are also met with in the Central Provinces, Berar and parts of Hyderabad State. They do not usually wander far to commit crime but confine themselves to a particular beat. There are instances, however, of their wandering away in groups to a distance of 20 miles in a night to commit crime, having previously received promising information.

Mang-Garudies never do a hard day's work. Begging, performing childish conjuring tricks before villagers, trading in barren half-starved buffaloes and buffalo calves, sometimes in country ponies, are their ostensible means of subsistence. They also purchase from *Gowlis* barren buffaloes which they profess to be able to make fertile, returning them when pregnant for double the purchase money, and they shave buffaloes for villagers.

A very few have settled and taken to cultivation. They do not go in for snake charming. The women sell firewood, grass, etc., and wander from door to door begging and chanting. They are immoral.⁶

Petty crimes of the type described above are resorted to by all the members of the family—men, women and children. The men steal by night

⁶ Kennedy, M., *Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 121.

and the women by day. They are experts at pick-pocketing, sneaking fowls, shoes, etc., and at pilfering clothes put out to dry. The men specialise in cattle lifting and cattle poisoning. Of late they have taken to thieving on the railway. They will occasionally go in for burglary and even highway robbery and dacoity.

In the pursuit of these crimes their *modus operandi* is varied and interesting. They almost live on their wits and the folly and credulity of the average villager. They drive off village cattle with their own and adroitly alter the appearance of stolen animals by trimming their horns and branding so as to make recognition by the rightful owner, difficult and even impossible. They buy a barren and ill-fed buffalo for a couple of rupees from the villager, feed it in other people's fields during the nights, and when thus fattened sell it in a village fair for upwards of Rs. 50/-. The seller does not return to the same market, for he knows that the buyer will soon discover that he has been tricked. If he is caught, he will flatly refuse knowledge of any bargain with the person in question.

The women go out begging, and when opportunity affords, quietly enter the house and take away anything handy. Or else they make mental notes of the houses worth breaking into, and the ways and means of getting admission. They visit bazaars—village fairs—in small numbers and pilfer bundles when the owner's attention is drawn elsewhere. Such pilfered bundles and articles are soon transferred into their baskets, which apparently contain only old clothes.

When the police are on their track and when their menfolk are caught, the women resort to all sorts of methods either to drive the police away or to hide the stolen property. They become boisterous, while their men remain truculent. "To hamper and embarrass the police they will stick at nothing even in injuring themselves and their children to create a diversion, assaulting the police and making false accusations of all kinds. A common trick is to seize a child by the legs and swing it round at arm's length threatening to dash it to the ground unless the police clear out. Another is for the women to lift their *saris* or even divest themselves of their clothing and stand up naked in order to shame the police into making off and leaving them alone." ⁶

No wonder then that the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, 1939, observe, "Curiously, women are more criminal than men who are known to subsist on the criminality of their wives." ⁷

With such a record of crime it was inevitable that the Bombay Government should Notify the Mang-Garudies under Section 3 of the Criminal Tribes

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

Act, 1924, and Register them for Restriction in various settlements. Out of an estimated total of 6,183 in the Bombay Province, 1,272 were registered in the various settlements of the Province in March 1939.

The usual procedure is as follows. Any member of the tribe above the age of 16 can be registered by the police and his movements restricted to a given area. Every such registered member may be required under Section 10 of the Act to (either or both) :

- “(a) report himself at fixed intervals, or, in popular language, to submit to ‘hazri’;
- (b) notify his place of residence and any change or intended change of residence, and any absence or intended absence from his residence.”

A notified tribe or part of it may, under Section 11, be:

- “(a) restricted in its or his movements to any specified area, or
- (b) settled in any place of residence.”

The period of detention in the settlement depends upon good behaviour. Out of the Mang-Garudies resident in Mundwa, some have been detained for only two years, while others have lived for 20 long years in the Settlement. Such a long stay in the Settlement for purposes of reformation makes one wonder if the criminal tendencies of the members of this tribe are so great as to make reformation practically impossible, or whether the unduly long stay is due to the rigid discharge rules framed by the Local Government. Under the provisions of the rules a settler may be discharged if (a) he has resided in a settlement in the Bombay Presidency for six years, if he is a member of a domiciled tribe, or for eight years, if he is a member of a wandering tribe, since the date of the expiry of his last conviction, and (b) during the last three years of his residence in such settlement he has had no disciplinary punishment for breach of rules of the settlement, and (c) in the opinion of the Settlement Officer he will be able to maintain himself and his dependents by honest means on discharge from the settlement.

It is also provided that if the Settlement Officer considers it desirable he can discharge a settler at his own discretion. But, as the Bombay Enquiry Committee points out : “In the first place, Clause (b) of rule 62 is much too general, regard being had to the very wide nature of the possible disciplinary punishments and meticulous rules of conduct prescribed for the settlers. Thus quarrelling is punishable under the rules; for trivial breaches of discipline warnings may be given and these will count as ‘disciplinary punishments’ for the purposes of Rule 62 . . . Discharge was refused in one place on the vague ground that the man was not ‘sufficiently truthful’ or ‘the wife was quarrelsome’! It would be a grievous mistake in our opinion to

expect and demand adherence to social customs or rules of behaviour which are not even followed by the community at large outside." *

The number of convictions one has also goes to prolong one's stay in the settlement. Thus in Mundwa of the 67 registered Mang-Garudies most of them had more than one conviction. The following table shows the number of recorded convictions:

No. of convictions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	16
No. of men	3	2	3	5	5	9	4	1	3	1	0	1	0	1
No. of women	1	1	1	2	3	4	3	2	5	3	1	2	1	0

On a close study of the cause of their crime we find that a great majority of those convicted are convicted under Sections 378 and 379 of the Indian Penal Code,—sections which pertain to various forms of thieving. Occasionally some are convicted under Section 325, which deals with causing grievous hurt and extorting of property. Still fewer come under Sections 107 to 110—sections which deal with security for keeping peace on conviction, security for good behaviour from persons, from vagrants and suspected persons, security from habitual offenders.

A casual glance at the above table showing the number of convictions of different individuals may lead one to feel that the Mang-Garudies as a whole are "criminal by nature" or that criminality is in their blood. But closer study of the nature of their crimes has convinced me that economic and social circumstances are the root cause of their criminality. The Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee, 1939, are also of the same opinion. "We are emphatically not of the opinion that the so-called 'criminal' tribes are inherently 'criminal' in the sense either that their criminality is necessarily hereditary or that no amount of attempts at improving them can alter their habits." *

There is no biological evidence to prove their criminal inheritance. Given to a wandering life; thrown almost outside any recognized or mentionable form of Hinduism; sacrificing and worshipping to strange deities and patron saints, served, perhaps, by renegade excommunicated Hindu priests; they have been absolutely the scum, the flotsam and jetsam of Indian life, of no more regard than the beasts of the field. Hence their repeated convictions.

One of the prime factors for successfully reforming an individual is to carry conviction into his mind that what he is doing is wrong and that his behaviour amounts to an anti-social act. One of the best recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to enquire into the policy and law relating to these "Criminal Tribes," is the abolition of the

* Bombay Government, *Report of Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee*, 1939, pp. 59-60.

* P. 75.

very term "Criminal Tribes." That odious term has had disastrous effect in deadening what little self-respect the poor tribes possessed and in completely isolating them from civilized communities. The Committee suggest the use of the term "Restricted Tribes."

A study of the socio-economic life of the Mang-Garudies shows that they are not like the individual criminal, who is a misfit in his group, nor have they any particular pathological defects not found in other sections of the people. Each member of a criminal tribe is thoroughly loyal to his social organization; stands by the other members more than the good citizen does by his group; worships his gods and follows his orthodox methods meticulously. According to the standards of their own organization, they are virtuous and laudable people. No social, economic or political group could have more loyal members and fewer traitors to their class and caste than the Criminal Tribes. And yet they are a menace to society. Why? Because they do not consider it immoral to lift a buffalo, or pilfer a bundle, and hence there is no moral incentive for them to give up the life of crime. Their gods are supposed to give them success in their criminal career. Before they start off on their "job" they invoke the blessings of their gods. From the economic point of view, as a life of crime is easier than the grim economic struggle outside, which an honest citizen has to wage for himself, there is no incentive for them to give up their lucrative criminal careers. Therefore the first task is to convince the individual of the need of a new outlook and the wrongness of his present life. If he is to be reclaimed to be a member of our society his very thought patterns have to be changed in order that he may fit into the larger organized society, whose moral, economic and ethical codes are different from his own. "The criminal who follows the career as a means of livelihood develops an economic attitude towards it. He speaks of it in terms no different from those employed by the professional in other fields of endeavour. This point is stressed because it is fundamental to an understanding of the problem of crime to see that the criminal takes his work as a matter of course, as a way of life and as a means to a livelihood."¹⁰

Even under settlement conditions the Mang-Garudies keep to their social and religious customs. And it is in the fitness of things that they should be allowed to develop in their own social environment. So far as I could gather they have no joint family system. When a son comes of marriageable age he gets his wife and makes his own home, and yet there was ample proof of a happy relationship between related families. They permit polygamy, as they view it as an economic asset. A girl must be married before puberty, and on no account later than 15, and it is derogatory to a man to be

¹⁰ Tannenbaum, Frank, *Crime and the Community*, p. 86.

unmarried after 25. The marriage ceremony is performed very much on the lines of the non-Brahmins of Maharashtra, and usually lasts for four days. The life of the girl with her husband, if she is married before puberty, starts immediately after puberty. The coming of age of a girl itself is an occasion for a ceremony. It can be safely said that girls generally marry between the ages of 10 and 18 and men between 18 and 25. On questioning the elders of the community as to the cause of this early marriage, they said that :

- (1) If a man is not married before the age of 20 he may be spoilt and the chances of getting a suitable wife are less ;
- (2) There is need of protecting the girls from immoral men ; and
- (3) They desire to have children as early as possible to help them in their economic existence.

It is not unusual for a woman to be a grandmother at the age of 30.

Widow re-marriage is freely practised and there were instances of the wife being much older than her husband. It is not difficult to get a divorce and for that purpose the Mang-Garudies seldom go to the courts. Their Panchayats decide their disputes.

On a careful classification of the Mang-Garudies according to their age groups, we find that out of a total strength of 186 persons (though the actual number on record is only 144), 114 are between the ages of 11 to 50. Though ordinarily the age groups between 15 and 45 may be regarded as the earning or the working group, we have taken a wider margin, having regard to the fact that these people usually start working when about 11 and work even after 50. If in a group of 186, the workers number 114, and only 72 may be regarded as dependents, the average economic condition would appear to be quite satisfactory. But on studying the monthly income of each family we discover the following information :

For 3 families the monthly income is between Rs. 1 and 5¹¹

„ 15	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	6 and 10
„ 14	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	11 and 15
„ 16	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	16 and 20
„ 2	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	21 and 25

42 of these 50 families are in debt. The extent of their indebtedness may be classified as follows:

<i>Amount of debt in Rupees</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
1 to 5	6
6 to 10	9
11 to 15	10
16 to 20	2

¹¹ These 3 families are aged non-earners. Their income is derived from financial assistance received from near relatives.

meeting and solving this problem. Provincial Governments have appointed special committees to study the whole subject of the tribes and the settlements and to suggest means for improving matters. As a result of both private and Governmental effort an All-India Penal Reform League was recently founded, and one of its main planks of interest and activity is the Criminal Tribes in India. Scholars are giving thought and time to the socio-economic study of these tribes. The efforts of all these forces are certain to be of value. One wonders if a time will not come when India will have forgotten that part of her population was once dubbed "criminal."

AFTER-CARE OF RELEASED PRISONERS

OM PRAKASH GOEL

Society may breathe a sigh of relief when its offenders are safely placed behind prison walls, but its responsibility does not end until it has made every attempt to restore the offender to normal social relationships. The work of the Discharged Prisoners Aid Societies, discussed in this article, is a neglected but vital element in the rehabilitation process.

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IT is a hard fact that society in India has not yet fully realised the reasons for recidivism, and our people have yet to learn that it is not a psychological aptitude for crime in a particular man that leads the ex-convict back to the prison gates. On the other hand it is far too often the absence of a fair opportunity to enter into a suitable and honest life after release that leads the ex-convict to offend against society again. While in jail the prisoner gets cut off from old habits and associations. He is marked with disgrace which prevents him from normal living. He is cast forth abruptly and without support to face all the difficulties of life and all the seductions of liberty. Hence it is that the need for an agency to take care of the discharged prisoner for such time as may be absolutely necessary before he starts life over again has become generally recognized.

In India, the Prison Department of the United Provinces can rightly be styled the pioneer of the movement to aid the prisoner, inasmuch as a fund for aiding released prisoners called "The Aid To Discharged Prisoners' Fund" was started there in 1893—the first of its kind in the country. Great leaders of Indian and Asiatic thought have preached the obligation of helping the imprisoned and restoring them to normal life. But the carrying out of this preaching has been left to the individual's charitable instinct. With the people of India such assistance has been more or less a question of pity or religious sentiment, rather than a duty to be performed for the individual prisoner. Even in western countries it was not until the eighteenth century that society recognized its obligation to those whom it had punished in order to protect itself.

Although some benefactions and some trusts had previously come into existence, it was left to John Howard, the great prison reformer, to draw society's attention to the prisoner's lot and to introduce much-needed reforms into jails. About the year 1808 the Quakers started a society for released prisoners. This society may well be styled the parent of all societies which are now serving the British Empire. The early societies confined their

attention to conditions within prison walls. Experience, however, convinced them that it was not enough to improve the condition of the prison and the prisoners, and it came to be realised that "the most terrible moment in a convict's life is not that in which the prison door closes upon him, shutting him out from the world, but that in which it opens to admit him to the world: having lost his character and standing among men, having suffered for months and years from the deprivation of pleasures to which he was accustomed, and having but little, if any, money in his pocket to meet necessary expenses."

The necessity, therefore, became recognized of lending the prisoner a helping hand when he was released, and this led to the formation of discharged prisoners' aid societies. The English Parliament seems to have taken interest in this matter since 1792 and one finds that in 1823, 1862, 1865 and 1877, different enactments were passed, which while maintaining the philanthropic and charitable origin and aspect of these societies, attempted to encourage and stimulate their efforts by offering direction and guidance to them. In order to secure greater uniformity in method and the co-operation of outside agencies, Mr. Churchill, the then Home Secretary, acting on the report of the Commissioner of Prisons submitted in 1909, announced in the House of Commons in July 1910, the formation of the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts in England. The Association combined all the existing societies which were working for the common purpose of aiding convicts on discharge. It undertakes to provide to every discharged convict a fair prospect of rehabilitation on the day of discharge. This has led to that cordial and harmonious relationship between official and voluntary efforts, which experience has proven to be not only the best, but the only effective method, of dealing with the problem of the discharged prisoner. Uniformity of procedure and an agreed policy in the pursuit of a common cause has now been achieved and according to Sir Evelyn Ruggles Brise, K. C. B., the fall in the percentage of recidivism has been so marked that numerous jail establishments have been closed.

As in England, so on the continent, for if one moves from place to place one finds that Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies are working very successfully. The National Assembly of France, during the eighties of the last century, voted the constitution of *Societe Generale des Prisons*—a body which has aroused French public opinion. Germany also has not lagged behind. In fact no continental administration has viewed with equanimity the vast wastage of man power that has emerged out of its prison gates.

Turning to the conditions in our own country, the Indian Government has not been able, for reasons which need not be discussed here, to enlist that measure of public sympathy for the cause of discharged prisoners which could

have produced appreciable results. Even though the United Provinces Prison Department had started an Aid To Discharged Prisoner's Fund in 1893, little was done to aid the prisoners until recently, when in the year 1937 the Congress Government formed the United Provinces Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society. Bengal, Burma, Madras, the Central Provinces, the Punjab and other provinces have interested themselves in this movement.

The Punjab Prisoners' Aid Society, which was formed in 1928, has organized societies in 29 districts and quite an encouraging account is being received from each unit. The societies also help the families of prisoners during the imprisonment of the bread-winner. In the United Provinces, the Society which was constituted in 1937, has in quite a short period organized district societies all over the Province. It has appointed seven probation officers and one Chief Probation Officer to promote the objects of the Society. The Government of the United Provinces gives an annual grant of Rs. 14,529/- to the Society, in addition to which the Society also receives donations from the public. Equally creditable work is being done by the Madras Province's Aid Society. Madras is by far the most efficient and successful province in this respect. The Society has organized as many as 24 district committees and owns 12 permanent homes for discharged prisoners. This Society is also working the First Offenders' Act and employs 7 probation officers and one Chief Probation Officer to assist the Society. The Madras Society derives its financial support both from the public and Government. In addition to donations and other public contributions, Government give a grant of about Rs. 11,250/- per year. The working of the First Offenders' Probation Act has so far given encouraging results in Madras.

The general theory of probation may be explained in the words of the Departmental Committee of the English Home Office 1909:

The Probation Act provides a method by which a person who has offended against the law, instead of being punished by imprisonment or fine, or in the case of a child, being sent for a prolonged period to a reformatory or an industrial school, may be brought under the direct personal influence of a man or woman chosen for excellence of character and for strength of personal influence; and lending authority to that supervision, securing that it shall not be treated as a thing of little amount, the Act keeps suspended over the offender the penalty of the law, to be inflicted or to be withdrawn according as his conduct during this specified period is bad or good. Often without friends of their own, more often with friends only of a degraded type, out of touch with any civilizing influence, the probation officer comes to them from a different level of society, giving a helping hand to lift them out of the groove that leads to serious crime. He assists the man out of work to find employment. He puts the lad into touch with the manager of a Boy's Club, where he can be brought under healthy influences... Securing for him a respectful hearing and furnishing a motive for the acceptance of his counsels, there is always in the background the sanction of the penal law—the knowledge that the Probation Officer is the eye of the magistrate, that misbehaviour will be reported to the court and will bring its penalty. So great, however, is the influence which a good probation officer is able to exercise over an offender during the specified period of probation, that

his friendly interest is often sought after that period has expired and his advice continues to carry weight, although the powers that support it are ended.

The United Provinces and Madras lead in the working out of the First Offenders' Act. This Act has also been passed in Bombay, but has not as yet been put into force by Government.

As has already been pointed out, Madras is giving India the lead in After-Care work. The Madras Society is not content with mere monetary aid to individual ex-convicts, or even in settling them in useful employment. The Society has also undertaken the work of supervision of their after life. After-care on discharge is the pivot of the whole system and is particularly important in the cases of Certified and Borstal School boys. To carry out this object, the Executive Committee at Madras and the District Committees in the mofussil have appointed throughout the province more than a thousand After-Care Officers. Their duties are:

(1) To visit the persons entrusted to their care as often as possible—at least once a fortnight.

(2) To make enquiries regarding them of their employers, if they have any, and their neighbours; mix and talk with them, acquaint themselves with their difficulties and troubles.

(3) To give all such help, advice and encouragement, as may be necessary to keep them steadfastly in the ways of virtuous living.

(4) To send periodical reports (at least once a quarter) of their progress to the Committee which appointed them.

The reports of District Committees show that the After-Care Officers have been paying regular visits to the persons entrusted to their care—the majority of whom, so it is said, have turned over a new leaf and have settled down as honest citizens. The Society also sends its agents and secretaries periodically to interview the prisoners in the jails, with a view to acquaint themselves with the needs and requirements of prisoners about to be released and to enable arrangements to be made for settling them in life after their release. The Secretary himself interviewed more than a thousand prisoners during the year.

Another item of pre-discharge work which the Madras Society has undertaken to do in jails is the arranging of lectures and moral instruction. The Society also gives clothes to the prisoners who come out ill-clad and has started an experiment in the city of Madras of collecting second hand, but serviceable clothes, from the more fortunate people and distributing them to the ex-convicts according to their requirements. The experiment has received very encouraging response from the public. Although legal assistance to prisoners does not come strictly within the scope of the objects of the Society,

individual lawyer members have rendered useful service to several convicts and under-trials by defending their criminal cases in courts and in preparing appeals against their convictions in lower courts.

The Central Provinces and Berar Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society was registered on 26th September, 1926. This society is fortunate enough to have a ladies sub-committee, which is divided into three committees (a) the sewing committee, (b) the literary education sub-committee, and (c) the magic lantern sub-committee. These sub-committees meet the women prisoners in prison once a week, teach them sewing and embroidery, tell them moral and religious stories and impart information on social and labour conditions. A magic lantern show is arranged once a week.

The Bengal Prisoner's Aid Society is the oldest in our country. The most notable feature of the Society is its industrial home, which maintains book-binding and weaving departments. The average monthly earnings of the four classes of workmen in the book-binding department were at last report Rs. 33/12/-, Rs. 26/15/3, Rs. 21/- and Rs. 14/3/- respectively. For the products of the weaving department the Report suggests that it is very difficult to get a market. Hence the main advantage of the work lies in giving work to the unemployed prisoners.

In the Bombay Province there are only three societies. These are in Bombay, Bijapur and Ahmedabad. The Bombay Society has an agent who visits a local prison every day and distributes monetary relief to prisoners on discharge. The Society previously employed an agent to work in the Police Courts, but he has been withdrawn for want of adequate funds. Only recently the Bombay Society, with the co-operation of the Rotary Club of Bombay, has been able to appoint a trained Probation Officer who visits the three city prisons, makes intimate contacts with prisoners before release, conducts enquiries about their home conditions and the cause of their delinquency and assists in working out a plan for their rehabilitation. A sub-committee of the Society, called the Case Committee, presided over by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, supervises the work of the Probation Officer. It is hoped that the Society may co-operate in working out the First Offenders' Probation Act and also extend its activities in other directions, such as Borstal After-Care. The Bombay Society suffers from public apathy and inadequate Government patronage. The Bombay Government are only contributing about Rs. 700/- annually, which figure fades into insignificance when compared to the annual contributions made by the United Provinces and Madras Governments—Rs. 14,529/- and Rs. 11,250/- respectively.

Normally, well nigh 1,11,342 prisoners annually are admitted into the Bombay jails, and of these not less than 15 per cent are habituals. The

charge per capita of maintaining a prisoner in jail has been worked out to be about Rs. 108/- per year. If the Province should maintain a very efficient and widespread organisation for the aid of discharged prisoners, there is reason to suppose that the habitual convict population would go down appreciably within a reasonable period of time, which would mean a substantial relief to the provincial exchequer. Even granting that there may not be much monetary saving to begin with, it cannot be denied that the gain on the moral side would be immense and incalculable in terms of money.

The aims and objects of such an organisation should be :

(a) to give, as far as may be possible, such help as may be needed on release, to persons convicted of criminal offences, without distinction of race or creed.

(b) To make efforts to reclaim habitual offenders from a life of crime and enable prisoners after release to live honest and respectable lives.

(c) To make special arrangements, with the end in view of preventing casual and juvenile offenders from becoming habitual offenders.

(d) To promote legislation, and the application of the existing law, to secure that sentence of imprisonment shall be passed only in cases which cannot adequately or appropriately be dealt with in any other way.

(e) To collect funds.

Numerous cases are on record where societies with the above aims extended kindly reception on release and carried on sympathetic and intelligent follow-up work which resulted in winning the ex-convict back to society. The principal help and chief need of many a discharged prisoner consists not so much in pecuniary aid as in finding a friend and a sympathetic adviser. To ensure that a permanent reform may take place in the character of the prisoner it is necessary that germs of morality, conscience and will power be developed and strengthened into permanent elements of his nature. It is necessary that the people around him try to understand and befriend him. This work can be undertaken only by those who have a philosophy which recognises human personality as a thing to be highly respected. A worker with ex-convicts should have "virile warmth and the usual number of human impulses, controlled by inhibition. . . . Power to say 'no' to one's selfish demands, power to refrain from actions which tend to injure others, power of guidance over fear, anxiety, anger, irritation, resentment, and love, is absolutely essential to a social worker with delinquents." ¹ Or again: "The process (of making good) includes insight, transference, development of personality and increased social relationships. It must not be understood that these stages, or levels, have any arbitrary sequence; they may occur almost simultaneously. In this field

¹ Van Waters, Miriam, *Youth in Conflict*, p. 193.

there are 'miracles,' i. e., swift transformations of personality which we are too ignorant to understand . . . Mere provision of 'good conditions,' routine, better economic and social measures, regimen, good health, opportunities for companionship and recreation, 'respectability' in the environment, are of little avail, unless the central springs of the living spirit have somehow been tapped. The process is usually that of slow natural growth; to build 'moral muscle' requires time. Impatience for results may lead to disaster. Faith, tolerance, belief in life, are the chief requisites in the social worker who wishes to assist young delinquents in 'making good'.² And that which is true of workers with young delinquents is no less true of those who would assist adult offenders. A social worker with ex-convicts has to take into account their early life, their work habits, their family history and their vocational fitness. He has to study the emotional life of the individual, for not only are the emotions the foundation of all practical life, they also enter into abstract intellectual functions in various ways.

The chief object to be kept steadily in view in any efforts to help the discharged prisoner should be as far as possible to render such assistance as will further the best interests both of the offender and the community. Direct aid to this class of persons should consist mainly in endeavours to obtain employment for them or to stimulate them to self-supporting industry. The starting of industrial homes or farms for ex-convicts may relieve their problem to some extent, but as one of England's greatest criminologists points out, "the solution of the penal problem is mainly in the great political considerations which determine trade and thus affect the facility of employment."

Society should, therefore, direct every effort toward securing employment for discharged prisoners. Discharged prisoners are a class who require aid, both from the humanitarian standpoint and from the standpoint of the self interest of the community. The person who has suffered for his misconduct deserves a lift in the direction of honest and useful citizenship. "Everybody's hand is against him and his hand is against everybody." This is not the way to social peace. The prisoner on release should be made to feel that society still cares for him and that he still has a responsibility toward society.

Though primarily the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies are meant for after-care work, yet as a background for this work, such societies should, during the period of imprisonment of a convict, render him all possible help in such of his domestic concerns as are likely to influence the after-care stage. For example, his holding, his home and his other assets should, as far as practicable, be looked after. This work can best be undertaken by the district tehsil or village societies wherever the prisoner comes from. The question of

² *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150,

assistance to families of persons in jail has been widely accepted as having an important bearing on the subject of subsequent adjustment. The work of aid societies in England has been extended to the assistance of wives and families of men undergoing imprisonment. The possibility of regaining on the part of the convicted prisoner, his position in society, depends to a large extent on his finding after release the same state of things prevailing within his family as at the time of conviction and sentence. A most powerful influence for restraining him from fresh crime and for inciting him to honesty is the home influence—the desire to provide for the persons dependent upon him. An inevitable depression will overwhelm him if he finds their condition ruined beyond restoration. It is no wonder if under such circumstances he may in despair grow reckless and allow himself to be sucked-up in the whirlpool of vice that is ever eddying around him! This may be prevented if the Prisoners' Aid Society assumes the offender's place as the guardian and protector of his family. As in England and other modern countries, the Society should take charge of the families of persons sentenced to imprisonment, look after their welfare, render pecuniary aid where necessary, find employment if required and offer all necessary advice and assistance, so that the home of the prisoner may be preserved from being broken up in his absence. The help of the society is all the more necessary for India where women generally are ignorant and helpless because of illiteracy and the purdah system.

From the social point of view as well, the integrity of the family is essential. So long as the family is central in our social organisation, its preservation is essential also, as the whole cannot live comfortably while one of its parts is diseased. If an ex-convict is not effectually rescued from his evil ways and if he is not enabled to earn an honest livelihood, he will certainly revert to crime and few things are more costly to nations than crime. An eminent authority says: "A prisoner is a dead loss to the community. Every time he goes back to prison, this loss occurs. An agency which prevents his going back is, therefore, saving money to the State. When it makes a good citizen out of a bad one, or out of one who is no citizen at all, it puts money, so to speak in the State's pocket. It also to this extent saves the individual citizen of India from the threat of robbery and other depredation."

The Indian Jails Committee, 1920, also writes in Paragraph 24 of its Report: "The daily average population of convicted persons may be taken at about 1,00,000. If it is assumed that the net value of the labour of these prisoners when at liberty is Rs. 100/- per annum, a loss to the country through their detention in prison amounts Rs. one crore per annum. To this must be added the net cost of guarding, feeding and clothing them in jail, which cannot be placed at a lower figure than another one crore per annum. The total loss

to the community is thus two crores a year." This, of course, does not include several crores of rupees spent annually on the detection of crime, police, judiciary and other paraphernalia necessary to bring these criminals to justice. "Thus the reformation of the prisoner or the prevention of crime is one of the cheapest developments of social wisdom and one of the most genuine operations, of political economy . . . And none-the-less it is a work of mercy, for a large proportion of criminals are more to be pitied than blamed, when all their antecedents of heredity, parental neglect, ignorance, poverty, and privation are fairly weighed and examined. If their origin and environment had been ours, perhaps we should have needed the sympathy which we now invite for them." What is required is a change in society's outlook towards these unfortunate social outcasts—particularly those convicted for the first time.

The Asquith Departmental Committee on Prisons (English) 1895, stated: "The habitual prisoner can be effectually put down in one way only and that is by cutting off the supply." One of the surest ways of cutting off the supply is to give facilities to released prisoners generally, and first offenders particularly, to rehabilitate themselves. Therefore, the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies must not only remain alert to helping the ex-prisoner out of his difficulties, but must also create favourable public opinion towards the cause of ex-convicts. In this connection a statement of Mr. Winston Churchill, while he was Home Secretary, may be quoted with interest: "The mood and temper of the public with regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilisation of any country. A calm dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused and even of the convicted criminal against the state, a constant heart-searching by all charged with the duty of punishment, a desire and eagerness to rehabilitate to the world of industry those who have paid their due in the hard coinage of punishment; tireless efforts towards the curative and regenerative process; unfailing faith that there is a treasure if you can only find it, in the heart of every man—these are the symbols, which, in the treatment of crime and the criminal mark and measure the stored up strength of a nation and are sign and proof of a living virtue in it."

NOTES AND COMMENTS

CHAIRMAN OF TATA SCHOOL TRUSTEES HONOURED

IT is a source of satisfaction to all associated with the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work that the Chairman of the Trustees, Mr. S. D. Saklatvala, has been awarded a Knighthood in the New Year's Honours List. Sir Sorab's active interest in humanitarian affairs over a long period of years has placed him in the forefront of India's enlightened industrialists and it is most fitting that his manifold public services should thus be recognized.

THE MEROM IDEA

Friends and former students of Dr. Arthur E. Holt of Chicago, who was Visiting Professor in the Tata School in 1936-37, will be interested in this address, which Dr. Holt delivered at the dedication of new buildings at Merom Institute (Indiana U. S. A.) Dr. Holt's insistence that rural culture must be conserved and developed will meet a warm response in India.

WHEN I was a young lad on the farm I had a theory in horse trading which I think has, in one way or another, characterized most of my thinking down through the years ! This theory was that if I could trade a fat horse for a horse that was poor and thin but which had possibilities, I could win out in the game of horse trading. Now, sometimes it worked and sometimes it didn't. I'd like to here put on record that in pursuance of this theory my family have been compelled to ride behind more than its fair share of "old crow-baits." I traded for an old horse in Pueblo, Colorado, which the family immediately named "Napoleon" because of his "bony parts." I traded for another which had all the beauty of outline of a razor-back hog. He had an arched back, long, sloping hips, high withers, and a long neck. I think nature started out to make a giraffe, but didn't have quite enough neck, so made a horse. Even when he was fat he wasn't pretty. He could snort so that you could hear him from one end of Main Street to the other. Everybody knew when the Holt family was in town because they could hear "Old Kid" snort. It was too bad the fire department didn't have him, they wouldn't have needed either a gong or a whistle. But with his long over-reaching stride he wasn't the slowest horse on the road and for endurance he was still going when all the rest had quit. He helped educate

three successive members of the Holts by taking them twelve miles over dirt roads to a little academy. As I said, some time the theory works and sometimes it does not.

Because of this theory of mine, I suspect that the Bennett Brothers found me a rather easy victim when they asked if I would be willing to become chairman of the Board of Directors of a college which twelve years before had closed as a Liberal Arts College. I was convinced that Indiana needed another liberal arts college about as much as California needed another mountain peak. But back of these black walnut staircases, these hand-made bricks, I saw an outward thrust of liberal religion into education. The people who built this building had convictions. They were willing to bring Horace Mann to be president of a school at Yellow Springs, Ohio; they were willing to join with the Unitarians in founding a great liberal seminary. Here I thought I saw something which had grown rather lean from lack of nourishment but which it might be worth while to fatten up with some public support.

I can give you today only very briefly the articles in our faith which sustain the staff and Board of Directors in our efforts to carry forward Merom Institute as the successor to Union Christian College.

1. We believed there was a place for an institution which would conserve for our country and our religion the native values of rural life. You remember that when we met in the little chapel for the funeral of Ferry Platt all the doves in the trees were mourning a funeral chant. From this hill, every morning and evening, you can see the Divine Painter illuminating the sky with colors no artist can equal. Rural life has its contribution to make to the great total of religious mysticism.

2. We believed there is a place for an institution which will vitalize and socialize the religious culture of a region. Some religions fight culture, some religions are the victims of culture and some religions meet other legitimate cultural efforts and co-operate with them. You can't have county planning on the basis of a religion which believes that the world is soon coming to an end.

3. We believe there is a place for an institutional adventure which places intelligence and inspiration at the disposal of people who intend to live in rural neighborhoods rather than at the disposal of people who intend to climb out of them. In general I think the church has spent millions of dollars on institutions which have become ladders by which people have climbed out of rural communities.

4. We believe there is a place for a program which works for a distributed rather than a centralized America. Raymond Gram Swing in one of his recent broadcasts said that the security of London lies in the fact that it is a decentralized aggregation of villages. There is no central power system,

no central water system, and no central gas system, which can be bombed and the whole city be put out of business. The security of America lies in its decentralization. We do not want any centralized gas system which can exist for all of us. Rural life has suffered because the city people have tried to do all the talking. For a whole generation the social creed of the churches proclaimed the rights and privileges of urban workers without once recognizing that this might result in the poverty of rural workers. There is a place for a morale and thought center for rural causes.

5. There is a place for a rural institution which will immerse itself in the stream of rural life and be an observation, a listening and a service post as American rural life goes through that great industrial change brought on by our ability to manufacture and use machinery. The Rust Brothers have just announced that next year they go into mass production in the manufacture of cotton picking machinery. I have no statistics but if my observations are correct, a very large part of the A. A. A. payments have gone into the buying of machinery which makes farm hands unnecessary. A recent letter from a resident of this community called my attention to a farm which once supported thirty people and now only supports six. According to a recent survey the villages of southern Illinois are already filled with a rural non-farm unemployed. The compulsory draft system will displace our population still more as it did in the last war. A new kind of rural culture is evidently ahead of us. There is one kind of immersion I believe in, and that is the kind which immerses itself in the stream of life even as Graham Taylor immersed himself in the river wards of Chicago and a half century later Chicago voted him the first citizen of its city.

6. There is a place for an institutional program which will try to keep alive the principle of self-help in a democracy. I spent part of last summer among the Mennonites out in Kansas. I was impressed with the solid nature of their culture and their inevitably great future. The key to their greatness lies in their widespread adoption of the principle of self-help. I noted the size of their rural churches, membership of 750 and 675 at Sunday School. Co-operative buying and selling and marketing, mutual aid insurance companies, old folks' homes and hospitals. The Mennonites are discussing the founding of a theological seminary. I am trying to get them to establish it here at Merom. We have made our own attempts at co-operative self-help. One is entitled to his own opinion about how much has been accomplished by this group which meets around the round table in the library of this building. I am perfectly certain that it constitutes for many people the biggest reason why some people on the outside are willing to help in this effort here.

7. We are deeply indebted to the staff who have given such unselfish

loyalty. We are indebted to the supporting agencies which our Mr. Green has mentioned. Like all educational institutions we have needs beyond our present supply. We need additional cottages for about 75 girls; we need a swimming pool adequately equipped with filtering plant. We need all the year around cottages which can be attached to the central heating plant.

And now may I come to a more personal note. Five years ago today there passed from this earth one whom you have been generous enough to honor with a memorial hall. In order that you may feel that you are not just honoring my family but are really carrying forward a cause I want to tell you something of Asa Dutton Holt. My father's name heads the list of the first group initiated into the first Grange organized in the United States. He was born on a farm near Fredonia, in the western part of New York in 1847. In 1867, O. E. Kelley, on a trip from Washington, D. C., to his farm in Minnesota, stopped off at Fredonia and organized the first Grange in the United States. Father was not a charter member but his name heads the list of the first group initiated. His two sisters and his sweetheart, my mother, joined at that time and were initiated a month later. In six years, this Grange movement had 858,000 members and according to Solon J. Buck of Harvard "marked the opening of the new period in American history." This epoch being nothing less than our national struggle for economic democracy.

In 1871 father went to Colorado and became a leading figure in northern Colorado's attempt to rescue itself from the grip of the Great American Desert by means of irrigation. These were the days when irrigation procedure was in the making. It was not only a struggle against an unfriendly nature but all the traditions of British common law were against them. The first men who took out irrigation ditches had to go to jail to secure a reversal on the part of the Supreme Court, that the water in the river belongs to the man who owns the bank of the river. They finally secured the ruling that water for irrigation is a public resource, and although there may be priority of appropriation, you cannot hoard it, nor monopolize it; you can only show a right to it.

Father organized one of the first of the mutual stock companies for irrigation in northern Colorado, this company, the Highland Ditch Company later became one of the largest and most far-seeing of the companies of this kind. Professor Lowry Nelson, whose knowledge of such projects goes back to long experience has called these mutual companies one of America's best examples of economic democracy. For more than sixty years, in addition to carrying forward a 700-acre irrigated farm, father was officially connected with this company most of the time as president. He knew more about irrigation law than most of the lawyers. I have often seen him prepare a case and turn it over to the lawyers for presentation at court. He got a great deal of

satisfaction out of a creative lawsuit which cleared up a point and advanced good irrigation procedure.

In 1884, he organized a Farmer's Milling and Elevator Company. It introduced a certain amount of competition into the marketing of farmers' grain in Colorado. Up until the recent depression that mill carried on. Like many small scale adventures it was swept to destruction and father, although he might have saved his property, preferred that he should share completely in the losses of other people.

He died with the satisfaction that he had helped to make a valley blossom and grow the institutions of culture. Where the prairie dog, the rattlesnake and the owl once ruled in undisputed sway, there are farms, and homes and churches and schools. On the day of his funeral the Editor of the Longmont paper wrote :

"If we go out into our countryside, we see the last of the garnering of the beautiful crops, the stubble of grain, great stacks of hay, trucks bringing in their last load of sugar beets. Presently, we shall see our stores humming with activity as the earnings from these crops drift into the marts of trade. We see the countryside criss-crossed with ditches, large and small, which have conveyed the water from the hills to the fields, without which our land would be semi-arid with scanty vegetation.

"We look to the hills and see there the accumulated snow which shall melt and fill these ditches and bring next year's harvest and every year thereafter, to bless us with the bounties of nature.

"And on his last long journey comes A. D. Holt who laboured more than any other man to bring about this transformation from desert to a land of plenty. We should be thankful to him and revere his memory."

If the Asa Dutton Holt Hall carries forward this tradition the members of his family will be very happy.

VALIDITY OF MADRAS AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF ACT UPHELD

IN the December 1940 issue of the *Journal*, Dr. P. M. Titus discussed the subject of rural indebtedness and devoted several pages to the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act, 1938.¹ The validity of this Act was questioned in an appeal from a judgment of the Madras High Court which recently came before the Federal Court for hearing. The appellants contended that the provisions of Section 7 relating to the scaling down of debts were in direct conflict with Sections 32 and 79 of the Negotiable Instruments Act. The Negotiable Instruments Act, being a Federal subject, fell within the exclusive

¹ Pages 329-331.

competence of the Central Legislature. The question, therefore, was whether the Madras Act could affect monetary decrees obtained on promissory notes which were covered by the Negotiable Instruments Act. The Advocate General for India, who appeared for the appellants, contended that the action of the Madras Legislature was not a case of incidental repugnancy, but of direct encroachment on the sphere of legislation reserved for the Central Legislature. Under the circumstances, Section 7 of the Madras Act, which included within its scope all kinds of debts was invalid and *ultra vires* of the Madras Legislature, and Section 8, which laid down the procedure for the scaling down of debts could not be sustained if Section 7 were thus held.

The Federal Court, by a majority consisting of the Chief Justice and Sir S. Varadachariar, dismissed the appeal. Sir Maurice Gwyer in his judgment, said : " It must inevitably happen from time to time that legislation though purporting to deal with one subject in one list, touches also on a subject in another list and the different provisions of the enactment may be so closely intertwined that blind adherence to a strictly verbal interpretation would result in a large number of statutes being declared invalid because the legislature enacting them may appear to have legislated in a forbidden sphere. Hence the rule which has been evolved by the Judicial Committee, whereby the impugned statute is examined to ascertain its pith and substance or its true nature and character for the purpose of determining whether it is legislation with respect to this matter or that.

" I am clear that the pith and substance of the Madras Act, whatever it may be, cannot at any rate be said to be legislation with respect to negotiable instruments or promissory notes, which are central subjects; and it seems to me quite immaterial that many or even most of the debts with which it deals are in practice evidenced by or based upon such instruments. That is an accidental circumstance which cannot affect the question.

" Suppose that at some later date money-lenders were to adopt a different method of evidencing the debts of those to whom they lend money ; how could the validity or invalidity of the Act vary with money-lenders' practice ? I am of opinion, therefore, that the Act cannot be challenged as only invading the forbidden field of list (the Federal Legislative List) for it was not suggested that it dealt with any item in that list other than No. 28.

" It was then contended that even if not wholly invalid, either the Act was invalid in part insofar as it did or might affect promissory notes or that it ought to be construed as not to apply to promissory notes at all. But these questions do not in my opinion arise in the present case, because the liability on which the Act operated was a liability under a decree of the court passed before the commencement of the Act,"

In a concurring judgment, Sir Varadachariar said : “ That the subject matter of the impugned legislation is to a certain extent at least within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature cannot be and has not been denied. It may be that it will fall partly under one item and partly under another item in list two or list three.

“ Though the Madras Act does not in terms purport to deal with negotiable instruments, debts due under such instruments will undoubtedly fall within the definition of debts in the Act. The question for consideration, therefore, is whether this inclusion of debts due under negotiable instruments has rendered the Act wholly or in part invalid or inoperative.”

His Lordship referred to Canadian precedent and said that a number of Canadian cases “ recognise that even where provincial legislation contains provisions relating to subjects exclusively reserved for the Dominion legislature, the whole enactment may be effective if the offending provisions are only incidental or if it is possible to regard a subject as falling under the provincial jurisdiction in another aspect and the impugned provincial legislation has been enacted in respect of the latter aspect.”

His Lordship held that the case would clearly fall under the head “ money lending and money lenders ” in Item 27 of list two. Under this head, it would probably make no difference in respect of the Provincial Legislature’s power to deal with such a case that a decree had been passed in respect of the debt, because the creditor would not be any less a money lender on that account. If there should be any doubt on this ground it might be sufficient to read this head with Item 2 in the same list (jurisdiction and powers of courts). Even if it should be necessary to call in aid the powers under the concurrent list on the ground that there was an interference with the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code relating to decrees, the precaution of obtaining the assent of the Governor-General had been taken in this case.

“ There is no reason,” said Sir Varadachariar, “ for holding that the impugned Act is invalid or inoperative so far as the subject matter of the present proceedings is concerned. The appeal must therefore be dismissed.”

A dissenting opinion was rendered by Sir Shah Sulaiman who remarked that “ in the early years of the working of a constitution, when ideas have not crystallized, and rules of law applicable to it have not been clearly formulated, differences of opinion are not uncommon. Taking all the provisions together and considering the Act as a whole, it could not be doubted that it was with respect to matters in lists two and three. It was most difficult to place it outside these two lists.”

It was impossible to deny, he said, that the Act encroached upon the field covered by negotiable instruments—a Central subject. “ It would have been

open to the Provincial Legislature expressly to exclude such instruments from the operation of the Act ; but that had not been done. It is accordingly impossible to hold that there is no trespass on the Federal legislative field. There is an apparent overlapping and no clear-cut demarcation is discernible.

“ In my opinion the Provincial Act, being repugnant to the existing Indian law relating to promissory notes, which is exclusively a Federal subject, is void to that extent. I, however, agree with the High Court that there is nothing in the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act which really conflicts with any provisions of the Hindu law. No doubt a creditor can always fall back upon the original consideration and sue upon the debt independently of the promissory note. It is equally true that the sons were impleaded in this case merely to deprive them of the chance of contending that it was not binding upon them on account of its having been tainted with immorality or illegality. A Hindu son is under a pious obligation to pay his father's debts out of the joint family property. But he is not bound to pay what his father cannot be made to pay. If the interest on the loan taken by the father can be cut down under some existing law so as to benefit the father, the son can equally take advantage of that relief.

“ I also agree that any repugnancy to the Central Act is cured by the assent of the Governor-General and further as usurious loans come within money lending, any conflict with the Usurious Loans Act alone is not material. But for this erroneous conclusion as to the *intra vires* character of the Madras Act, based of course on the Full Bench decision of the Madras High Court, the subordinate judge would have had no jurisdiction to interfere with the decree; and so his order for the satisfaction of the decree when in fact it had not been satisfied, amounted to acting with an illegality in the exercise of his jurisdiction. The High Court could, therefore, appropriately exercise its discretion to interfere in revision.

“ I would allow the appeal and remit the case to the High Court with the declaration that the order of the subordinate judge, dated February 11, 1939, be set aside and the execution allowed to proceed.”

BOMBAY SHOPS AND ESTABLISHMENTS ACT, 1939

IN the June, 1940 issue of the *Journal*, articles by Mr. G. A. Limaye and Mr. Wilfred Singh pointed out the exploitation of children in unorganized industries in Bombay City. The Bombay Shops and Establishments Act, 1939, which came into force on the 15th November 1940, is designed to correct the most flagrant abuses. The Act regulates the opening and closing hours of shops and provides that no person shall be required or allowed to work in a

shop for more than nine and a half hours in any day; for more than seven hours in any day unless he has had an interval of rest of at least one hour, or for more than five hours without a rest interval of at least half an hour. The periods of work and intervals of rest must be arranged within a 12 hour spread-over. Every person employed in a shop is to be given at least one day in a week as a holiday and no deduction is to be made from his wages because of this.

Hours of work in commercial establishments are limited to 208 per month.

No person employed in any restaurant, eating house or theatre or any other place of public amusement or entertainment shall be required or allowed to work in such establishment for more than ten hours in a day; for more than eight hours unless he has had an interval for rest of at least one hour, or for more than six hours without a rest interval of at least half an hour. The periods of work and intervals of rest must be within a 14 hour spread-over.

No child, *i. e.*, a person who has not completed his twelfth year, is allowed to work in any establishment to which the Act applies.

No young person, *i. e.*, a person who is not a child and has not completed his seventeenth year, is allowed to work in any establishment to which the Act applies, before 6 a. m. and after 7 p. m. The hours of work for young persons are limited to 8 per day and 42 in a week. No young person is allowed to work in an establishment for more than 4 hours in any day unless he has had an interval of rest of at least half an hour.

The enforcement of the Act is entrusted to local authorities, who shall appoint such inspectorate as is regarded necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act.

Penalties are provided for obstructing inspectors and contravening the provisions of the Act.

Though the Act extends to the whole Province of Bombay, it comes into force in the first instance only in the city of Bombay, the Ahmedabad Municipal Borough and Cantonment, the Poona City and Suburban Municipal Borough, the Poona Cantonment, the Sholapur Municipal Borough and the Hubli Municipal Borough.

The Act may be criticised in that it lumps together establishments of a widely varying nature, but the underlying purpose is good. The usual tears are being shed about the pitiful lot of the boys under 12 who are thrown out of employment. But so far as Bombay is concerned the effect of this provision should be a wholesome one. Large numbers of young boys have been attracted to the city in the past because of the willingness of hotel (restaurant) keepers to provide them with food in return for their services. Hotel keepers,

in turn, have encouraged the importation of this cheap and easily exploitable labour. This abuse should now be stopped and any child in genuine need can be cared for in the Children's Home at Chembūr.

Another repercussion of the Act has been the action of some employers, again mainly hotel keepers, in reducing the wages of existing employees who have been working for excessive hours, in order to employ the additional labourers required under the Act. In order to deprive their employees of the weekly holiday with pay contemplated under the Act, a number of employers have changed their employees from a monthly wage basis to a daily wage basis.

The burden of inspection thrown upon a very small inspectorate is an extremely heavy one, and the difficulties connected with rigid inspection will quite probably result in a considerable number of establishments being able to evade the strict provisions of the Act.

The principle behind this legislation is sound and undoubtedly a period of experience with the working of the Act will reveal its major weaknesses and result in its amendment and improvement.

PROGRESS IN THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

THE Annual Report of the Juvenile Branch on the Administration of the Children Act in the Bombay Province for the year ending 31st March 1940 reveals that the Children Act is in full application in 8 areas of the Province, while Part IV of the Act, dealing with Young Offenders, is in force throughout the whole Province. Work in the mofussil is hampered by lack of proper remand facilities—the only place of detention too often being the sub-jail or police lock-up, where it is impossible to separate juvenile and adult offenders in any adequate manner. Further, in those centres where the full Children Act has not yet been applied there are no proper Juvenile Courts and the Children are generally tried in a criminal court atmosphere. There is still need for education on the part of the magistrates. Cases are disposed of without adequate preliminary investigation and without due regard as to what the possible effect of the disposition will be on the future welfare of the child. There is still a marked lack of accommodation in Certified Schools. Owing to the shortage in the number of Certified School vacancies, boys often have to be retained in a remand Home *after* commitment to a School, while waiting for a vacancy to arise. At one time during the year in Poona, there were no less than 18 committed boys retained in the local Remand Home. Sometimes 40 boys were accommodated in premises designed to house 23.

Out of 2,498 children detained in 1939-40, 1,424 or 57·01 per cent were

neglected children and 951 or 38·07 per cent were young offenders. In 1938, 276 children were committed to Certified Schools and 50 to Private Institutions. In 1939-40, 574 children were committed to Certified Schools and 64 to Private Institutions. The rate of institutional commitment has risen from 18·46 to 25·9 per cent. The reason for this is the increased number of neglected and homeless children removed from the streets, as well as an increase in the number of children removed from their homes because of moral danger.

Probation work is naturally best developed in the city of Bombay. Four members of the Bombay Probation Staff are graduates of the Tata School.

The Report pays a tribute to the work of the Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata School : "The Probation Officers and the children themselves owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. K. R. Masani, Director of the Child Guidance Clinic, for his unfailing help in the cases of children with specially difficult problems. His patient and gentle unravelling of the tangle of emotions in which they were caught, has set many of them free to make a new start, and indirectly his influence has reached hundreds of children, with whom he has had no direct contact, by virtue of the training and example given to us all."

Mentally defective children are still a problem in that there are no proper facilities for their disposition. It is hoped that the Mentally Defective Children's Home to be erected on a portion of the Chembur Plot will not be too long delayed.

Much credit is due to those in charge of the administration of the Bombay Children Act for the intelligent and sympathetic manner in which they are approaching their difficult task.

RESURVEY OF MADRAS VILLAGES

IN 1916-17 Dr. Gilbert Slater conducted a detailed survey of 8 villages in various parts of the Madras Presidency. Twenty years later the Department of Economics of Madras University made a resurvey of the villages in an endeavour to ascertain the trend of changes in these villages. The results of the study were summarized in a lecture delivered at Madras on the 16th January by Dr. P. J. Thomas, Professor of Economics in the Madras University.

Dr. Thomas stated that during the twenty year period the population had increased in all but one of the resurveyed villages. Holdings had increased in number but had decreased in size. No attempt had been made to consolidate holdings—in fact the small size of the holdings seemed to make any such scheme impracticable. Dr. Thomas suggested that perhaps a better line

of approach would be to experiment in collective farming. There had been a great increase in the number of non-cultivating land-holders and a rapid growth in tenancy. The increase in the number of agricultural labourers might be designated as "alarming." The study revealed little change in the system of crops. Animal husbandry was still the most neglected branch of agriculture.

With the development of banking facilities and co-operative credit, the rates of interest had fallen by about fifty per cent. Communications had improved, but with the improvement in communications the villages had become less self-sufficient, being now more dependent on outside trade centres for supply. Arrangements for marketing produce continue to be unsatisfactory. There was a slight improvement in literacy and in public health. No appreciable rise could be marked in the standard of living. It would appear that the economic activities of Government since 1916 have been of more benefit to the urban areas than to the villages and that there is now an urgent need for a concentrated programme of rural development.

PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

IN his presidential address to the National Institute of Sciences in India, meeting at Benares early in January, Colonel R. N. Chopra, Director of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta, and one of the recently created Knights, dealt with the problem of public health administration in India. One of the major difficulties according to Colonel Chopra, is the lack of co-operation between the official Medical and Public Health Departments, leading to confusion and financial waste. While in some respects it is advantageous to have separate administrative agencies for preventive and curative medicine, yet by and large the results have not been satisfactory. There has been much overlapping, particularly in the fields of maternity and child welfare, tuberculosis and leprosy.

Colonel Chopra sees a possible remedy for the existing state of affairs in the English system, where the Ministry of Health is the chief tribunal for local authorities. He believes that in India a Federal Ministry of Health would prove to be a suitable co-operative agency for the provincial departments. The Federal Ministry could assume responsibility for the various health functions conferred on the Central Government by the Act of 1935. Curative and preventive medicine would be dealt with under one department, suitably organized and containing competent advisers and technicians. Each Province would have a Board of Health under the Minister of the Department as Chairman.

There is no denying that the present system of organization, while efficient in many areas, leaves other areas almost completely neglected. Colonel Chopra's scheme should be carefully studied as a possible solution to the problem.

MEDICAL RELIEF FOR PUNJAB VILLAGERS

IN order to bring medical relief within easy reach of the villagers the Punjab Government have taken a number of important steps. A scheme of settling subsidised medical practitioners in rural areas was inaugurated in 1939. From November 1939 to March 1940, 60 subsidised medical practitioners were placed in villages which hitherto had not enjoyed any kind of medical relief. In May 1940 the scheme was extended by adding another group of 23 doctors to the subsidised list.

Rural medical officers in charge of rural dispensaries now spend four days in each week in touring to four key villages within a radius of five miles from the dispensary. If necessary, the sick in these villages are treated in their own homes. School children are also examined and instruction is given in matters of personal hygiene. This system of visiting villages is now being practised in every district in the Province and is expected to expand in the future.

MALNUTRITION AND INFANT MORTALITY

LECTURING at Patna University in mid-January, Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director of Nutrition Research, Indian Research Fund Association, stressed the importance of a well-balanced diet for the mother and for the child—both before and after his birth.

The maternal mortality rate in India is high. Although accurate figures cannot be obtained, a fair estimate would probably be 24·5 deaths per 1,000 registered live births. Of the diseases common to expectant mothers in India, the larger number are due to some deficiency in diet.

The infantile mortality rate is also high. Over a million infants die annually before reaching the age of one year. Fifty per cent of the total infant mortality takes place during the first month after birth, and 60 per cent of this total during the first week. One of the most important contributing factors is that of malnutrition.¹

Dr. Aykroyd stated that the mortality rate remains high throughout childhood. Approximately 49 per cent of the total mortality in India is among children below ten years of age. Here again it is the same story. The parents live on a defective diet and the children eat the same thing as

their parents. The amount of cereals consumed is out of proportion to the amount of milk and vegetables.

Parents must be educated regarding correct feeding and the maternity and child welfare service of the country greatly extended. "The task of raising the standard of health by improving the diet of children," said Dr. Aykroyd, "is one which must appeal to all who have the welfare of the country at heart."

PROPOSED LABOUR LEGISLATION

IN opening the Second Labour Conference, which met at New Delhi in late January, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, Government of India, pointed out that "the war and the need to concentrate on winning it should not stand in the way of healthy and peaceful preparations to meet the new conditions that must come with peace." The path of wisdom was not to allow problems to accumulate, but to take them up at the present time and seek to find their solution."

As a result of the Conference discussions it was decided that six official bills dealing with labour problems are to be drafted for introduction in the autumn session of the Central Assembly. The proposed bills relate to (a) prohibition of strikes and lockouts during conciliation; (b) holidays with pay; (c) weekly holidays in commercial establishments and shops; (d) amendment of the Factories Act so as to designate all establishments employing ten or more persons as factories; (e) recognition of trade unions; (f) extension of maternity benefit legislation to women employed in coal mines.

The proposals, which had been previously discussed with representatives of employers and of labour separately at Calcutta early in January, were discussed with representatives of Provincial and State Governments at the Delhi conference. In his opening address Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar emphasized that it was not the intention of the Central Government to invade legitimate provincial or State spheres. The object rather was to ensure coordinated labour legislation.

With reference to the prohibition of strikes and lockouts during conciliation, the procedure outlined is that before a strike or lockout is commenced, the party contemplating such action must give 14 days' notice to the opposite party, at the same time sending a copy to the Labour Commissioner or other officer appointed for that purpose. The notice must state the reasons for the proposed course of action. Upon receipt of the notice it is the duty of Labour Commissioner, or the properly designated officer, to attempt a peaceful settlement of the dispute. If the attempt at conciliation fails, the strike

or lockout may be started at the end of the fortnight. In the meantime Government may decide whether it is advisable to appoint a board of conciliation or court of inquiry under the Act. If such a board is appointed, the strike or lockout should not be started for two months from the date of its appointment, or till its conclusions are published—whichever is earlier. During the period of conciliation the status quo should be maintained by both groups.

Regarding recognition of trade unions the Conference felt that there should be central legislation defining conditions for the recognition of trade unions by provincial governments and that the provincial governments should be empowered to add to these conditions. The basic conditions as suggested are : (1) that the union should fulfil the requirements of the Trade Unions Act; (2) that membership should not be restricted on communal or other religious grounds ; (3) that the union should submit a copy of its membership lists to the Government ; (4) that the executive committee should meet at least once in a quarter and should be fully conversant with all union affairs ; (5) that the union has been in existence for at least six months. It was further suggested by the Conference that Central legislation should compel employers to recognise trade unions recognised by a provincial Government ; that provincial governments should have the discretion to fix or not fix minimum membership, and that provincial governments should have the right to confer such powers or privileges as they may consider desirable on recognised trade unions.

The Conference agreed that an actuarial examination should be undertaken as a preliminary to the possible introduction of a sickness insurance scheme for workers.

BOOK REVIEWS

Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction. (Studies in modern social structure).

By KARL MANNHEIM, translated by Edward Shils. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940. Pp. 469. \$ 3.50.

This book consists of a translation from German of *Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Umbaus* (1935), lectures, articles, originally contributed to English Journals, and some additional matter specially written for the book. It has been in the making for five or six years.

The book is divided into several parts, whose titles themselves give a general idea of the main contents and theme: The significance of the age of social reconstruction; rational and irrational elements in contemporary society; social causes of the contemporary crisis in culture: crisis, dictatorship, war; thought at the level of planning; planning for freedom and freedom at the level of planning.

Recognizing a major social crisis, Mannheim as a German, having experienced in his own life the vital consequences of such a crisis and social transformation, is confronted with the task of re-thinking the processes of social conflict and social control. He says:

At the present stage of events we need a new kind of foresight, a new technique for managing conflicts, together with a psychology, morality, and plan of action in many ways completely different from those which have obtained in the past. *It is only by Remaking of Man himself that Reconstruction of Society is possible.* (Italics are mine.) The reinterpretation of human capacities, the reconstruction of our moral code, are not subjects for edifying sermons or visionary utopias. They are vital to us all, and the only question is what can reasonably be done in this direction. (p.15) .

The major problems arising out of such a situation and the urgent demand for solutions raise many problems, and these problems form the central theme of the book: "The problem of how psychological, intellectual, and moral developments are related to the social process, and the problem of discovering the various sociological factors which could explain why civilization is collapsing before our eyes." With the aid of the refined tools of social sciences, Mannheim attempts, with a great deal of success, to diagnose the causes of the contemporary social malady, and prescribe some methods of treatment.

Historically, three essential stages are recognized in the growth of human society: (1) Man at the stage of hordé solidarity; (2) Man at the stage of individual competition; (3) Man at the stage of super-individual

group solidarity. At all these stages, the criteria by which changes in morality and their effects on practical affairs are judged are the "range of peoples' foresight and the range of their sense of responsibility." The author recognizes the lack of both in contemporary society and observes that "the contemporary social order must collapse if rational social control and the individual's mastery over his own impulses do not keep step with technological development." The irrationality of our present day morality is that while we have evidence to believe in the ability of human reason and moral discipline to attain the level of planning and self responsibility, we also notice the presence and exercise of the "will to destruction" as a public force.

In the study of the "basic trends in modern society," the author suggests three major hypotheses: "Most of the symptoms of our time are due to the transition from *laissez-faire* to a planned society. The transition from a democracy of the few to a mass society explains another set of changes. The changes in social technique account for yet a third group of changes, which has profoundly modified our social life (p. 250). Present crises are interpreted as mainly the noises made by the clash of the half-regulation and the drift accompanying the transition. Regarding the social techniques, much emphasis is laid on the "need" to control public opinion by administrative devices. Much space is given to analysis of the conscious establishment and coordination of publics and their psychological elements. The major concern is with the techniques of controlling controls. The penetrating analyses of Marxism and of several other types of liberalism are illuminating.

The latter part of the book is a discussion of the character and problems of planning. The author advances toward positive and constructive statements with a hopeful discussion of planned democracy. Planning is analyzed as a type of thought and it is clearly demonstrated that his conception of freedom is not incompatible with his conception of planning.

In the welter of compartmentalized and contradictory interpretations of modern social crises, Mannheim's analysis enables one to see at least dimly, in total perspective, the causes and meaning of what is happening in various sectors of modern civilization. Any light on the methods one can apply for the "remaking of man himself" which alone Mannheim feels, "makes reconstruction of society possible," will be welcome to all who are engaged in the great task. For such readers the book will give ample satisfaction.

Mannheim's book may be a prelude to a new stage in the development of the field of social sciences. Very seldom do we find sociologists talking about "planning" or "reforming society" or any such pious and ambitious programmes. They are too "detached" and "scientific" for such endeavours. Here is an eminent sociologist considering the prospects of planning

and not merely pleading and persuading, but sharply analyzing the consequences of drift and aloofness.

The bibliography, given at the end of the book, is helpful for students of sociology who desire to make more detailed study of modern problems. It covers numerous fields and extends over seventy pages. But the author says that "it neither aims at completion, nor does it claim to give the best possible selection." Yet it remains as one of the most complete and best.

P. M. TITUS

On the Bringing Up of Children. Edited by JOHN RICKMAN. London: Kegan Paul, 1938. Pp. 237. 6 s. 6 d.

This book deals fundamentally with the problem of parent-child relationships—a problem recognised by progressive schools of medical, educational and social psychology as one of outstanding significance for the development of the personality of the child.

On the Bringing Up of Children is edited by Dr. John Rickman and is written by five psycho-analysts. A glance at the names of the editor and the writers indicates that the book presents the best of psycho-analytic thought on the subject of child upbringing.

Dr. Rickman in his preface outlines the vital role of Freud's researches and discoveries regarding the unconscious, and the new scientific concepts based thereon, in producing an instrument of research which penetrates deeply into the child's mind, and enables, therefore, the better understanding and bringing up of children. He draws attention to the fact that the discoveries of psycho-analysis have shown that the growth of the child's mind is a far more complicated process than was supposed, and he stresses that much harm may be done to healthy growth in children if methods of upbringing, recommended by individuals who themselves are not adequately acquainted with the intricacies of the process of development, and which underestimate the complexities of development, are adopted.

Dr. Rickman emphasises that the really important factor in upbringing "is the general attitude of the parents and the way in which the ordinary details of life are conducted." This will be a real eye opener to those individuals who have the idea that all they have to do to be good upbringers, either as parents or guardians or teachers, is to read some books on "Child Psychology"—preferably of the kind where clear instructions of a rule of the thumb type are given. Equally useful and illuminating are the sections dealing with the importance of the role of the father in upbringing, and particularly the emphasis on the triangular relationship between the father, mother and child. "Children need to see the interplay of personality of father and mother, male

and female, for their social imagination is far more active than is generally realized, and they are helped by observing the friendliness of one sex to the other. If the father and mother are at loggerheads it will be hard for the child to envisage with satisfaction the founding of a home of his own, whereas the experience of a congenial home fosters the desire to produce a similar one for oneself. He needs to see the considerate behaviour of his parents to one another, their good humour in the face of vexation, their camaraderie, and a mutual loyalty, for by these observations the child is strengthened in a belief that he can overcome his own jealousies and aggression, his inconsiderateness, ill humour and perfidiousness." Dr. Rickman brings out clearly the other important role of the father, namely that he is looked upon by the child as the embodiment of creativeness and is the skilled adviser who helps little children out of their difficulties. He comes to be seen in the role of a stimulating producer of good things, chief among these being other children.

Miss Ella Sharpe contributes the opening chapter, "Planning for Stability." She deals lucidly with the basic principles of upbringing, revealed by psycho-analytic researches, which help in ensuring mental health. She stresses the importance of what the parents are and how they behave for successful upbringing—rather than what they say or what they plan. Miss Sharpe goes on to describe the various ways in which unconscious reactions on the part of the mother towards the child influence her behaviour, and also how the mother's reactions towards the child are caused by unconscious reactions to her own mother or father—a formulation the truth of which has been gradually becoming more and more realised by child psychologists. Undue severity on the part of the mother, over-solicitude and over-protection, dislike of feeding the baby, thrusting the baby away from her to nurses or boarding schools, are referred back to the cause of these manifestations, namely, unconscious and unresolved aggression towards the child. In stressing the importance for the growing child of an environment where the parents have a stable, harmonious and happy relationship, where there is undivided authority, where there is no favouritism towards a particular sibling, Miss Sharpe indicates some of the basic qualities expected of a good environment.

The writer draws attention to the ill effects of explicit plans of upbringing, whether adopted on account of the parents' ambition or family traditions which take no note of the child's particular interests or needs, and stresses the importance of the fundamental attitude on the part of the parents of allowing the child to develop his own potentiality rather than attempting to make him an extension or fulfilment of parental ambitions.

Miss Sharpe shows clearly and interestingly how parents should deal with the problem of sensuous pleasure, and recognise and avoid interferences

which are likely to interrupt orderly development. She deprecates the adult assumption "that children are too small, too young and above all too ignorant They chafe at being small, they resent being too young, above all they hate being ignorant." This is a point of special importance that social workers would do well to note in order that they may influence the attitudes of Indian parents and upbringers.

The author pleads for an understanding of the unconscious factors and the emotional upheavals in the child associated with such situations as weaning, the displacement of a child from a privileged position by the arrival of a younger one, or the death of one of the parents or of a sibling, so that the child may be helped to withstand and get over such crises in a healthy manner. She does not omit to mention the importance of knowledge of the sexual development of the child and gives a succinct summary of early sexuality and sublimation, of sexual rivalry and the manifestation of difficulty in sexual development. She stresses the necessity for bodily gratifications of a sensuous nature and points out the way to meet it, namely, by the provision of games, exercises, rhythmic movements, dancing and music. The dangers of an over-anxious attitude regarding masturbatory indulgences by the child are pointed out, and indications are given how sexual activities may be the result of inner emotional tensions and thus need to be dealt with in an understanding manner rather than by punishment. The writer finally summarises in a really helpful and practical manner some of the basic principles on which upbringing should be planned.

Mrs. Melanie Klein, in the second chapter, deals with the problems of weaning. It is pointed out that the first gratification which the child derives from the external world is the satisfaction of being nursed at the breast—a satisfaction which has two parts, one part resulting from the alleviation of hunger, and the other equally important part resulting from the pleasure experienced by the stimulation of the mouth in sucking and the passage of the warm stream of milk running down the throat to fill the stomach.

The writer states that analytic work has shown that babies react to frustration of this pleasure and unpleasant stimuli with feelings and phantasies of hatred and aggression, whereas gratifying stimuli are reacted to with phantasies focussing on pleasure. The breast naturally is the object of all these feelings and phantasies. The processes of projection and introjection are explained in a simple manner, and how the child comes to regard the breasts as "good breasts" and "bad breasts." The fantastic and unrealistic nature of his relation to everything, including people, parts of his own body and inanimate objects, is pointed out. It is shown how as the child grows, a change in his emotional attitude towards his mother takes place and feelings of

satisfaction or frustration are transferred from the breasts to her as a person, giving rise to feelings towards the mother, both of a destructive and loving nature, and giving rise to deep and disturbing conflicts in the child's mind. Oral sadism and the conflicting feelings of love, hatred and guilt are next described and it is pointed out how the "desire to restore," or the impulses of restitution, are the driving forces in all constructive activities and interests and for social development. The importance of introjection of parental figures, that is, "the taking mentally into oneself of parental figures," is mentioned and the author states from her psycho-analytic studies and researches on small children how important it is for healthy growth, for confidence and trust in oneself and others, and in overcoming feelings of fear of being governed by one's own uncontrollable hatred, for the child to introject a "good" mother, that is, to establish within himself a kind and helpful mother. The writer goes on to describe how frustration at the breast is felt by the child to be a deliberate deprivation on the part of the mother, who is then regarded as a nasty person who withholds the breast from the child. "The child feels when the breast is wanted but is not there as if it were lost forever; since the conception of the breast extends to that of the mother, the feelings of having lost the breast lead to the fear of having lost the loved mother entirely, and this means not only the real mother, but also the good mother within. In my experience this fear of the total loss of the good object (internalized and external) is interwoven with feelings of guilt at having destroyed her (eaten her up), and then the child feels that her loss is punishment for his dreadful deed; thus the most distressing and conflicting feelings become associated with frustration, and it is these which make the pain of what seems like a simple thwarting so poignant."

These and similar deductions made from the author's psychoanalytic work are followed by practical instructions in simple language as to what the mother can do to help the child in the difficult task of adjusting to the loss of the breast at the time of weaning, so that even if some of the psycho-analytic formulations present difficulties for some readers totally unacquainted with psycho-analytic theory, the detailed and practical suggestions based upon the formulations are readily available to all who have a sincere desire to avail themselves of good advice on the methods of successful weaning. The value of this chapter is enhanced by suitable advice in regard to dealing with the child in general, and with such problems as those connected with thumb sucking, masturbation, training in habits of cleanliness, and nursery problems. The underlying principle of cardinal importance, however, is the development of a "really happy relationship between the mother and child which can be established only when nursing and seeding the baby is not a matter of duty

but a real pleasure to the mother."

The third chapter is contributed by Dr. Middlemore, who writes on "The Uses of Sensuality." She mentions the various aspects of the child's changing response to sensual stimulation, indicating that the enjoyment of bodily feeling steadily increases during the first months of life—the main interest and pleasure progressively passing over from oral to anal and thence to genital sensation—every sensation having its psychic accompaniment of fantasy. The writer goes on to describe the various uses of sensuality, not only as a means of relieving instinct tensions, but also such uses as its influence on the baby to act and make experiments with the world of objects around him—illustrating from her clinical observations. She deals in a very practical manner with the problem of thumb sucking and masturbation, suggesting that there should be no undue frustration of these activities as they help the child to relieve tension and leave the body and mind at ease to work at their best. Dr. Middlemore pleads with parents not to react with disgust or fear to a child's experiencing or description of his various sensations, as when this happens the baby comes to think that certain attributes are bad, and loses interest in experimentation and investigations of objects.

The writer gives very sound practical advice, based on her studies of the function of sensuality, in regard to the nature of toys to give the young child, namely, such toys as leave him free to use them imaginatively, constructively and as he wishes. She stresses how wrong it is to thrust toys or other objects at a child, or to impose on him regulations as to how he has to play with them.

Turning to the question of muscular movements, the author stresses the exquisite pleasure the child experiences through muscle activity, over and above the resulting discharge of instinct tension. Muscular activity and experimentation also promote a knowledge of his own functions, and the acquisitions of bodily skills so that "every sublimation or skill is built on a foundation of bodily pleasure and specially on muscle pleasure." The author stresses the very important observation that a child should never be checked in any muscular activity or movement, however meaningless it may appear to the adult, unless there is very good reason to stop such movement.

She deals intelligently with the question of sensual pleasure the child gets from bodily contact with people. It is indicated that the child needs to be fondled and praised in return for all the things he does for his parents and that if the parents are cold, unresponsive and lacking in interest, the sublimatory activities are likely to break down in face of strain in adult life. Hence parents should give freely of kisses and caresses and cuddles which a child demands; they have, however, to take care that their response should be

a response in reality and not a demand which they make on the child because they happen to be lonely or unsatisfied. Demanding demonstrations of affection could easily add to the injurious situation created in the child, a sense of obligation in regard to giving love. This chapter, like the preceding one, contains numerous practical suggestions based on the deep truths discovered by psycho-analysis and conveys much that is new and interesting in regard to sensual experiences.

Next follows an interesting and instructive chapter on "Questions and Answers." The subject is discussed systematically, including such aspects as the motives behind questions, to whom questions are asked, the nature and varieties of the response to questions, and questions on sex. The author makes a distinction between interest and curiosity, in the sense that "interest is characterised by a relative freedom from fear whereas in curiosity anxiety either impels or hinders." One feels disinclined perhaps to accept this rather restricted meaning of the word curiosity and its use to denote only an unhealthy type of curiosity, but in any case the distinction makes clear to the reader the differentiation between questions put by a child, which should give no cause for alarm or anxiety to upbringers, and those which are put as a result of emotional disturbances such as unhealthy internal tension, doubt or fear. Amongst the motivations behind questions, lack of a sense of emotional security figures prominently, and the author writes interestingly from her experience about what is really at the back of the mind of the child in regard to questions which appear to deal with such common objects as an electric stove or a particular type of tiled floor—showing how the questions have a disguised meaning, the questions really pertaining to something more fundamentally important to the child for which the object may only be a symbol.

Attention is drawn to the mechanism of projection, how children invest objects in a room "with much of the threatening significance of their own feelings and the feelings, real or supposed, of other people." The writer illustrates from the cases of children with whom she used methods of psycho-analytical play diagnoses and play therapy, how deep and hidden and personal the meaning of the play often is, and how the same holds good for children's questions, and how they are invariably connected with the security of their relation to the questioned person. This being so, there is all the need for adults to reassure the child in regard to his questions, which need to be met by an intuitive understanding of the levels of the mind from which they arise and the kind of anxiety they are designed to allay. While parents cannot be expected to possess this intuitive understanding fully, nor again to know the psycho-analytic methods to understand and meet the anxieties of the child, the writer makes the important point, that parents and other upbringers can

adopt the right kind of attitude, and answer the questions in a helpful manner,—that is, an attitude which is devoid of ridicule, disgust or irritation, however silly, disgusting and irritating the question might appear to the adults through their not understanding the motivations of the question. With regard to questions “the problem does not lie only in the intellectual aspect of the child’s questions, but also in the social relationships which lie behind them,” and hence the author’s remarks will go a long way in making some of the readers realise that the manner in which they answer questions is vastly more important to the child than the active intellectual content or information which their answers contain.

The writer describes in an interesting manner the various types of responses to questions made by parents, and the deeper motivations responsible for the particular type of response in a given person, and she gives practical advice on the topic in this connection. As in so many other attitudes, the kind of response the parent had as a child from his own parents influences to no small extent his response to his children’s questions, either in the direction of similarity or the direct opposite, hence the value of self-knowledge in regard to one’s own emotional responses again emerges as of primary importance in child upbringing.

The topic of questions of sex is treated in a sane and practical manner and the author stresses both the need of honesty and frankness on the part of upbringers in answering such questions and the harmful effect of avoiding the whole subject of sex. She points out the advantage of planning to bring up children with a minimum of emotional disturbances, rather than to plan how to deal with such disturbances when they have already been formed, and she pleads for more knowledge on the part of parents so that they may apply knowledge with a kindly understanding which is free from unconscious distortions and complications, so as to ensure in its turn the healthy development of the children.

Dr. Susan Isaacs contributes the last two chapters. The chapter on habit is written with particular reference to training in cleanliness. The author points out the deficiencies of the behaviourist viewpoint that the education of the child is entirely a matter of conditioning his reflexes, so as to bring about the formation of particular desirable habits and goes on to describe some of the discoveries of psycho-analysis in regard to the unconscious mental factors, the feelings and wishes and fears and phantasies which crystallize into a particular habit. She gives this description in a lucid and practical manner, giving illustrations from numerous common habits of children, and herein lies one of the outstanding qualities which marks the whole book. The theoretical findings and discussion of psycho-analysis are described and illustrated in regard to the numerous practical problems of every-day life, and measures of upbringing characterised

by wisdom and elasticity and based on the knowledge and understanding gained by psycho-analysis are offered in simple and non-technical language.

The writer illustrates her remarks on habit by selecting the problem of training in cleanliness, and she deals with this topic in a very practical manner, giving numerous examples of children brought to her for difficulties in connection with cleanliness resulting in soiling. Both the deep unconscious mental factors behind bowel function and the practical measures to be applied in getting over the disturbances of this function are described clearly and lucidly. Here again the importance of giving the child time to acquire control and skill regarding the function, and of the need for training the child in an atmosphere of patience, love and trust is pointed out, as is also the danger of overemphasising the value of habit with regard either to early training or subsequent breakdowns.

The final chapter on "The Nursery as a Community" deals mainly with the broader aspects of the relation between adults and children in the nursery, and with the reaction of the child to the behaviour of the adults. A glimpse is given of how the child probably reacts to the environment in early infancy, and how life for it is felt as "a series of 'good' and 'bad' moments, which in the beginning are largely separate experiences. The 'good' moments are almost identical with the 'good' mother who brings them, and with his own 'good' feelings of love and satisfaction when he receives them. On the other hand, the 'bad' moments of frustration and loss, and the child's own 'bad' feelings of rage and pain and fury, give rise to the image of the 'bad' mother, to whom all these things are attributed."

The author points out the importance of the infantile conflict between love and hate for the same person, in shaping the growth and destiny of the individual and describes the way the child tries to deal with this problem of loving and hating the same person. She shows the importance of restitution and the harm of needlessly checking the play of a child which may be based on phantasies of making restitution to the mother. It is also pointed out that one of the most powerful means of social and emotional education for the young child is the play and the companionship of the child with others. The author stresses how extraordinarily human babies and little children are and she pleads that the same degree of consideration that we naturally extend to adults should be shown to children. Respect for each child's individual personality is the keynote of this chapter, as also of the whole book. Though the child is not to be needlessly checked in his activities, he needs a background of regular routine and is to be protected from the caprice of inconsistent discipline. The author removes any misunderstanding which may arise in the minds of some parents that the parents should live only for their children and think of noth-

ing but their children's welfare. She makes the pertinent point that the parent who goes too far in the direction of self-sacrifice and who does not pay adequate attention to the fact that she has to lead her own emotional life and to maintain her own inner balance may injure rather than help the child. According to the author the best upbringing is possible in those families where the parents are able to respect both their own personalities, as well as those of the children, so as to produce a happy and ordered life, and where the parents encourage and develop the initiative of the children for the varied demands they must meet in their lives in the larger community outside the home.

The book is written in a most interesting and readable style. It contains such a wealth of material pertaining to the practical issues of child upbringing and represents so accurately the leading contributions of psycho-analysis regarding upbringing that it is of great value to social case workers, teachers, doctors and all others interested in children. To those directly connected with the upbringing of children, such as parents, it is indispensable if they wish to acquaint themselves with the tremendous strides made of recent years in the art of child upbringing and if they desire to live up to the light of this new knowledge.

K. R. MASANI

The Child and His Family. By CHARLOTTE BUHLER. With the collaboration of Edeltrud Baar, Lotte Danzinger-Schenk, Gertrud Falk, Sophie Gedeon, Gertrud Hortner. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1940. Pp. 187. 10 s. 6 d. net.

The family is the most important influence in the early development of the child. In it the child's personality is moulded and his character shaped for good or for ill. What he becomes depends to a very large extent upon the kind of relationships he enjoys with his parents and the other members of the family. Many volumes have come out of the press recently bearing upon the importance of the home environment to the growth of the child and his development. Unlike the other books covering the same general field, *The Child and His Family* is a quantitative study of the child's environment, its influence on him, and on his character development.

The author, a noted Viennese Psychologist and formerly a member of the faculty of the University of Vienna, is the Director of the Parents' Institute of Psychology for Normal Children in London. With the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Buhler, while still in Vienna, directed a group of trained workers and guided their investigation of the mutual relations that exist between the child and his family, that is, of the child's life within the family circle.

For the purpose of this investigation, seventeen families and thirty children were closely observed and studied by twelve trained persons who visited the selected homes twice a week at various times of the day, during periods ranging from three months to one-half year. The observers were on the most friendly terms with each family and took an active part in their daily routine of life. Such intimate and friendly relationship of the trained group of observers with the selected families made it possible to make an intense and careful study of parent-child relationships and their effects on the child's development.

This book contains the methods and results of the study of family life undertaken by the Vienna Psychological Institute. It gives us for the first time a new approach and a new technique—the application of exact methods to problems which have hitherto been approached only descriptively. Much of the research material is given in the form of charts and figures. Parents' approaches to their children and the latter's reactions have all been classified, tabulated, and evaluated statistically.

Although a sincere attempt has been made to study the mutual relationships of parents and children, and of siblings in several homes on the basis of exact records of all events occurring in those families, still the material is limited in scope. Therefore the study can lay claim only to a methodological significance. As a first attempt in this direction, it demonstrates a method whereby the mutual relations between individuals may be evaluated quantitatively. Hence the principal value of the book lies in showing a new way of approach to the child-family relations and the possibility of studying them by exact methods.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Children in a Democracy. General Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. January, 1940. Price 20 Cents.

The Report under review is the one adopted by the Fourth White House Conference called by President Roosevelt to consider how American culture can promote further the well-being of children. The first of these Conferences was called by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909 to consider primarily the care of dependent children. Among its recommendations, which constituted a landmark in this particular field, were the following: "that children should not be removed from their own homes by reasons of poverty; that the causes of dependency should be studied and so far as possible ameliorated or removed; that for children who must be removed from their own homes foster homes in families are as a rule desirable; that institutions for children should

preferably be on the cottage plan; that child-caring agencies should be incorporated with state approval, and the state should inspect their work; and that a Federal Children's Bureau should be created to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children."

In 1919 the Second White House Conference was called by President Wilson, and was organized by the Federal Children's Bureau. It concerned itself mainly with the formulation of child welfare standards relating to children entering employment, and health standards to protect the health of children and mothers. General statements with reference to economic and social standards, recreation and child welfare legislation were also incorporated.

The Third White House Conference was called by President Hoover in 1929. Its purpose, as stated by the President himself was "to study the present status of the health and well-being of the children of the United States and its possessions; to report what is being done; to recommend what ought to be done and how to do it."

This conference illustrated admirably the whole picture of the technical approach to the field of child welfare. An unusual number and variety of specialists such as psychologists, pediatricists, physicians, social workers, sociologists, nurses, specialists in home economics, psychiatrists, economists, anthropologists, educationists, kindergarteners and many others participated in the work. For a year some 1,200 committee members, experienced in the different fields of child health, care, training and protection made nation-wide studies of children and the forces affecting their development and growth.

The findings of the various committees were published in 37 volumes—a library in itself. Here are some samplings of the work: child labour, children's reading, education for home and family life, home and school co-operation, the home and the child, nursery education, parent education, safety education in schools, the school health programme, social hygiene in schools, the handicapped and the gifted, vocational guidance, body mechanics, growth and development of the child, health protection for the pre-school child, hospitals and child health, nutrition service in the field and child health centres, obstetric education, pediatrics, communicable disease control, the delinquent child, organization for the care of handicapped children, prenatal, natal and postnatal care, maternal morbidity and mortality.

It was in 1939 that the Fourth Decennial White House Conference was called to consider the relation between children and the American Democracy. The final report has not yet come out but the General Report adopted by the Conference deals with such topics as the Goals of a Democracy, The Child in the Family, Religion in the Lives of Children, Educational Services in the

Community, Protection against Child Labour, Youth and Their Needs, Conserving the Health of Children, Children under Special Disadvantages, Public Administration and Financing. It also contains some 98 recommendations for the improvement of the child's opportunities and the environment in which it grows. All these Conferences are outstanding evidences of a movement that has been growing up in the United States during the last three decades to co-ordinate the various child welfare schemes into a single comprehensive programme, as well as of the clear recognition of the American people of the importance of children to the building of a better nation and an efficient democracy.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Juvenile Delinquency in Massachusetts as a Public Responsibility. Issued by The Massachusetts Child Council, Boston Mass., 1939. Pp. 196. Rs. 4-14-0.

This study was occasioned by the facts revealed in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck's *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* published in 1934.

The fact that of the 332 persons committed to the Massachusetts State Prison in one year, 152 or 46 per cent had been "convicted" of offences before their 17th birthday, pushed the question into the fore whether delinquency treatment was enough, or whether the time was not ripe for a new attack on the problem, looking forward to an earlier understanding of the causes of delinquency and the methods of its prevention.

The study was undertaken by the Massachusetts Child Guidance Council, which organized six groups to deal with specific problems :

- Group I. Foster Home Placement of Delinquent Children.
- Group II. Legal Aspects of Delinquency.
- Group III. Provisions for Mentally Handicapped Delinquents.
- Group IV. Clinical Organization and Service.
- Group V. Responsibility of the Schools in Relation to Delinquency.
- Group VI. Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency.

While the conclusions of the study present no new light on the subject of delinquency, they do give us valuable insights into various phases of the problem.

The Massachusetts Juvenile Delinquency Law was enacted in 1906. The Law set up but one Juvenile Court in the central part of the city of Boston. For the rest of the city and the State reliance was placed on district and Municipal courts for the administration of the delinquency act. There was a pious hope that in time the rest of the city of Boston and the remainder of the State would follow the model set up in down town Boston. Thirty years have passed, and incredible as it may seem, the situation created in 1906 still remains.

In Massachusetts, as in India, courts dealing with the cases of children still retain vestiges of criminal terminology and procedure. As a matter of fact there is a greater accumulation of outworn practices in the City of Boston than one finds in the City of Bombay.

The study group on "Legal Aspects of Delinquency" make a worthwhile suggestion when they state: "The juvenile judge should be a specialist. His service cannot be secondary to any other occupation, certainly not the totally different one of conducting adult criminal sessions." (p. 36) The same group renders a service in re-emphasizing that "the juvenile court is a case-working agency," which has the duty of "appropriating to its aid every resource of the community." (p. 42)

In Massachusetts, again as in India, the juvenile training schools instead of developing individual personality "are frequently catch-alls for those children whom society has failed to adjust by other means . . . The one fact common to children committed to the institution is that they have been judged delinquent, with little thought as to the reasons for maladjustment and treatment." (p. 46)

The study recommends that a treatment board should be set up within the Department of Public Welfare, made up of representatives of social work, psychiatry, psychology, medicine, law and education. This board would have jurisdiction over commitment, transfer, release and parole of delinquents, thus leading to continuity of treatment.

The study group on "The Foster Home and the Delinquent" suggest that jail detention in rural areas could be obviated by the use of foster homes for the short term care of children awaiting a court hearing, thus sparing the community the expense of subsidizing a temporary boarding home for occasional use and saving the child the experience of being detained in a police station. This suggestion has point for rural areas in India as well.

The experience of the Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata School in Bombay would support the conclusion that "it is inconsistent to discuss clinical care in terms of court service alone, for the juvenile court is but one source of referral to the clinic. Clinical referral of children by the home, the school and children's agencies should be encouraged *before* the child is allowed to become a court delinquent." (97)

Appendix D—A Comparative Table of Approved Juvenile Court Standards, Massachusetts Law and the Laws of Other States is of value to those who are interested in the legal aspects of delinquency.

The report is an able discussion of the mechanics of treating juvenile delinquency, but it does not further our knowledge regarding the causes of delinquency, which is really the more pressing problem. At the same time it

is a matter for congratulation that a representative group of citizens should have had sufficient interest to undertake the sustained study represented in the pages of this volume.

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

Leadership in a Changing World. Edited by M. DAVID HOFFMAN and RUTH WANGER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935. Pp. 418.

The excuse for reviewing a book five years after its publication is that in the mind of the reviewer this volume presents materials which have a message for present-day India, for we in India—in common with the West—are seeking for guidance as we face our disorganized and changing world.

Leadership in a Changing World is a collection of brief and select writings of outstanding twentieth century leaders. The materials are not just isolated quotations selected at random, for in their entirety they place before the reader an outline of the world we live in. The volume presents a wealth of information to any intelligent man who desires the essential back-ground materials for thinking out the major problems of the world for himself.

The book is not propaganda. It does not take any side. It does not hide any side. It gives a fair hearing to everyone: to the Liberal, the Radical and the Revolutionary. It interprets no one, but leaves the reader to form his own judgment.

In 1941, when the world is passing through some of the darkest days in its history and intelligent men and women are striving hard to see a ray of light at the end of this enveloping darkness, *Leadership in a Changing World* is likely to show some trend along which human history may evolve. Some of the articles in the book are likely to suggest answers to the baffling problem of War Aims of the present day.

Even if the War puts an end to civilisation as it has been built up by the toil and struggle of ages, if *Leadership in a Changing World* remains it will remind mankind that at least before the War the world knew great leaders who visioned before them a new world and struggled hard to win a glorious destiny for the two billion human beings who live on this planet.

In reviewing any book it is absurd merely to quote the names of chapters for the edification of readers, but for this book such a process seems unavoidable. The reason is that the writer of each article is a great leader of men, and the mere name of his article is enough to create a desire that one should read what he has to say about the subject he knows so well. The following list of articles were of most interest to this reviewer:

Walter Lippman—*A New Social Order.*

Stuart Chase—*The Good and Evil of the New Industrialism.*

- Franklin Roosevelt—*Looking Forward*.
 Edward Filene—*The New Capitalism*.
 Norman Thomas—*The Socialist Cure for a Sick Society*.
 Normal Angell—*Nationalism in a Changing World*.
 Jose Gasset—*The Revolt of the Masses*.
 M. Ilin—*New Russia's Primer*.
 A. Siegfried—*Economic Tendencies Affecting the Peace of the World*.
 A. Salter—*A New World Order*.
 Woodrow Wilson—*The League of Nations*.
 J. Ramsay MacDonald—*The Risks of Peace*.
 Lenin—*Scientific Management and Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.
 Mussolini—*The Meaning of Fascism*.
 A. Briand—*A System of European Federal Union*.
 Mahatma Gandhi—*India's Struggle for Freedom*.
 Sun Yat Sen—*Pan Asia*.
 Mustafa Kemal—*The Modernisation of Turkey*.
 John Dewey—*Science and Society*.
 Bertrand Russell—*Science and Values*.
 Thomas Mann—*To German Youth*.
 Rabindranath Tagore—*A Poet's School*.
 Romain Rolland—*Broaden Europe, or Die*.

Curiously enough the name of Adolph Hitler does not figure in the list, probably because his name was just known when this book was written.

The Indian reader will naturally seek to know what India's greatest leader has said of her destiny. Mr. Gandhi's article is brief and deals with India's biggest problems according to his light. The article begins with a reiteration of his faith in non-violence. This is followed by a discussion of the Hindu-Muslim Problem, and the curses of Untouchability and drink. There is a reference to India's poverty and the place of spinning in solving this problem. Mr. Gandhi asks for a sympathetic understanding of India's problems from the nations of the world and closes the article with a vision of the India of to-morrow. He says :

I shall strive for a Constitution which shall release India from all thralldom and patronage and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and no low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether

foreign or indigenous. Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams. (pp. 203-304)

There are lines worth quoting in every article in the book. There are sentiments and ideas with which one will not agree according to one's outlook and prejudices. But in reading every article one feels that each author believed in what he wrote as an article of his faith.

The book puts before the reader a world full of complex contradictions and discloses the means by which men have attempted to deal with their problems. But the major problems remain unsolved, and despite revolutions, prophecies and dreams we find humanity struggling far behind its leaders in a changing world.

BEHRAM H. MERTA

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